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AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORK OF

SIR ROBERT LORIMER

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presented for the degree of Ph.D.

in the University of Edinburgh

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SUMMARY

This thesis provides a chronological account of Lorimer's career and his work in eight chapters. The aim is to show how his work developed during his lifetime. The opportunities he was able to grasp, and his achievements in building design and landscaping are discussed.

The second, allied, aim of this thesis is to show how Lorimer's abilities developed within the three different roles which he assumed at the professional level. The first two chapters discuss his development in early years; chapters 3, 4 and 5 discuss his middle years as a private architect, mainly for domestic buildings; chapter 6 discusses his role as a principal architect for the Imperial War Graves Commission, for which he acted in a public role; chapter 7, discusses the Scottish National War Memorial, for which he acted as National Architect.

Lorimer's work is appraised at each stage in his career, and the fact that he enjoyed several different reputations in his own lifetime is discussed. Whereas he was seen as a pioneer at the end of the last century, by the end of the first decade of this century he was widely known as a Gothicism. His country houses then gained him the reputation of being the Scottish Lutyens, and finally in the thirties, the Scottish National War Memorial evoked a national pride so intense that it confirmed Lorimer more as a patriot than as any particular caste of architect.

In the years since then, views of Lorimer as the creative architect, have narrowed under the successive influences of the standard (and only) book on his work and the pontificating criticism of the modern movement in design. The widely held view has been that he was wholly antiquarian by taste and inclinations. This oversimple view is challenged throughout this thesis and particularly in Chapter 7, and the last chapter concludes this thesis by some evaluation of the changes in attitude to his work. The propaganda of the modern movement in architecture has proved to be as incomplete and defective as the neutrality of the buildings in the international style to which it gave rise. As their constraining influence wanes, so the restoration of an architecture expressing local and national preferences becomes feasible again and the true worth of Lorimer's contribution to Scottish Architecture gains a new importance.

THE PREFACE

The Summary has listed the main points of this thesis. The Preface which follows explains how the thesis has come to take its shape. It is divided into five sections which deal with, 1. The memory of Lorimer's work today (pp.iii-v). 2. The need for a complete catalogue of Lorimer's work (pp. v-vii). 3. The view that some re-interpretation of Lorimer's work is an essential part of an historical thesis (pp.vii-xi). 4. The final choice of material, and arrangement of this thesis (pp.xi-xiii). 5. The Acknowledgements and Table of Contents (pp.xiii-xxi).

PREFACE

1. The memory of Lorimer's work today

'The work of Sir Robert Lorimer' was written by Christopher Hussey.¹ It appeared in 1931 within two years of Sir Robert's death, and it remains the standard work to this day. Why then, it may be asked, should a further study be thought worthwhile? The answer is simple: taking over the material on Sir Lawrence Weaver's sudden death, Hussey wrote and edited in a tremendous hurry. He could not exhaust his subject and there remain gaps in his presentation which need to be covered, indeed his neglect of particular aspects of Lorimer's work has led to a diminished view of Sir Robert's ability as a designer.

Lorimer has never received full recognition for his wide talents and this was brought home to me some years ago by a copy of Shaw Sparrow's 'The British home of today' which came in to my possession.² It contains a number of rather small pen and ink vignettes of a Mr. R.S. Lorimer's cottages in Scotland. They illustrate houses which Hussey had ignored. It seemed strange that original work of such simplicity and strength was so little regarded by him. Two illustrations for garden stairways in a book by Gertrude Jekyll and Lawrence Weaver,³ show stairways at Hurtwood (fig.1) and Ardkinglas (fig.2), which are set in a similar relationship to the houses they serve. Their comparison

brings out the superlative quality of Lorimer's best work. There is no straining for effect; merely, the elegance of a simple, perfectly articulated statement.

More than forty years have passed since Lorimer's death, and his reputation is strangely uncertain. One reason is that although he did much work in England he had no office there. Since he moved little in London circles he is less well remembered than his contemporaries, J.J. Burnet who went there from Glasgow to work up a large commercial practice, Ninian Comper the Aberdonian who practised there as a church architect, or Norman Shaw another Edinburgh man who had begun to practise in London some twenty years earlier than them. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the memory of Lorimer outside Scotland has depended entirely on Hussey's presentation of his work.

Even within Scotland, Hussey has had a strong effect. When the centenary of Lorimer's birth was reached in 1964, the Edinburgh Architectural Association considered staging a memorial exhibition. A sub-committee was set up under the chairmanship of Robert Morton. He has showed me the minutes of the meetings (mostly written on the backs of old envelopes). One item reads - 'There are said to be a number of interesting houses in Colinton', followed on the line below by - 'send Paterson to investigate'. Appended is the sad note - 'Nothing much known'. No exhibition was mounted and the anniversary went unremarked except for

a short article in the Scotsman.⁴

2. The scope for further study of Lorimer's work

The number of office papers still existing is large and they are in poor condition. My first intention, therefore, was to draw up a complete catalogue of Lorimer's works. This would have drawn attention to his forgotten works and offered a manageable thesis. I asked Mrs. Swan, who was Lorimer's secretary from 1916 until his death (and who remained with J.F. Matthew the junior partner until 1942), if she knew anything about Hussey's chronological list. She replied, 'I should do, I made it out and I didn't get too much time for it among my other work. I put down all the jobs which came to mind'.⁵ I asked her if Hussey's list is just as it was given to him, to which she replied 'Mr. Hussey called at Great Stuart Street and saw Mr. Matthew for about half an hour - J.F.M. had to go out and sent Mr. H. to my room - he then asked me to produce a list of all the jobs (this was at 12 o'clock) said he would return before or after lunch for the complete list'.⁶

The list was made out in a hurry, and Mrs. Swan says that Hussey 'spent very little time in the office and just grabbed everything I gave him'.⁷ She also recalls Mr. Matthew remonstrating with Hussey on certain omissions. It must have been too near to the time of publication,

'because no changes were made'.⁸ I wrote to Christopher Hussey to ask if he would discuss Lorimer with me. He replied 'I have no memories or material not included in it' (his book) and put me off as he was to be abroad for a time. I telephoned him when I was next in London. He sounded weary and once again deferred our meeting. He let slip that 'It's more than forty years since I wrote that book. One's ideas change and I see Lorimer rather differently now'. Hussey died four months later before a meeting had been arranged.

I turned next to the account books of the office. After Lorimer's death the practice had been continued by his partner J.F. Matthew, from whom the office papers and drawings had eventually passed to his younger son Stuart. He was keen to help in any further study and he loaned the account books to me. The books which still exist do not run continuously in time, and sometimes even overlap, so it is not surprising that some jobs were left off the list by Mrs. Swan. However, quite a number of new jobs came to light.

The drawings of the office were reputed to number 30,000 and in 1969 Stuart Matthew lodged them with the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments in Edinburgh. About two-thirds of this collection was neatly rolled in polythene bags, and the rolls had been numbered and indexed under Stuart's direction. 198 such rolls contained drawings relevant to my study. These could be consulted if

necessary or ignored if offering no new insight. The remaining third of the drawings provided a hotch-potch of loose drawings and paper rolls of every size and state of dilapidation. Most had become damp in the past and had become very brittle as they dried out. They were very dirty.

The commission made available store rooms and plan chests for the Lorimer Collection of drawings. Stuart Matthew had stipulated that they were to be kept together and that I was to be allowed access to them. I began cataloguing the individual drawings in the paper rolls, and these turned out to include most of the drawings of the smaller houses neglected by Hussey. The drawings in each roll had to be opened up to identify them, then unrolled and laid flat under weights, and left to flatten. It proved very difficult to get them to go flat enough to lie in the shallow drawers provided by the Commission. Sheets of hardboard were provided to lay on the drawings in the drawers, but the work was dirty and slow and rather tedious although relieved by the occasional exciting discovery.

3. Some re-interpretation of Lorimer's work as an essential part of an historical thesis

The work of cataloguing seemed worthwhile, although it was obvious that if I did not catalogue all these

drawings, it would be merely a matter of time before the Commission would find time, itself, to carry it out. If a catalogue raisonné had offered an acceptable thesis, my work on Lorimer would have ended there. However, in discussing my work on Lorimer with other people, I encountered the opinion frequently that an academic study of Lorimer should be largely interpretive. A catalogue by itself would not be enough. When Sir Nikolaus Pevsner made this same point to me, I discarded the attempt to make the catalogue the major part of this thesis.

The consequence of moving out to embrace all the other sources open to me, like the letters, magazines, diaries and buildings themselves, has been a much wider study than I originally intended. Instead of a study of sources limited to the identification of all works, a selective approach has had to be adopted in working, as well, on some 6,000 office letters, and the 100 personal letters which exist, as well as about 15 office diaries and twenty sketch books. The main problem has been the arrangement of this embarrassing wealth of material. It was inevitable that I would not be able to avoid recrossing any of the ground already traversed by Hussey, but in so doing it would be necessary always to make plain the differences between our particular paths.

Hussey's treatment shows a few obvious gaps but does the overall tone provide an accurate emphasis? When a review of Lorimer's work was first mooted by the 'Country

life', it was to have been carried out by Sir Lawrence Weaver, a longstanding friend of Sir Robert's.⁹ Lorimer had supplied him with photographs of all his work as well as copies of his articles and speeches, to help him in this task, when Weaver died unexpectedly. The work had not gone very far and Christopher Hussey - who was about twenty five years old at the time - took over the task. The book he wrote is sensitive and carries a light touch. It incorporates much material from articles on Lorimer's work which had been written by Lawrence Weaver and which had been appearing in the 'Country life' magazine for many years previously. The view offered of Lorimer is entertaining, and the book is informative as far as it goes, but the overall balance is not satisfactory.

The emphasis of this book can be seen, in one way, from the range of matter which is covered by the 216 illustrations. One third of all the illustrations are not of buildings. 19 are devoted to memorials, 2 to war cemeteries, 17 to furniture details and 31 to details of decorative art. The 147 illustrations remaining, are devoted to 50 of Lorimer's buildings.

The first point to be stressed is that since over 160 buildings are shown in the chronological list, the proportion of buildings represented by illustrations is just under a third (31%). The narrowing effect of this, however, does not end at this point. 34 of the 50 buildings illustrated, receive 3 or less illustrations apiece (12 have

2 illustrations and 17 have only 1). The effect of this is that two thirds of the buildings illustrated (68%) receive only one third of the illustrations devoted to buildings (35%).

The main emphasis, thus comes finally to rest on the remaining 16 buildings which receive nearly half (44.4%) of all the building illustrations. This favoured few is comprised of three categories of building in the main. Three new mansions with 7, 8 and 9 illustrations respectively receive 16%, 3 new chapels and the Scottish National War Memorial receive 5, 6, 11 and 18 or 26.5%, and restorations of old buildings receive 8, 9, 14, 15, 17 and 20, a total of 63 or 42%.

The balance implied by the illustrations, perhaps may reflect the money spent on the different categories but even if this were so, this would magnify the effect of yet another influence: that the patrons with most money were all too often the most conservative in taste. If they had been Lorimer's only patrons, there would be little more to tell, and all that could be done forty years or so later would be to fill in further details to Hussey's framework. However this study will show that some re-assessment of Lorimer and his contribution has to be made, because material exists which shows that Lorimer was by no means the simple well-adjusted man that Hussey's idealised descriptions suggest. It shows also that the tasks to which he was called were of such differing scales (with different paths for decision) as to require him to play

the different roles of private, public and national architect.

4. The final choice of material

This thesis is based on sources of material not used by Christopher Hussey including letters to his closest friend R.S. Dods (an Australian architect) which reveal Lorimer's innermost thoughts. Hussey has chronicled the revivalist architect in Lorimer too well, and the view that he was only antiquarian in his tastes is widely held. Yet the research for this thesis has shown that Lorimer was able to, and has designed many buildings with plain surfaces and superb modelling and massing. They carry his ever present sense of place, and of being Scots buildings in their homeland, yet they were also new and fresh in character. They show him also to have been as much in sympathy with the return to simplicity from the excesses of Victorian ornament, as Voysey or Mackintosh.

Stuart Matthew, the late James Richardson and others who were close to Lorimer have taken the view that Hussey wrote well but not with the insight of an architect or designer. It is almost inevitable, however, that a critic can only form from his examination of the completed works what to some extent, can only be an external view of architecture, and the involved process by which the

innumerable choices are made must be largely closed to him. Indeed, even if such matters are commonly only of interest to other designers, they remain a necessary part of any explanation of how a particular building comes to have its particular form.

This thesis extends the view of Lorimer's design into these areas of decision making, and brings out further the different responsibilities of Lorimer as private, public and national architect. The Colinton manner of cottage, for example, which was the great achievement of the middle years of his practice, reveals Lorimer's contribution as a private architect dealing with the smaller house for one or perhaps two clients, and is studied from office records.

In the later years Lorimer's work as a public architect on war cemeteries is discussed and how he acted as a principal for the War Graves Commission. This study is based on drawings, sketch books, letters and the Commission's own records. In this role he was responsible for 33 cemeteries in Germany, Italy, Greece and Egypt and was called upon to collaborate extensively with the executive officers and committees of the Commission.

During the same period he was charged also with the design of the Scottish National War Memorial, for which he assumed the role of Architect to the Scottish Nation. He was responsible to the official committee for this work but had to work with a host of official advisers who were constantly looking over his shoulder, as it were, to say

nothing of the large sector of the nation breathing down his neck and expressing all shades of disapproval for his every act through the columns of the press. Out of this ordeal came a popular work of great success which, however, has not endeared him to recent critics. Yet, what preliminary verdict can we reach but that he played many roles with varying degrees of success, inevitably, but that his best was very good indeed?

The 8 chapters of this thesis follow a chronological sequence. A synopsis of their contents is given after this introduction. Each chapter is comprised of numbered sections, and is preceded by the appropriate section of the main synopsis. The list of references and figures for each chapter is given at its conclusion. Curved brackets within quoted passages are part of the quotation. Where the interests of literary balance have made it necessary to insert short explanatory notes within long quotations, such notes are enclosed by square brackets. Appendices are put at the end of the section to which they refer. A brief index of the main characters, events and buildings is given at the end of the thesis.

5. Acknowledgements

A study of this kind cannot be done without a good

deal of help and encouragement from those closest to the subject. I am indebted to Christopher Lorimer for the loan of Lorimer's sketch books, some letters to his mother and some drawings, and to Hew Lorimer for some office accounts and introductions. To Stuart Matthew for a great deal of office material and many discussions. To Sir Robert Matthew for his interest and encouragement, and for showing me the drawings in his keeping. Mrs. Swan (née Brown) Lorimer's secretary from 1916 to 1929 has lent me her scrapbook which records in some detail the great controversy on the Scottish National War Memorial. It has been enormously stimulating to be able to talk to someone who had such a close knowledge of Lorimer and the office. Mrs. Elizabeth Farfan, daughter of R.S. Dods has lent me the 64 surviving letters from Lorimer to Robin Dods his confidant and closest friend of three decades. The late Dr. James Richardson, the late Morton Cowie, the late Alfred Lochhead, Leslie Graham McDougall and Alan Reiach who were all in the office have told me their memories of it. The late Phyllis Bone, Pilkington Jackson and Myles Johnson have told me of their experiences as artists working under Lorimer, and David Walker and Gavin Goodfellow of the Scottish Development Department and Miss Cruft of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments, Professor Uddie and Dr. Alastair Rowan of Edinburgh University have made many valuable suggestions. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission, and especially Miss

Bowden have offered me every assistance and have supplied photographs, and photocopies, of parts of their records. One last connection with Lorimer should be mentioned - the R.I.A.S. instituted the Lorimer prize in his memory in 1933. The first recipient was F.R. Stevenson who encouraged me to undertake this Ph.D. in the first place, and who then has acted as my supervisor.

Two acknowledgements slipped my mind at the time of typing. Mr. Benjamin Ehrich of California, sought out and sent me details of Lorimer's work on St. Marnocks in Ireland, Risobank, Mandal Norway, St. Andrews Helsinki and the old Farm Cannes. He also visited a number of war cemeteries in Italy and Greece and took many photos. Professor Donaldson of this University found out and informed me of the fate of the hotel at Cloustra.

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Chapter 1

1. Brief family background

In 1864 a son was born to the professor of Public Law in this university, James Allan Lorimer, then living at number 21, Hill Street, in Edinburgh. He named his son Robert, and gave him an upbringing that was to have a strong influence on his son's choice of a career. Something of this is reflected in a commentary of twenty years later which notes how Professor Lorimer had - 'successfully restored and made habitable the old castle of Kellie in Fife, where he passes a considerable part of the year. The reverent and kindly artistic treatment bestowed on an ancient building that must impress every visitor to Kellie is due to no one member of a gifted family, but the common inheritance has perhaps found its highest expression in Mr. Lorimer's second son who has already attained to marked distinction as a portrait painter'.¹ Such was one opinion of 1884 when his eldest son Robert's first independent commission as an architect was still some seven years in the future.

2. Apprenticeship and the influence of the partners

From this middle class professional background with some pretensions to art, Robert Lorimer attended this university and went from there, like the Brothers Adam before him to rise to the foremost rank of British Architecture.² Lorimer did not complete his course of

studies, however. Instead he left to take articles in 1884 with Hew Wardrop, the senior partner in the firm of Wardrop Anderson and Browne practising in Edinburgh. The partnership had been set up in that year when Hew Wardrop, at the age of thirty, had taken over his father's practice. His signature appears first on the deed followed by the signatures of A. Rowand Anderson and G. Washington Browne. All three signatures were witnessed by Victor D. Horsburgh³, a name which recurs amid Lorimer's affairs.

Only two works have been attributed to Hew Wardrop personally in the catalogue of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments in Edinburgh.⁴ They are the restoration of the Palace of Tillyfour, near Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, carried out in 1885-6 and St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar, dated 1890, which being after his death must be the date of completion. Lorimer was site architect at Monymusk⁵. Wardrop has been called 'a bolder Bryce' by Stirling Maxwell⁶, whose not altogether favourable opinion of Bryce was that - 'too many of his rooms were spoilt by useless turrets and there is a tiresome sameness in his designs. Only in subsidiary buildings where the form was dominated by the purpose did he catch something of the true Scots spirit'⁷.

Lorimer's acquaintance with Hew Wardrop had lasted only two years and eleven months when Wardrop died at the early age of 31, yet the influence of this period remained strong enough to prompt Lorimer fifteen years later to write -

'am thinking more and more that there's a lot in what dear old Hewy Wardrop told me years ago that there are 3 things of vital importance in architecture - and that the first is proportion the second is - proportion and the third - is - proportion'.⁸ If Lorimer had followed this exhortation in all his work, and had produced more plain buildings relying mainly on proportion for their effect, his reputation would rival that of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. As it was, Lorimer became more and more involved in the styles of the past, and his highly promising early work on plain, well proportioned white-washed houses which were so close in spirit to those of C.F.A. Voysey, was to be supplanted increasingly by commissions for more ornate mansions and for the restoration of old buildings.

When Wardrop died, Lorimer came more directly under the influence of Robert Rowand Anderson. According to Mr. Kininmonth, the present senior partner in the firm, they did not get on well, but this did not deter Lorimer from staying an extra year with him as an improver after completing his articles.

Robert Rowand Anderson was a man of wide interests who came to architecture after an apprenticeship in law. After some years in architects' offices, he was invited in 1875 to enter a limited competition with five other architects. He came first and so began practice with three of the largest schools ever to be entrusted to him.⁹ In 1878 he was invited, also, to enter a limited competition with five other architects for some accommodation for this

university, and later this design was carried out for the MacEwan Hall. His practice continued to prosper after these early successes, yet he found time also to take an interest in education and was largely responsible for setting up the Edinburgh School of Applied Art¹⁰. He devoted to the organisation and direction of which, A.N. Paterson recalled later in 1921 - 'his time and means to an extent little realised today, and that, it must be remembered when still on the full flood of his career as, by general admission, the premier architect of Scotland'.¹¹

He was deeply concerned for the heritage of the past and was responsible for commissioning many of the drawings which form the National Art Survey of Scotland.¹² His own words convey how he saw this also, as partly a matter of education, when he said - 'I began to take an interest in education in 1892' (when) 'I thought we could not do better than make the study of old work the basis of our teaching'.¹³ His hand can also be discerned, perhaps, behind the Edinburgh architects presentation of - 'a memorial to her Majesty's Commissioners for the Scotch Universities, asking for the establishment in the University of Edinburgh of a curriculum of Architecture'.¹⁴ He was elected an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1876, but resigned in 1883 as a protest in being passed over several times for full membership. Such was his prominence as an architect however that he was re-elected as an honorary member in 1896.¹⁵

He was prominent also in the affairs of the Edinburgh Association of Architects. He was its president from 1874-6 and again in 1895-7.¹⁶ He became first president of the Royal Incorporation of Architects for Scotland in 1916¹⁷. He also found more time for the affairs of the Institute in London than Lorimer was ever to do. In 1908 he was elected member of council of the R.I.B.A.¹⁸, and in 1916 received the gold medal, on the suggestion of J.J. Burnet (according to David Walker).

The third partner in the firm was George Washington Browne. The dates of the partnership have become a little confused but it seems that he had been chief assistant to Rowand Anderson between 1879 and 1884,¹⁹ and he had worked on the MacEwan Hall, the treatment of which was 'early Italian Renaissance'.²⁰ In 1884 he entered into partnership with Wardrop and Anderson as third partner, and he was also president of the Edinburgh Architects Association in that year. Earlier he had won the Pugin scholarship, and was a fine draughtsman and also a sensitive if eclectic designer. Lorimer's contact with him extended to little more than a year, because in 1886 Washington Browne left the partnership to set up practice separately by himself.²¹

3. The office, and the influence of the work in it

All three partners could turn out a Scots building of some merit, but only as one of several styles which they handled with equal adeptness. The jobs which were on the drawing boards during Lorimer's stay in the office reflect

this eclectic variety. The Catalogue of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments includes five churches. Glencorse New Parish Church, dated 1884-8, is an austere building (fig.1). The details are uninteresting and the chimney stuck above the top window on the north side of the tower has a domestic scale out of sympathy with the tower itself. It was not a building to teach Lorimer much.

Govan Old Parish Church 1884-9, St. Sophia's R.C. Church, Calston, Ayrshire 1884-9, and St. James Episcopal Church in Edinburgh followed in 1888. The entrance of St. James is by a small doorway under what appears to be the first two stories of an uncompleted tower. The Church itself is rectangular with plain side walls and two buttresses apparently put on the east facade as decorative features. The roof is slated with battlemented ridge tiles of bright red clay. The stone gable upstand and finial cross are weak in effect. The fifth church, St. Cuthberts Episcopal Church, Colinton (1889) shows Anderson at his best. It shows also the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement in its decoration. The interior is richly decorated with gilded carved woodwork, the roof rafters painted in dull green and Indian red, and a floral pattern on the ceiling surfaces between them. Even the exterior is better than Glencorse in its use of stone and in its detailing (fig. 2).

Other jobs listed in the Catalogue included the Scottish National Portrait Gallery 1885-9, the drawings of

which were exhibited at the international fine art exhibition in Berlin.²² The Ardgowan Estate Office, Greenock, 1886, the Normand Memorial Hall, Fitzroy Street, Dysart, 1885. Six cottages in Barnshot Road, Colinton (fig. 3), and the High School, Arbroath (1888-9) which was not executed.

What might Lorimer have learned from these buildings? Probably nothing specific because as noted in Anderson's Obituary he was notable for - 'the quite unusual variety of styles he employed'. Yet despite this his buildings were seen to show a 'personal note which...characterises all his work' which could be described as a - 'largeness and nobility of treatment, studied proportion in mass, combined with refinement and elegance in detail. His planning in like manner, is direct, simple balanced throughout the work is that of the head rather than the heart'.²³

Stirling Maxwell has noted how - 'Sir Rowand was not always happy in his choice of materials. The red sandstone pillars of the MacEwan Hall never look comfortable' and that 'the red tile roof of a house which he built for Lord Strathconer in Glencoe was so glaringly foreign that the tiles have since been replaced by slates from the neighbouring quarry of Ballachulish'. Yet despite these occasional lapses, he believed that there was to be found in general - 'a fine reserve about Sir Rowand's work'.²⁵

Anderson's best work is very good if a little less uncompromisingly Scottish than Lorimer's. But Lorimer

too, was inclined to use red tiles when slates would have been so much more suitable, though whether this was his own preference, or that of the client, or for the greater ease of laying and hence lower cost, is not known.

4. Lorimer's progress as a student

Classes in design had not been started in Lorimer's days as an apprentice. They were inaugurated in 1892, when apprentices began to attend them at the School of Applied Arts from 9 to 11 each morning and from 7 to 9 each evening of each working day. Lorimer, however, did attend classes in technical subjects at the Heriot Watt College, and gained 72½ in the class on plumbers work which gave him a class certificate of merit.²⁵ At the later City and Guilds of London Institute's examination in the principles of plumbing he achieved only second class honours.²⁶ Apart from these indications, it is impossible to tell how good a student Lorimer was.

Sketching formed a large part of the activities of every student in those days. Drawing was seen as a mode of stimulating the imagination, as well as the means by which old buildings were recorded and knowledge gained. ~~Lorimer & his friends~~ Dods and Begg all turned out very competent drawings (figs. 4 - 8). Collections of sketches and measured drawings were in vogue during the last decades of the 19th century and a series of volumes was published in London by the Architectural Association, and in Edinburgh by the Edinburgh Architects Association. Lorimer produced

three sheets on Kellie Castle which include two perspective sketches in which the shading, textures and foliage of plants are indicated competently but how little Lorimer obtrudes himself in these drawings, and how strongly and directly the character of the building is evoked by him (figs. 9 - 11).

Many of Lorimer's sketch books exist. Everywhere he went as a student, he noted down details of buildings and fragments in museums, as well as details of furniture and tapestries. These sketches are neat and precise, and offer working details. The dimensions are given usually, each detail extends Lorimer's vocabulary, but he never found it necessary to evoke the quality of detail through the quality of draughtsmanship itself. As the pressure of work from practice grew, the sketches he took down became more hurried. His attitude to drawing was always functional. As Mrs. Swan, his secretary in later years, recalls - 'there was never time for fine drawings, we were always in too much of a rush'.

In 1889 Lorimer completed his Articles, but stayed on in Rowand Anderson's office as an improver (of drawings). An early sketch of Kellie is drawn well but with an effect which is a little stiff.²⁷ The quiet excellence of such a drawing, however, is brought out by comparing it with a sketch of Kellie by W.F. Lynn published some ten years earlier.²⁸

Lorimer's plans and elevations for Kellie Castle are

drawn as competently as the perspective sketches. They show that Lorimer chose to draw carefully and painstakingly in ink for these drawings for publication whereas Dods preferred to work quickly in pencil though with equal accuracy. Three plaster ceilings at Kellie, meticulously drawn in all their detail are included in the much later E.A.A. publication.²⁹ The volume was published in 1922 shortly after Sir Robert Rowand Anderson's death and is dedicated to him.

If the drawings of Lorimer's contemporaries are compared with his, and they can be seen in the various sketchbooks of the E.A.A., hardly any will be found to match his quality although there is a certain similarity of style to them. His friend John Begg is an exception.³⁰ Rowand Anderson's drawings of Caxton tower are good but not as good as Lorimer's drawings.³¹ A few of the drawings display a hint of Victorian sentimentality, but a look through these sketchbooks brings out the fact of how much attention was being directed to old buildings.

Towards the end of the year Lorimer spent working as an improver, an event occurred which was to have a great effect on his subsequent career. The National Association for the Advancement of Art held their annual congress in Edinburgh. William Morris, Walter Crane, C.R.Ashbee, John Sedding and other leaders of the Arts and Crafts movement all spoke at it. Several other people who were to be influential in Lorimer's life as a practising architect also attended the congress, and his brother John who acted as

secretary to the section on painting was in a position to be able to introduce his older brother widely. H.H. Statham who was at that time editor of the magazine 'Builder' was one of the speakers on architecture. Some five years later he was to publish much of Lorimer's earliest work in the 'Builder', and he included in his book on modern architecture published in 1897 a 'scotch house in local style by Mr. Lorimer'.³² Mervyn Macartney who as editor of the 'Architectural Review' published much of Lorimer's later work, also attended.

Among the others who spoke at the congress was Rowand Anderson, who gave the presidential address to the section convened on architecture. He asked - 'What is the future of architecture? My belief is that it has a future greater than its past. Through the action of public opinion, at this moment there is splendid work being done in Britain. I need only mention the names of Bodley, Shaw, Pearson, Scott, Bentley and others'.³³ Shaw's name is coupled to the Queen Anne revival, but the other four were gothic men. Of the four, Bodley was the gothicist who worked most closely within the arts and crafts tradition. Rowand Anderson showed some interest in decorative craftwork but in the role of the servant of architecture, whereas Bodley (and Lorimer) regarded it as the instrument by which architecture as a whole might be regenerated.

In 1897 Lorimer moved to London to work in George Bodley's office. He must have been very keen to do so because the earliest vacancy was not for a year and he

settled down to wait for the privilege. He spent the year working as an improver and also in sketching many of Bodley's details, so that when he did come to enter the office, he found he knew Bodley's work better than most of those assistants already working in the office.³⁴

5. Lorimer's associates in London

Lorimer was working in Bodley's office for 18 months, according to Russey, and this agrees with the entry in 'Who's Who' which Lorimer must have approved. Edward Warren who also worked in the office dismisses this stay in these words - 'Mr. Lorimer of Edinburgh was with him for a short time'.³⁵

Lorimer's letters show clearly his admiration for Bodley, who was in process of becoming recognised as the 'leader in the rehabilitation of gothic as a living style'.³⁶ He was sufficiently a man of affairs to receive the gold medal of the R.I.B.A. in 1899, and he served on its council for two years.³⁶ But beyond this, he was a sensitive poetic man, qualities which he shared with Lorimer and which would have endeared him to his assistant. He collected craft objects, and - 'he liked to surround himself with beautiful furniture, pictures, glass, silver, old blue and white tiles'. The apprentices and assistants found this a compensation for his frequent absence. As one of them said later, if they didn't - 'see as much of him in the office as we might have wished, we had the run of the

drawing room, and that alone was a liberal education'.³⁸

Lorimer loved music and Bodley was a good musician. Bodley was also a poet and Lorimer was keen on some poetry. He noted down one of Bodley's poems in his sketch book:-

'Life is a road at either end ~~of~~ a gate

The gate of life behind - of death beyond

Love guards the path and gives us all the way

As through a garden where calm hope doth rest.'³⁹

The interests they shared did not end there. They both loved nature, of which Bodley - 'never tired of singing its praises' and a former student of his saw him as the - 'last of the band of "goths" who made English church architecture famous throughout Europe in the latter part of the last century'.⁴⁰ St. Martin's Church in Scarborough, shows how successfully he got the arts and crafts workers to collaborate with him in a total art work.

Many notable pre-Raphaelite artists collaborated on this church. It was reported that - 'the centre panel on the east ^a wall is by Burne-Jones, the side panels are by Morris. The painting on the organ case is by Mr. R. Spenser Stanhope. The chancel roof was decorated by Morris assisted by Mr. Philip Webb, Bodley himself executing the painting over the chancel arch. Morris drew the cartoons for the paintings in the lower panels of the pulpit, a side panel being painted by Rossetti. All the windows are filled with stained glass, the early ones being made by Morris from cartoons by Burne-Jones, Ford Maddox Brown, D.G. Rossetti and Philip Webb'.⁴¹

Bodley was also active in garden design⁴² but neither his or Lorimer's gardens are strikingly original. They are well designed and beautifully detailed, yet completely within the traditions of the period. He may, however, have taught Lorimer something of the siting and grouping of buildings. '5 houses forming a group at Malvern: two houses are detached, whilst three are grouped together in a very charming fashion' which were built in 1896⁴³, recalls Lorimer's design for such a group at Inveranmon.⁴⁴ This group was not built but the design was put to use later at Colinton (fig.12).

It is always difficult to explain precisely what any particular architect's contribution has been. M.H.Statham however, felt that - 'Bodley's architecture which was gothic...was nevertheless distinctly Bodley'.⁴⁵ Yet it seems also that despite the strong influence exerted by Bodley upon young Lorimer, that this must have been more in the nature of strengthening his predictions^{le} than by way of introducing him to anything entirely novel. The rich woodwork details, for example, which Lorimer introduced into so many buildings, and in particular into the Thistle Chapel have a close affinity with Bodley's work, and in these details, as in most of the works which Bodley has left us there is a very - 'personal vitality'.⁴⁶ More recently, T.W.West has remarked of the 'devotional feeling' of Bodley's work and of the insight into gothic that working in his office afforded Lorimer.⁴⁷

Bodley's supreme role in promoting the collaboration on the church of St. Martin at Scarborough, was remarked on also by Edward Warren. He said - 'It was Mr. Bodley who of all architects bestowed not only sympathetic but active help and opportunities of work in his own buildings upon these artists. He gave Mr. William Morris his first chance of ecclesiastical stained glass, in his church at Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire, and repeated opportunities at St. Michael's, Brighton, and elsewhere...In the church of St. Martin's...he found employment for the whole band'. Again it was Bodley who - 'started C.E.Kempe in stained glass, advised him as to studies, and gave him his earliest employment'.⁴⁸

Many of the traits of character of Lorimer's middle age, as well as the methods he used show a striking similarity to those of Bodley. His deep interest in craftsmanship and in architecture as the mother of the arts led him to regard drawing as a means of communication and never as an end pleasing of itself. It seems more than a coincidence that Rowand Anderson drew with difficulty. Bodley - 'did not attach any importance to drawing',⁴⁹ and that Lorimer should later engage others to do his exhibition drawings for him.

According to Walter Tapper, who was in Bodley's office (and life long friend of Lorimer) Bodley's 'buildings were really designed before putting pencil to paper and he has given me their dimensions in figures beforehand'.⁵⁰ This was often the way in which Lorimer was to work. The late

Morton Cowie told me - 'the last day I was in Lorimer's office...I asked him for a detail of the chimney. He took out a 6B, "a black prince", and he gave me the chimney cope, the corbel and the section, all in a matter of thirty seconds, and it was right and all I had to do was to trace them'.⁵¹

Lorimer seems to have been on close terms with Garner, Bodley's later partner, because he took the occasion of a visit to Oxford to call on him. He went by train to Bicester and then biked the 6 - 7 miles to Fritwell. 'The house itself is perfectly charming and in looking through the furniture I didn't see anything-you know what I mean - about which I said to myself "well its a d - d mistake Garner having that because it simply ought to belong to me"'. He was given lunch, commented on the white walls and oak furniture of the bedrooms and then smoked under a cherry tree in the garden. He felt also, that a little of his host and hostess would go a long way - 'they're so desperately English and narrow - something awful. Of course nothing but English furniture in the house and all belonging to the date before inlay and veneer was dreamed of, though the things are beautiful specimens of their own rather played out kind'.⁵²

This last remark probably meant no more than that the furniture was of a period which Lorimer did not like particularly. His own earlier designs show a great fondness for decorative veneers, but he also designed gothic furniture in highly wrought heavy oak members as well as turning later

to 18th century French forms and to chunky furniture with a certain Spanish flavour.

Lorimer's writings show him to have been highly critical of the work of all other architects. Indeed the only older architect apart from Bodley who gained Lorimer's complete respect was Norman Shaw. In 1897 he made a pilgrimage to see 'Dawpool' one of Norman Shaw's houses in Cheshire. The visit was initiated by another Edinburgh architect Frank Deas. Lorimer told Dods how they crossed the Mersey then drove in a hansom 7 miles, after which they were hospitably received and given a 'rattling lunch'. The butler then showed them - 'everything - and everything was worth seeing. I never saw any job that had been so perfectly worked out, not a bungle from beginning to end and everywhere most careful elaborate detail'.⁵³

Lorimer visited Norman Shaw at Hampstead the following week, and told him that the house was so well done that it must have taken the greatest care and a lot of time.

"Norman Shaw replied - 'Oh no, on the contrary it was done - fast - just as fast as possible and of course belittled the whole thing as if any suckling infant might have done the same.'⁵⁴

Even so, not everything in this house pleased Lorimer completely, and he found that some of the rooms lacked a clear and - 'total impression...It all comes back to the old things simplicity, simplicity, simplicity, proportion. I mean if you have a suite of rooms, treat them in the main all the same - all white - or all oak - or else they'll

never have the right kind of style'.⁵⁵

Lorimer also went to see Shaw's Swan House at Chelsea. He found it - 'typical of his best phase outside and pure Morris inside, papers hangings, etc'.⁵⁶ In the same letter he mentioned that - 'Shaw has been doing a whacking great block of offices for Ismay at Liverpool, a ripping building - stands up splendidly - we saw it - simply dominates the whole neighbourhood'.⁵⁷ Ismay had been the client for whom Dawpool was built.

Lorimer continued to visit Shaw regularly and on one occasion he took Lutgens with him.⁵⁸ It is not surprising that Lorimer got on well with Shaw. Although there is no direct evidence in Lorimer's buildings of Shaw's influence, their general outlook on design was very similar. The German writer Luthesis in 1908 wrote on the revival of vernacular traditions and that Lorimer had 'begun the same thing in Scotland, which had been done in London 35 years before by Norman Shaw's group'.⁵⁹

The aim of the arts and crafts movement was the reform of design and the re-establishment of a simple more rational and functional approach to design, aims which were later taken up by the modernist school. This crusading fervour lies behind Norman Shaw's modest deprecating manner, and to the fore of Lorimer's implicit belief in his own powers.

Lorimer's private remarks of other architects vary from being mild~~ly~~ scathing to the downright scurrilous.

While visiting Oxford, he wrote - 'Magdalen - Champneys, College etc., how sick one gets of these cuspings and crestings... Jackson's Jacobean stuff here and there. It's ugly enough'⁶⁰, and he complained of - 'that cursed scrappiness of Fairfax Wade and Williams that all these Caroc-esk d - d fools can't get rid of'.⁶¹

He told Dods that Lethaby's house near Ringwood wasn't - 'the masterly affair I expected from the one who "lets his tongue rage like a fire amongst the noblest names". What does the man preach? That modern work fails because it's all done in the office and isn't worked out on the spot as in the old days afore time! Well if you'd been with me (I wish to God you had been) we'd have agreed a dozen things that failed in this very particular... The proportion of a lot of it was poor and the staircase I simply would not have owned'⁶².

6. The London circle of close friends

Lorimer was a discerning sharp critic and he chose his friends with discrimination. His rather few close friends all were to achieve some prominence. Walter Tapper was one who shared many ~~likes~~ with Lorimer (fig.14) and who eventually became Bodley's chief assistant.⁶³ He was to play an important part in the affairs of the R.I.B.A. He was a member of the Art Standing Committee for many years.⁶⁴ He shared Lorimer's great interest in the South Kensington Museum, and later was a signatory to a letter calling for its re-organisation.⁶⁵ He finally became president of

the R.I.B.A. in 1927.⁶⁶ Ninian Comper who went to the Ruskin School of Art before being apprenticed to Bodley and Garner may still have been in the office but Lorimer⁶⁷ does not seem to have become friendly with him.

R.S.Dods and John Begg are two people who recur throughout Lorimer's affairs. They were his closest companions in his student days and they remained close friends with him throughout their lives. What little is known about Lorimer's stay in London has come to us through them.

Very few of Lorimer's personal letters survive, and of these, the greater part - some 64 - were written to his closest friend of all, R.S. Dods. Dods was an Australian who was sent to Edinburgh in 1886 to train as an architect and was apprenticed to Hay and Henderson.⁶⁸ After he returned to Australia in 1896 the letters he received from Lorimer reveal a fascinating exploration of the nature of architecture, life and love seen over nearly three decades by Lorimer.

Little is known of the early days of John Begg, the third of this trio. He may have worked for Rowand Anderson or possibly for George Washington Browne. John Wilson, writing many years later commented on how John Begg had further developed Washington Browne's style of drawing.⁶⁹ Begg went down to London on completing his articles and entered for the Pugin prize which he won in 1890.⁷⁰ He produced a number of measured drawings which were published

in the A.A. and E.A.A. sketchbooks, together with those of Lorimer and Dods.

They were a hardworking trio, who nevertheless found time to relax. 'In London as in Edinburgh Robin Dods soon became a fashionable "man about town". He possessed great charm, a ready wit, and an ability to gain the friendship and acquaintance of a large number of people in the world of art and architecture.'⁷¹ One of their sketching trips took them to Guildford, where Lorimer made a sketch of Dods "cribbing" his sketch book.⁷²

Dods - but not Lorimer - shared lodgings at 3, Vernon Place with Begg and Kitsell.⁷³ Kitsell was working on drawings for the Tite prize which he won in 1892.⁷⁴ He may have had other associations with Edinburgh because as early as 1885-6 he had sketched Caroline Park, and the drawings were illustrated in the 'Builder' in 1892 (fig.13). Much time was spent by them also, at the South Kensington Museum, of which Dods was supposed to be a great authority.⁷⁵ They showed an interest in old things, and were keen collectors. Begg was to say later - 'I remember when we were students together there was a joke about Lorimer "and his wee boxes", tea caddies and so on, he had picked up. Three of us used to go together, the third being R.S.Dodds (sic)...When we were in London once, Lorimer and Dodds stopped to gaze into the window of an antique shop in the King's Road. Suddenly their eyes lighted at the same time on a Chippendale tray, and both made a dive to get in.

They got jammed in the doorway, and they struggled for a moment, but Dods was smaller and thinner, and he got in first and snatched the tray'.⁷⁶

They shared a number of friends including Bodley, Norman Shaw and Walter Topper known to them as 'Tapp'.⁷⁷ Lorimer, however, was a shy person, and according to Begg - 'had not many friends, but to those who enjoyed that privilege he ever proved a loyal and devoted companion'.⁷⁸ Dods had probably moved to London some time after Lorimer because he is listed as the twelfth member on the work class committee of the Edinburgh Architecture Association in 1889-90⁷⁹ and again for 1890-1.⁸⁰ As Lorimer is given as the conductor of the 'Design for presbyterian church' in 1890-1 which must have been after his return from London,⁸¹ their time there together may have only been for a few months.

The approach to design of Lorimer and Dods shows much in common. 'Mr. Dods was an enthusiast in craftsmanship and while in England took an active part in the Arts Workers Guild and also the Arts and Crafts Society', and perhaps it was he who drew Lorimer to them. Dods was a prolific exhibitor at the Arts and Crafts Society exhibitions at which Lorimer also exhibited. Dods - 'was an untiring collector of furniture and craftwork of every sort. His love of technical excellence did much to raise the standards of craft work in Queensland' but that was later.⁸² They travelled fairly extensively on the

Continent visiting museums and old buildings and, as always, collecting assiduously within their means. Dods drew up a list of Italian phrases to help him in this, such as - 'It is old but not in very good condition. It is good but not very old. What is your lowest price for these things all together'.⁸³

The study of history and a close acquaintance with old buildings from taking their measurements was an important part in the training of most architectural apprentices in the latter part of the 19th century. The transactions of the Edinburgh Architects Association contain for the most part accounts of historical buildings or of visits to them. Lorimer and Dods' interest transcended the merely archeological. They were not mere copyists, but ~~were~~ interested in re-establishing vernacular building as a living style. Dods is supposed to have met William Morris in person, which might well have taken place in Edinburgh in 1889.⁸⁴ Lorimer refers to 'your friend Mackintosh' in a letter to Dods but whether this indicated friendship or merely someone whose work Dods appreciated, one cannot be sure. Dods, unlike Lorimer, seems to have evinced some interest in Art Nouveau, the ~~other~~ art movement of the times trying to do new things. Dods met Charles Rennie Mackintosh in Italy in 1891 but - 'there is no evidence of any closer personal association. Dods made no great excursion into the realms of Art Nouveau'.⁸⁵ Like Lorimer, his predominant interest was in vernacular style based on

local materials and local crafts. They were not 'stylists' fundamentally but strove more to design in ways truthful to the nature of the materials they were using. This constitutes their main difference with Rowand Anderson and suggests the most likely reason which took Lorimer to London to work with Bodley.

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Chapter 2

1. Lorimer becomes a private practitioner

Lorimer's first private commission was a house in Arthur Road, Wimbledon, London, for his uncle Dr. George Wyld. Dr. Wyld wrote - 'I engaged the services of my cousin, young Robert Lorimer, a pupil of Mr. Bodley, who drew under my suggestions, the plan of the house, and having found an honest builder, we set to work...and when it was all finished, I entertained some 30 workmen at a supper of cold meat and beer and we had many songs and speeches'. This note was extracted from Dr. Wyld's 'Notes of my life'.¹

The next commission which Lorimer received was in Scotland and he resigned from Bodley's office to carry it out. He was asked to restore Earlshall, a 16th century house in ruinous condition. It was work in the tradition of Rowand Anderson and Bodley, both of whom had done many restorations. Earlshall is situated near Leuchars in Fife and Lorimer was able to use his parents' home, Kellie Castle, as a convenient base. Many of the drawings for Earlshall were done there, and as a keen cyclist he would have found the 12 mile ride in each direction no imposition. He wrote to Dods in 1897 that on one day he had 'biked from Thornton to Wemyss - 5-6 miles. Spent an hour and a half, did all they wanted, biked to Kirkcaldy 6 miles. Got 1.15 train and was in here again (15 Queen Street) by 2.15. Then just now biked out to Colinton and lunched

with Miss G.W...one gets a lot of air and exercise too, which is the best part of it all'.²

The date of Lorimer's return to Scotland is probably late 1891 or early in 1892 because, according to Stuart Matthew, he engaged his first help in the office within the first year of practice. This apprentice was a young lad J.F. Matthew who signed with him on April 3rd 1893, and who was destined to become successively his improver, chief assistant, office manager and finally junior partner.

Stuart Matthew related how Lorimer approached his father J.F. Matthew, and asked him to come to work for him. At that time - 'he was working in a booksellers, but he was not only interested in books, he was interested also in Books and pageantry and ceremony, and this is where my father came in particularly. My father had made a little model of Holyrood, when he was a page in the retinue of the Lord High Commissioner - the first Marquis of Linlithgow - I think. My father had been resident in Holyrood for about a fortnight, this shortly after he had entered Stevensons, a famous bookshop on the mound, later Bauermeisters, I think. A friend of my father was the other page. After the event, my father made the model which he gave to his friend. The parents put the model on their mantelpiece. It was a house in a quite poor part of town. Shortly afterwards the lady who came to collect the rent saw the model and said "Oh! I think this would be of interest to my brother at Greenhill Park" - who was

Robert Lorimer. He was very taken with it, as model-making was one of my father's keen interests. Lorimer discovered about Stevensons and went down and asked my father if he would like to work with him. My father did not hesitate except that he had then to approach the tetchy Mr. Stevenson. Lorimer said "Well, I'll give him your week's wages in lieu of notice, and you can start straight away".³

Lorimer set up office soon after his return to Edinburgh. In 1893 the R.S.A. catalogue lists his address as 49, Queen Street where his office remained until 1914, when he moved it to Great Stuart Street.

Lorimer began to play a part in the affairs of the Edinburgh Architectural Association in the session of 1892-3. Rowand Anderson was vice-president and Lorimer one of the six members of council. Both were on the sketch-book committee.⁴ On Saturday the 22nd of April 1893, Lorimer conducted members of the association on a visit to Earlshall at which he read a paper describing the history of the house.⁵

Lorimer remained on these committees in 1893-4,⁶ during which session papers were read by Frank Deas, (a close friend of his) and Rowand Anderson. The records of the association reveal an overriding influence of history upon all its activities. Almost without exception the papers given describe ancient houses, castles or kirks. The predominant concern was to take stock of Scotland's building heritage. The only paper of these sessions to reveal the

slightest concern for theory is one read by Thomas Ross, upon the formal garden, to accompany a visit to Biel. The considerable technical changes of those times went unremarked in these papers.

2. Early work

The Royal Scottish Academy received work from Lorimer soon after his return to Edinburgh and in 1893 he put in his design for the gatehouse and stables for Earlshall. The drawing is his own and was illustrated later in 'The Builder' in 1895 (fig.1). The drawing shows a long low building with small and infrequent windows which give a withdrawn character. Evidently Mr. Mackenzie found it too withdrawn for the gatehouse which exists is a later less austere design.

Lorimer commissioned John Begg to prepare also an exhibition drawing of the scheme for the house and garden. This drawing also appeared in 'The Builder' with Lorimer's own drawing (fig.2), and was shown at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1896 as exhibit no.502. He also sent the design for a reredos for the Episcopal church of St. Anne's, Dunbar, and a garden gateway in Banffshire. This must have been the first job upon which J.F. Matthew worked because another drawing of this gateway at Aberlour House, has the words 'our first job' pencilled on its back.⁷ From this time Lorimer exhibited regularly every year at the R.S.A. annual exhibition.

The work of Lorimer which has been discussed so far has strongly reflected his grounding in the antique but by 1893 another facet of his work had emerged also which cannot be attributed wholly to his earlier training. In that year he received his first commission for a suburban house - a so-called cottage - for Miss Guthrie Wright, yet another commission which was to be very influential to his development as a designer.

'Colinton Cottage', as it was to be called is 'L' shaped in plan, and long and low (fig.3). It is set at an angle to the road, so that the arms of the 'L' enclose a roughly triangular forecourt. The main entrance is in the crook of the 'L' with a curved staircase tower placed on the far side from the crook. Whitewashed harling covers the walls and the roof is tiled. The details, including the chimney stacks, are plain to the point of severity. The half hipped gable on the south facade is not Scottish in origin (fig.4), but was a form much used by Norman Shaw. It occurs in the vernacular building of Norway, Denmark, and the South of England (fig.5).

What might be the prototypes for this departure in style? Pugin's vehement advocacy of the 'truth' in the gothic style had led to some plain buildings of simple unadorned construction, and this in Scotland as well as England (figs.6-11). Lorimer's cottages, however achieved a certain distinction beyond these buildings. It owes nothing to Voysey who had built very little by 1893. Nor does the contemporary work of Ernest Newton, Ernest George,

Edwin Lutyens, E.J. May, Aston Webb or Guy Dawber suggest any influences. The work of these architects shows that almost all the well known British architects of the day were producing increasingly plain houses amongst their output (figs.12-19).

Voysey in 1888, followed by Lorimer in 1893, had produced simple white houses which both reflect vernacular influences, but there the similarity ends. Voysey's houses nearly all have hipped roofs, wide spreading eaves and wide southern windows (figs.20-24), whereas the typical Lorimer house has the shorn Scottish eave, rather small windows and a mixture of hips and gables. The overall character which this produces is decidedly northern (fig.25).

The roots of Lorimer's Colinton manner of designing cottages can be seen within the vernacular, as can those of most domestic buildings designed by his contemporaries. It is easy, therefore to see only this influence and to underestimate or even discount the contribution made by each of these architects to early 20th century design. H.H.Statham, writing in 1897, already felt Lorimer was displaying too much interest in the vernacular. He noted how Lorimer had made it - 'a special object to follow the style of the old houses in the district'. Lorimer, he said, had suggested this - 'as the proper way to design houses for a district in which there are any special peculiarities of building'.⁸ Indeed, a note by Lorimer himself accompanying his design for a manse at West Wemyss (which was not executed) which

'The Builder' published in 1895 reads that the manse - 'was designed in the manner that was once traditional in the Fife coast towns'⁹ (fig.26). Statham as editor of the leading architectural magazine of the day would have a duty to discuss all sorts of design, but his design for a new facade to his own offices suggest that perhaps his strictures meant no more than a distaste for an austerity with which he, himself, cannot have sympathised (fig.27).

3. The promise of his early work

What did Lorimer himself feel about his early work? He had been in practice for four years, when these early days of deep debate with his closest confidants came to an end with Dods' departure for Australia. Lorimer was deeply moved. '20 May 1896 - parted from Dods at 8.30 criterion smoking room, having dined - 4 of us, Dods Begg, J.H. [R.S.Ls brother], self, when this little partie carré meets again - if it does - will any of us have produced anything worth? Mem: to note down what stage we have all reached at this date and when next we meet. Next morning J.H. and I left for Iaon (where I write this). J.H. "garde son lit" with a bad cold and headache - I here walking about "cooling my hands in the grey twilight of gothic things" and wondering if I also will be able to do it someday seeing I am now 31 years old, and just completing

Ellary - St. Marnocks, Balvannan, Dr. Downies, Colinton, St. Salvadors house and chapel and sundry alterations'.¹⁰

The note conveys clearly his sense of loss at this parting of the ways. The feeling is also there that life was passing without too much to show for it, and he noted down elsewhere in this book how up to the age of 40 Hokusai displayed no particular genius, according to his own modest judgment there was no special quality in what he produced before he was 70, & he believed that 'At 90 I shall penetrate the mystery of the world'.¹¹

This letter shows that Lorimer was getting the usual variety of work which came to a young architect. Ellary, was the restoration of an earlier house by Bryce after it had burned down. The billiard room is an addition. The wood detailing and panelling is in the rich semi-gothic style for which Lorimer became noted (fig.28). St. Marnocks (fig.29) was an old building much altered in the 18th and 19th centuries to which he made further alterations. They are done well but the overall impression of this house is muddled.

Dr. Downie's house was the second cottage to be designed in Colinton by Lorimer (fig.30). Its composition follows 'Colinton Cottage' closely. It is 'L' shaped in plan and the south and north facades are composed of similar elements, with the exception of the staircase, which is moved into the forward projecting wing of the 'L'. One other difference is that it is smooth harled and this suggested the lighter construction of brick. The other

cottages, both by their rough harling and by their proportions suggest the weightier construction of their stone walls. No work on St. Salvadors at this early date is mentioned in the papers which remain, but Lorimer was casual in his titling and work on the College gate at St. Andrews may refer to St. Salvadors.

The discontent with his work which Lorimer's early letters reveal was to persist for some years and it is through the letters which passed to Dods in the next 25 years that we know of it. Lorimer had few close friends and was considered an arrogant man by too many people for this to be entirely prejudice. If arrogance is too much to charge him with, he was a proud man, undoubtedly, who had a very high opinion of his own abilities from his earliest days in practice and one who was not always successful in wooing others - especially clients - to his particular opinions. Many of his letters display a contempt for his clients. In 1896 he wrote - 'Was at Ellary last week for the last time luckily they were away, so had a quiet look round with Orr. I got most of it painted before the bride came on the scene - but she insisted on having her own way with the Billiard room. My nice billiard room and do you know what the pig-headed idiot has done - painted all the woodwork and the plaster dado imitation burr walnut with the most putrid yellow paper on the walls...Orr says it's the only room in the house they like, I simply burst out laughing, and it's like a brothel in Pimlico and I'll spare you the furniture'.¹² The vehemence of Lorimer's opinions may well

reflect also the uncertainty of himself as a designer caught up between his admiration of aristocratic and backward looking ways of living and the emergent democratic pressures of the 20th century. He had been called in already to do a variety of jobs at Kellie Castle in the first years of his practice. In 1897 he described how he was engaged on - 'the restoration of the drawing room at Kellie Castle!!!' He wrote to Dods - 'Must tell you about the drawing room at Kellie. We got sick of that yellow paper pasted over the panelling etc., so resolved to have it off. Had a man along who tore off the whole thing and disclosed panelling most of it of the consistency of buttery oat cakes. (Moral always paint panelling on the back) - well during the spring time (Easter) we had the Wheelers turned on and started mending away and panelled some bits where there was just canvas before and faked up various bits and got the Claws to carve a smacking cartouche with our crest to stick against the cornice of the end chimney piece - and 3 cartouches to stick against the cornice of the chimney piece, the centre one with the misters initials and the 2 side ones with Batistes and mine. Then you'll remember that over the side chimney piece there was a whacking panel where a picture had been in the old days a fore time - well, we're put in a bolection moulding round this, and stretched a canvas on it and J.H. has asked Mrs. Traquair to paint a picture on it, which she's agreed to do - practically. Won't that be ripping having that dear little lady staying in this house for about a month, painting this. We've

mended the panelling everywhere except on the north wall where you'll remember there had evidently been a huge tapestry panel'.¹³ Before long he was able to write exultantly of buying 'a tapestry for the blank space in the drawing room and after much haggling got it for 90£. 14ft x 10ft with a border crowded with figures and in good condition, so I think it was dirt cheap as Adams would have asked £250 without blushing'.¹⁴

The Wheelers were joiners from the village of Arncroach for whom Lorimer subsequently remodelled their cottage 'Lundie'. The Clows were carvers, two brothers from Edinburgh who worked almost entirely for Lorimer and Batiste and Mrs. Traquair were painters. Lorimer was so delighted with this work at Kellie that he told Dods the whole story a second time in another letter a few weeks later. By then Mrs. Traquair had agreed to spend the month of August on the 7ft x 5 ft panel. She was going to paint - 'a sort of spring subject. A whole tribe of girls led on by Cupid - with a wierd wood behind and a stream coming down, and the whole thing powdered with roses falling down, in the manner of our dear friend Sandra'.¹⁵ Sandra Dose was an Indian painter who, like Mrs. Traquair, had one of the Dean Studios in Belford Road.

These early letters to Dods contain details of work at Earlshall similar to that at Kellie, and they show not only the variety of Lorimer's early restoration work but also the degree to which he was immersed in it through his

family. His passion for collecting decorative bric-a-brac of all kinds never left him, and he shared his predilection for representational painting with his brother John, a painter of portraits and 'story' paintings.

The past had a very strong influence on him. 'I was at Wemyss today and it always effects me the same as Earlshall. I want to be left alone to dream, and dream by the hour about the "right kind of stuff to do and the right kind of life to lead" as you put it. There was nobody there today...my chapel...good old "Norman Crypt," and went and strolled about the delicious room. It's not that there's anything wonderful about them but they have an atmosphere!'¹⁶

Yet even as he became more and more enmeshed in the art and architecture of the past, so part of him yearned for new things. Later in this letter he related how he was in London where he 'bought hardly anything' because he was - 'trying to get more and more off buying old furniture - it is so much more satisfactory to get sweet smelling new stuff made...Don't you think to collect the typical products of our own times, would be far more interesting thing to do than this of collecting the flotsam and jetsam of the so called "good old days"'.¹⁷

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Chapter 31. The ups and downs of Lorimer's early practice

Lorimer was well established as a domestic architect by 1897, working almost entirely in Scotland. His formative years were past and he was working consistently to the beliefs of the Arts and Crafts movement. His cottages in the Colinton manner had begun to attract notice, and he was known also for his sympathetic remodelling of old buildings.

What further opportunities came his way, and how did he meet them? The Arts and Crafts had been a purifying movement from its inception. The primary aim was to rediscover the right uses of material. The method was evolutionary. Appropriate threads from the past were to be abstracted and rewoven to forms appropriate to the present. The aim was a worthy one, yet it contained its own seeds of decay, in that it sought to revive handcrafts and to avoid the use of power machinery. Perhaps even more harmful for the continuance of the movement was the necessity for each architect to select and retain those things of the past which he felt to be worthy for re-use. It was inevitable, therefore, that different architects saw different things as worthy of re-use and that with this rich store of precedent to draw upon, that their choices should vary also, from job to job. Thus the outcome of these beliefs was little more than a restrained eclectism.

Lorimer was no exception to this, and since nearly all his work continued to be in Scotland, his work reflected mainly Scottish precedent. However, he was making friends elsewhere who would give, in time, opportunities to work in a number of places outside Scotland.

Lorimer felt himself to be struggling against difficult odds. He wrote in August 1896 - 'Beginning to feel in the deepest depths of gloom about "my practice" and looking forward to a winter on the streets when yesterday up comes a bloke called Major Seton saying he had been much charmed by my Earlshall drawing in the U.S.A. and thought I was the man to restore an old place he had recently succeeded to in Aberdeenshire'.¹ The scheme for rebuilding this house called Mounie, was to cost £10,000. The drawing is not signed but is different in style to either Lorimer or Begg. It was published in the 'Builder' (fig.1). It showed, said Lorimer that - 'exhibiting drawings isn't such a mistake after all.'

Many architects of Lorimer's day thought that exhibiting drawings and having them published in magazines was a form of advertisement unbecoming to a gentleman. Lorimer, himself, showed no such reluctance and was so eager for more work that he sought every opportunity. He bargained with editors for as wide a coverage of his work as possible, and cuttings from newspapers describing country house fires, tucked in to his office diaries, recall how he would write back to their owners offering his services. Ellary was one such house and Monzie Castle another. He used to

press his friends to further his interests with an eagerness which they found embarrassing at times.

By the end of 1896, Lorimer wrote of starting one cottage in Colinton and of working on two more for Miss Guthrie Bright, as well as of designing an entrance for Balcarres. The lodge for the entrance, he thought would be - 'rather snippy in the Scots French style a la Queen Mary's baths', which are at Holyrood.² However next May he was complaining that trade was dull again,³ by which he meant that he was reduced to three cottages in Colinton and seven other small jobs. His confidant, Dods, must have told him to stop worrying so much, because in December he wrote to him saying that despite - 'the streets looming in the distance' - he was - 'taking to heart more than ever, your sage advice - that whatever you get to do put your backside into it, and make a friend of the man for life if you can'.⁴

Lorimer was given to worrying about money habitually, and it is likely, therefore, that he exaggerated the struggles of his early years in practice. Early in 1898 he had in hand approaching £15,000 of work and wrote that he was awaiting - 'a huge boom coming out in the builder - 3 double plates, (I made it a special condition with Statham to publish them all in one number) and I'm going to send this round to about 100 people or more - which I think is a rare good thing to do. It just keeps people in mind of one's existence so I am in hopes that as the year is yet young, this may fruit in the way of some jobs'.⁵



Yet as the year closed he reported yet again a shortage of work. He had - 'nothing in prospect for this winter but ... one house'. However despite these complaints he noted that he had saved £600 in the year.⁶ The work executed in those early years suggests that he earned enough to live comfortably as a bachelor, but not enough to keep him fully stretched all the time. Partly, this was the result of the speed with which he worked and his boyish enthusiasm for his work. He told Dods - 'Oh what a happy weekend I had last week, had sketched out the plan for another Colinton house, but never seemed to be getting at it ... Got to Bruntisfield and started Sat. afternoon about 3 - worked till 12.30 - Sunday morning, came down unscrapped and sans collar and worked from 10 am till 12.30 pm ... finished the whole thing including a set of tracings, which I submitted and got approved the next afternoon and its the best plan yet ... You know it's a real score having had a lot of these houses to do one after the other - one couldn't have better practice'.⁷

Lorimer kept a small staff in the 90s and the first individual mention of any member was when he found it impossible to pay Matthew the £15 due to him at the end of his apprenticeship in 1897.⁸ It was always Lorimer's practice, as Mrs. Swan recalls, that fees whenever they came in, would be invested immediately. The office expenses were paid from a bank overdraft and since he didn't watch the level of this overdraft, the limit was sometimes reached unexpectedly. Further advances would be refused

by the bank. The staff had then perforce to wait for their salary until a new working arrangement had been agreed.

Lorimer's reputation was growing and he was able to attract a number of very able pupils. Ramsay Traquair, the son of Phoebe Traquair, a close friend, had joined him by 1898. Lorimer mentions that Ramsay was about to have another go at 'the Pugin' and that 'the pupil was with him'.⁹ Percy Nobbs, who like Traquair, ultimately went to the university of McGill as a professor, seems to have been engaged from time to time and on a temporary basis to undertake particular jobs. 'The pupil and I have been doing a huge panel of embroidery for the gallery', in Glasgow wrote Lorimer, - 'Orpheus charming the birds and beasts, 12ft x 6ft. Nobbs was here a week drawing it onto the linen'.¹⁰ A year or two later Nobbs won the Tite prize.¹¹

Help on presentation drawings continued to be engaged as needed, and Victor Horsburgh an old colleague in Rowand Anderson's office was used regularly in this way. Lorimer was going along steadily but he still had doubts whether he was achieving enough by it. He asked Dods whether he shouldn't be putting himself - 'out of joint over competitions for all kinds ~~and forms of~~ buildings - because here I am always over little things - and look here old man I really want your advice about this. It's a great problem, this of what line to take. Am I to go on as I am taking what I can get and enjoying doing it or should I make a great effort to get into a big commercial practice, for

which as you know I've no turn!¹² Dods, was himself to reach this position in 1914, when he removed from Brisbane to Sydney.

Not every architect is as successful with large scale work as with small buildings. Norman Shaw is one example of an architect who was able to design both with equal success, whereas Dods who had made a considerable name for himself in domestic design in Brisbane failed to make a similar impact in Sydney as a partner in a commercial practice. However his failing health may also have contributed to this.

J.J. Burnet, a Glasgow architect, and contemporary of Lorimer's moved to London where his commercial practice became the largest. Lorimer professed a dislike for commercial buildings because of - 'the way they have to be rushed up' because he felt it led to scamped workmanship, and he did not relish the responsibilities of - 'keeping of an enormous staff' - to cope with such rushes - 'isn't it better to steer clear of the thing altogether?'¹³

Lorimer had begun practising as a domestic architect because this was the work which first came his way. If after 1900 he continued mainly as such, it was from his own deliberate choosing. His reasons were both stylistic and managerial. In the first place he found most contemporary commercial buildings vulgar in one way or another and he disliked the classical idiom in which much of it had to be designed. He preferred the close contact of a small staff (and the smaller overheads of such an office).

The office remained small, yet work outside Scotland began to come in regularly. The emphasis in the office was always on speed - 'Did rather a quick thing the other day'. He had received a letter from Mrs. Salvesen on Wednesday morning about a wooden house to be built in Norway and of the local architects 10 weeks delay in getting out plans. Lorimer needed no further invitation. He - 'went over to tea and discussed the matter', and that very evening after he had come away he produced a sketch design. He put in two $8\frac{1}{2}$ hour days on working it up, and was able to post - 'complete plans, elevations and sections traced and coloured at 6 on Friday. Went to tea on Sunday and got whole thing settled. Drew all the $\frac{1}{2}$ " in about 4 days and Morsburgh is to start "washing" the $\frac{1}{8}$ " scale on Monday. Pretty sloppy don't you think?'¹⁴ Later in 1901 the working drawings also, were farmed out to Morsburgh.¹⁵

Since Lorimer could not be on site to supervise the erection, the client, later Lord Salvesen - engaged someone - 'who had once been a builder of sailing ships but who owing to the fact that no more sailing ships were being built at that time, had had to turn his attention to house building.'¹⁶ (~~Lord Salvesen reminiscences~~) the results were satisfactory all round (fig. 2).

Lorimer, it is clear, was capable of sustained bouts of exceedingly hard work, yet he continued to keep regular office hours. He aimed to reach the office a few minutes past nine.¹⁷ Matthew had become his office manager, but as an officer in the army reserve was mobilised for the

Boer War in 1900, together with a former apprentice called Lawrence, who had just finished his time with Lorimer, and had been sacked. 'Luckily I've been able to get a good deal of help from outlander Begg but it's not a paying business giving Matthew $\frac{1}{2}$ pay all the time he's away and paying Begg 2/6 an hour to do his work - however it's a blessing to get hold of a chap that's any use, though I must say, I think there's rather a lack of energy about Begg'.¹⁸

Matthew was warmly welcomed back to the office by Lorimer when he returned from the Boer War in 1901. 'Just think poor wee me has got a staff of 5 at present', he told Dods, which suggests a larger number than he had been accustomed to, - 'Matthew back from the war, and twice the man physically he was when he went. He had a fortnight's holiday - to see his friends etc - I handed him £40 being half pay for the year and he started work on Monday, as if he'd only been away for a week in place of 15 months hard campaigning. He's a rare useful sort of man and I'm glad to have an office boss again I wanted one badly. The others are a 30 bob a weeker, and a quid a weeker, and the pupil and boy'.¹⁹

Matthew was the lynch pin of the office and Mrs. Swan recalls how - 'On occasions Lorimer would blaze away at Matthew, who would stand silently and without arguing back. The rest of the staff were young and were worried by these outbursts. Later Matthew would come back, crack a few jokes, and get people's minds off the row. He was scrupulously fair and everyone liked him. Sir Robert

never apologised to Matthew'.²⁰ Matthew oiled the wheels in the office and kept everyone's spirits up. 1900, the year of Matthew's absence in Africa is, apart from the war years 1917-18, the only year in Mussey's list which records no new jobs. This small office had managed to turn out 25 jobs in the first 9 years of practice, and Lorimer was to receive 49 jobs in the next 10 years (1900 - 10). He had begun to receive a number of jobs outside Scotland also.

2. Friends and associates in Scotland

Lorimer's letters make it very clear that he liked the work that he was doing and the kind of client he was getting. His private life shows him making new friends who shared his wide range of interests. After the departure of Dods, Lorimer wrote to him regularly, and continued on friendly terms with Begg. Two other names, Deas and Kinross began to appear regularly in his letters to Dods. He referred to Deas, a fastidious bachelor, as - 'Dear old introspective Frank'.²¹ He lunched with him,²² had him to Kellie Castle,²³ visited Oxford with him in 1896,²⁴ and London in 1897.²⁵

Lorimer viewed Deas with an affection tinged with a condescension for what he regarded as a streak of preciousness in him. 'There's a queer twist about him' he wrote, 'One thing I never could stand is his self-consciousness. I'm as keen on "impressions" and on the "emotional" side

as anyone - but you can't have this kind of thing for breakfast dinner and supper!' What can you think? Lorimer asked of - 'a man who goes to Italy 3 years running for 6 weeks at a stretch and never makes a sketch for fear it would spoil the impression etc. etc. Well don't tell me this man can ever be a productive artist'.²⁶ Perhaps this friendship had the attraction of opposites, because they remained close friends throughout life despite their differences.

John Kinross was an older architect known also to Dods, who entrusted Lorimer with a message for Kinross on one occasion.²⁷ Lorimer however also had misgivings about Kinross, who displayed an extravagance which both fascinated and horrified him. 'The Johnny K's are building their house at Blackford', he told Dods, 'I think she's far the best character of the two, though I think even she is getting a little polluted, by all his damn gilt furniture and gold plate for dinner ideas. It entirely arises from the fact that he wasn't a gentleman by birth. It's the side of him that always riles me, and I always quite rabidly take opposite - the white wash and pewter and jug of wild flowers tack. When I have a house and he comes to dine with me I don't believe he'll ever come back'.²⁸

Their friendship was to continue for a while longer, and in 1899, he wrote again that - 'Johnny K is building a house at North Berwick that is infinitely finer than anything' (that Mitchell and Wilson ever did). The house was called Carlskemp and it was designed in the Tudor style (for the brother of the client for whom Lorimer built

Whiteholm nearby, a white harled cottage). Lorimer considered Carlskemp an extravagant house - 'God help the man that has to pay for it. But Johnny K's own house - it seems to me a fate that no architect can build a house for himself...the plan is fearfully common and he's overdone the plasterwork most frightfully. No sooner is the door opened than you're hit in the eye by any amount of thistles, then when you're through the glass door, here's the soffit of the stair covered with great rose sprigs. The ceiling of Mrs K's bedroom is a mass of stuff and such stale mottoes as east west ~~h~~hames best worked in. Just think of it! and the nursery a segmental ceiling and entirely covered with huge roses about 12" diameter. The only decent bit in the place is his own dressing room, where he couldn't make up his mind what to do, so got my tame modeller Sam Wilson who gave him a feeble imitation of the vine trees he had been doing for me at Bigland's a few months before and the money the blockhead must have squandered on the place, I don't believe he'll ever be able to pay for it - really in some ways he's an awful rotter - I rarely see them now'.²⁹

Lorimer's letters are so spontaneous and unconsidered, that it is difficult to know whether he is merely weighing good and bad in his friends, as we all do, or whether they display a deeper seated envy. Kinross's house is nothing extraordinary outside, and these strictures on the interior, reflect more a distaste for seeing his rival doing so well for himself, than any disagreement about his approach to

design. 'Your name is not Kinross' he told Dods, as a reason for not buying an antique table which Dods has asked him to, but which was too expensive in Lorimer's opinion.³⁰ However, later in 1902 Lorimer related how he had had a big evening with Kinross to discuss something severely practical, - 'Getting his views of my Rowallan stables, which I think I've got pretty good now, I find stables most troublesome'.³¹

George Washington Browne, was another older Edinburgh architect whom Lorimer mentioned regularly in his letters to Dods, and with the same ambivalence of feeling: 'I've always meant to tell you about "Miss Cranston's tearooms" - ...by "Wash" B - Redferns turned into Flemish Renaissance, with all the furniture, dishes, handles, pisspots, tables, painting every b... thing by Walton. Well you know what that Macintosh crowd can be when they fairly give themselves a bit of rope - "the studio" plus a bad dream'.³² If Lorimer disapproved of art nouveau in any form, Charles Holme the editor of Studio was equally unsympathetic to Lorimer and his work, and little of it appeared in the Studio.

Lorimer professed himself pleased with Washington Browne and his work on this occasion. 'As you know I've always had a great admiration for Wash because there's some power about him. Can do the whole thing himself and all that'. The approval was mutual, it seems: 'Wash stopped in a few weeks ago and said my frames of photos of Ellary were far the best things in the Glasgow Institute - and I

told him I had been drinking tea and art at Mrs C's a few days before'.³³

When Washington Browne later built himself a house, Lorimer's feelings suffered a change: 'Wash Browne has been scheming out a house in Dick Place and I went round the other day and overhauled it. You never saw such a common affair - a real cads house ... pink stone, very yellow harling and thinnest red tiles, and the plan! His whole garden overlooked by kitchen and scullery windows. I told him about Miss Jekyll's too', - that was Munstead Wood, - 'and he had the cheek to go down there and mention my name and get all through, and this is all it has taught him'.³⁴

Evidently Lorimer had not seen the interior of this house at this time, but his assistant Ramsay Traquair had told him that Washington Browne was going - 'to panel all the room except the attics!! and think of panelling all your rooms, and then to save money having great beastly wooden dormers in place of stone ones.'³⁵ Again these remarks seem as much tinged with envy as malice. He continued - 'there's your wonderful man who's reeling off schools and insurance offices and banks and God knows what else',³⁶ and all these are types of building which never came Lorimer's way. If he wrote that he preferred the life of the small office and the kind of work he was getting, his strenuous efforts to increase the volume of work of his practice suggest that he would not have refused such commissions had they been offered to him.

This last letter which is undated was written some time in 1899. He wrote again in 1900, telling Dods - 'Poor Wash' Browne lost his wife the other day - very sad when they had just got settled down into their new house in Blackford Road; and there the poor chap is left with a family of 2 young children and a high art house'.³⁷

After parting from Dods in London, some years before Lorimer had gone on to France with his brother - 'You'll recall our tragic parting in the Cri-smoke room. Bloody it was. Well J.H. and I got off in good time next morning. Spent a few hours cooling our hands in the grey twilight of Gothic things at Amiens'.³⁸ They went on to Laon and then to Paris to see some of his brother's paintings. 'J.H.s pictures are beautifully hung and they've given him a second medal for his "marriage de convenance" as well as buying old Jack Thomson, so they could hardly have used him better, and old Thomson is to go to the Luxembourg too. It's really a great honour the government only buys 5 or 6 pictures each year and they don't by any means all go to the Luxembourg. But the director told J.H. that he meant to have old Jack T and no kid'.³⁹

Every painting had to tell its story for Lorimer, and he had no use for painting as a way of exploring form in the abstract. He was, he said - 'very much knocked over by a large picture by Magnan', which he saw on this trip. It was called the Apotheosis of Carpeaux, the sculptor who had done the sculpture at the centre of the fontaine de l'observatoire in the Luxemburg gardens. 'The old boy is

represented asleep in his studio' and Lorimer goes on to describe all the details of this picture. He believed this kind of painting was - 'Modern Art - and historical art in the real sense - not like that jumble of antiquarian rubbish of abbeys in the R.A. It doesn't appeal to the eyes. A thing like that if you're well posted in Shakespeare and history and 101 things you can read something into it'.⁴⁰

Lorimer enjoyed foreign travel keenly, but in 1897 he felt that he tended to be too restless - 'I think I'll just sit tight this year, and see a lot of Scotland on my bike.'⁴¹ 1897 was also the year in which he met William Burrell, a young shipowner and collector who was to become a very close friend. Burrell had come to Earlshall with his sister in the autumn, and Lorimer wrote to Dods that Burrell was - 'dying to get hold of an old place, and would turn me loose tomorrow if I could find one for him but I can't but he's a rare good chap to be in with and I'll land him in for something yet. He travels pretty well all over Europe 2 or 3 times a year visiting their agents and is a great buyer of furniture etc., and really has very fine taste (God knows where he got it and his knowledge from) I went through to spend a night with him a few weeks ago'.⁴³

He and Lorimer went to Holland together in the autumn of 1898 with Burrell's mother and 2 sisters. Lorimer found the company agreeable, the Hague delightful and Amsterdam enchanting. They visited the antique shops and

the museums, activities which filled much of the time of all Lorimer's tours abroad. The towns were ablaze with flags for the coronation of the young queen and there was dancing in the streets at night. 'You were not right without a peacock's feather - which were being hawked about the streets in bundles'. He spent £17-18 on his purchases - 'for which I think I'd have paid getting on for double over here or more. This was all thanks to Burrell. The man's a perfect nailer - A.1 taste very humorous and ready witted and any amount of chaff. He often reminded me of you'.⁴⁴

The tone of all Lorimer's letters show how greatly he admired Burrell - 'You never saw such a chap as that Burrell he's been all over the place on business since we were in Holland'.⁴⁵ In 1899 he wrote - 'I'm perfectly happy, and my friendship with the Glasgow shipowner Burrell makes up a little - only a little, for the loss of you - Bar yourself he's the keenest chap, I think I've ever struck, of course I'm out of sympathy with the kind of pictures he buys but we're in sympathy about a great deal'.⁴⁶ Burrell was an early collector of French Impressionist paintings, and such paintings were anathema to Lorimer, who would have collected Pre-Raphaelite paintings, had he collected any paintings of his own day.

Lorimer was hoping that Burrell would take him abroad to a sale of antiques, as his professional adviser but as he was single and Burrell's sisters were still spinsters, he said he had - 'to tread with extreme caution, because

he's awfully fond of his sister Mary who is a very nice girl, and very intelligent too about things - collects pewter, and has an old dresser in her bedroom, half full of it, but a Glasgow accent that you could cut with a kitchen saw and the trouble is to make it clear that one is not a candidate'.⁴⁷

In 1900 Burrell and Lorimer did a tour in Belgium and Germany. They travelled through Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels to Liege. Then to Cologne and up the Rhine by boat to Maintz and Wartzburg - 'where Willie says there are some shops'. Rothenburg where they ended up, he found to be - 'one of the most wonderful towns in existence. A pure Gothic town, all within its original walls and practically untouched since the days of "the bright glittering joyous art of the 14th c". The party included Burrell's mother, two sisters and a girl friend Mitchell. 'W.B. is a rare guide and dead keen on the fine things both in the shops and in the museums and galleries'.⁴⁸

Next month, Lorimer wrote another letter about this tour, and telling the news that Burrell and Mitchell had got engaged - 'the moonlight at Rothenburg proved too much for them'.⁴⁹ In due course Lorimer was asked to be his best man - 'I'm awfully pleased about it. He's rotting in money and 38 so it's time he was spliced, and she is an extremely pretty, most refined looking girl, with a quite angelic temper I should think it knocks our foreign tours on the head of course. 3 delightful trips, I look back on them with such huge pleasure'.⁵⁰

William Burrell bought a house in Glasgow and Lorimer remodelled it - 'He wants it very simple as he has such lovely

contents. I want to do a simple black and white floor in hall with oak walls balustrade etc, and give him a white drawing room in which to hang his Whistlers etc'.⁵¹ The wedding was followed by the - 'usual theatre party - for the bridesmaids - one of whom I felt I could love very dearly though there was rather a nice girl I was bossing at the wedding - who is simply worth pots - 100 thou sort of thing - but Lord how it would upset one's appplecart, if one married a girl with 3 or 4 thou a year. I would be drinking from sheer boredom after a few months and lapse into a sort of beery country gent'.⁵²

Burrell was so warmly regarded by Lorimer, that he must have had considerable influence on Lorimer. He strengthened Lorimer's interest in the antique, but he did not, as James Richardson believed, introduce him to it. It was an interest which was already strong in his student days. Burrell was instrumental in Lorimer meeting another great collector - 'Burrell asked me through several times to meet Sir J. Carmichael but I never could go. B. says they've got a splendid show of art objects at Glasgow. Am going through for the weekend on the 24th to have a good look. All Sir Js Gothic ~~iw~~ories, heaps of Burrell's stuff, and even your humble pal is represented by a few trifles'.⁵³

Such was Lorimer's admiration of Burrell that he even sent 2 of Burrell's letters to Dods - 'which I thought would amuse you. Isn't he a record breaker? Think of going into the question of a cradle with nice thoroughness, 2 or 3 months before the kid is due'.⁵⁴ Burrell was a very live

wire, and a little later Lorimer was complaining - 'think Burrell's house is going to drive me into an early grave - it's awful the amount of trouble and worry that has been expended on the thing and it ain't done yet'.⁵⁵

In 1902 Lorimer met Burrell in London, and introduced him to Lord Balcarras who gave them both lunch. Afterwards all three went to Christies to the sale of Sir Thomas Carmichael's collection. Sir Thomas owned Hailes Quarries just outside Edinburgh. Several years before the quarry had run out of good stone. The money to open another good seam was not forthcoming, as the use of stone was already declining and as a consequence Sir Thomas's income had suffered. Burrell bought - 'the most exquisite little picture by Lucas Cranach of cupid and Venus - a most delicious cupid offering a honeycomb to a perfectly nude Venus. That's to say she has on a necklace, and the jauntiest little German 15th century cap with a feather! Poor little cupid is sort of draped over with bees, having got badly stung, in his effort to get the honeycomb, a Latin legend at the top, Venus explains to him, that the stings that the bees have 'inflicted on him, are as nothing to the stings which his darts have inflicted on her'. Cranach you know flourished just about the same time as Durer and is a man whose work has a huge fascination for me. A sort of blending of late German Gothic and early Renaissance'.⁵⁶

Burrell had been married for some months when he took Lorimer to Paris for 2 days to look for tapestries.⁵⁷ Lorimer and he must have been meeting frequently because when

Lorimer went through to stay in Glasgow with them in August he told Dods it was his first visit for 6 weeks, as though this was a long time. Meanwhile Burrell had moved into Great Western Terrace, and his wife had had her first child. 'It's a mighty change from his former house which was a regular collector's house - now he's hardly hung up anything. Got it too bare in fact - but it's the right side to err on. His dining room looks very fine - the whole place hung with tapestries and in the centre a Gothic table by yours truly, and some good chairs and that's about all. He dines off the bare board, and I must say I'm old fashioned enough not to like it. I think there's something almost sacramental about the "cloth"'.⁵⁸

Lorimer was to do work on Hutton Castle for Burrell in 1916, but Burrell does not figure again in the correspondence.

Lord Balcarres was another influential man with whom Lorimer had many dealings. He was a client for whom Lorimer built gates and a lodge in 1896, in the - 'Scots French style a la Queen Mary's baths with a wee stone man on the top - in the Aberdeenshire fashion - the Aberdeen thing I havn't got into shape yet. Did the stables last night and am tackling the house tomorrow. Am feared he may stick the house for a year but hope he'll go on with stables and gardens this incoming spring. Must get a bird's eye view ont'.⁵⁹ The lodge was illustrated in the Builder (fig. 2).

The work on the house stables and gardens does not seem to have been carried but Lorimer built the estate offices at Balcarres in 1903-4. Lord Balcares was an active member of

a number of amenity committees including the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments⁶⁰, and later of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England⁶¹.

Lorimer's links with the world of art and collecting were wide and another client from this milieu was Mrs. Hamilton Bruce, widow of - 'the great collector of modern Dutch pictures, art objects etc. Trying to find her a site but haven't succeeded yet, meantime have got out sketch plans for the house! Not big, 4 thou or thereby'.⁶² This house was not built and only one small sketch plan has turned up in the Lorimer collection of drawings for a house for her in Peebles. An unexecuted house for Peebleshire of great charm and simplicity is illustrated in Shaw Sparrow (fig.3.)

Lorimer remained a bachelor during his first ten years in practice, and he was 38 years old when he married in 1901, and up till then he used his parents home at Kellie as a base for his work in Fife. No. 1, Bruntsfield Crescent, is the address in Edinburgh which occurs frequently on his private letters. It was the home of his Aunt Caroline with whom he stayed. In 1900 he wrote that the house was very dirty and that his aunt had offered to contribute £200 if he and his brother Jack - 'would do the rest'.⁶³ He also bought some antiques - 'some charming things - things I've known by sight for long but that no one would touch because they were too Jack plain'.⁶⁴ He chose other pieces which he modified, taking off vulgar handles and putting on little 'acorn drops'.

His letters suggest that he was amassing a considerable

collection of antique furniture, silver, china and glass. Where he was keeping it is not clear. As an eligible bachelor he was invited out a lot, and he led an active social life. He tells of going with a party to a dance at the Students Union where he was - 'awfully fetched by 17½ year old daughter of Eustace Balfour who was there (had met her at tea in the afternoon). A tall slip of a girl, and I suppose not pretty - but such a nice face and well - one never does know why, but one liked her tremendously'.⁶⁵ Eustace Balfour and his partner Turner were architects for Bites House in Park Lane, London, which Lorimer had visited earlier in the year - 'You never saw such a frost of a thing...it doesn't look as if it would kaintain [sic] a room big enough to - well - what you please - in'.⁶⁶ Two years later she invited him to a house party at the home of A.I. Balfour, M.P., sometime Chancellor of this University. Lorimer spent 3 days at Whittinghame, helped with a bazaar at Haddington and was pleased with the company, which included Lady Betty, Lutyen's sister-in-law (who was married to Gerald Balfour). Next week he was at Biel for 2 nights for dances there and at Yester (Gifford).⁶⁷

In 1901 and still unmarried, Lorimer bought a house, No. 54, Melville Street in Edinburgh. He had had such a purchase in mind for some years and he told Dods that there had been a 'terrific run' on houses in the West End - 'because the number of "pros" who have got to live within a given radius is large'. He was in treaty for the house next door also so that he could have his office next door to his

dwelling but does not seem to have been able to acquire it also.⁶⁸ Some rough notes for a letter, which was probably written to William Burrell, the Glasgow shipowner, display his jubilation on this purchase. 'A dead snip it was - I've a rare cute little agent for that sort of thing. Got it for £3,000. I let it next [day] for £180 - have to spend about ---- on it. ...I'm convinced it's the way for me to ... like you with your ships, going in for something one knows more about than other people - dead safe - always rising in value. Good experience for my business and meantime a return of 5 to 6 per c'.⁶⁹

Galletly, who was the 'cute little agent', commissioned Lorimer to build a billiard room as an extension to his house in Colinton - Inchdrewer. When it was complete a dance was held in it, which Lorimer attended. He met Dunn another architect who was - 'd - ming his partner all over the place - says he never does a stroke of work, and of course scoops up a certain amount of the ~~oot~~ - was strongly recommending me against partnerships - a small business that you look after yourself with a few fellows, is the best he says and I think from the practical point of view of making ~~oot~~ it's the best'.⁷⁰ The partner referred to was probably Watson but it may have been Finlay of Dunn and Finlay.

Lorimer was very much a man of affairs at heart, yet his letters continue to show the mixture of the most delicate sentiments with hard-headed practicality. Music was supremely important to him and he relates that his friendship with one girl had proceeded no further because - 'she didn't know a

note of music - and you know music means a marvellous lot to me'.⁷¹ His office diaries of later years are dated throughout with reminders for concerts.

3. Friends and associates in the south

Lorimer's first commission outside Scotland was to remodel a large Irish country house - St. Marnocks in Co. Dublin in 1893. A few other jobs outside Scotland came his way including a house in Helsinki which appeared in the Builder some years later (fig. 8). He had left London in 1891 but he kept up with his circle of friends there. In August 1897 he wrote to Dods that he had been elected - 'a member of the Art and Crafts, didn't know that my name was down even, though Crane had told Jack this some time ago. Appears I ought to be proud to be associated with C.R. Ashbee-Voysey etc. - anyway I accepted as it only costs 10/- a year'.⁷² It is interesting that his brother Jack was the first to hear of this honour, and it is typical of Lorimer that he should be un-impressed by the fellow members he was to join. He would have met many of them while working for Bodley.

The smaller houses in what he came to call his 'Colinton' manner⁷³ had appeared in the 'Builder' in 1895 and 1897, when they had attracted a lot of attention, according to the Editor. He was exhibiting embroidery and furniture at the annual exhibition of the Arts and Crafts exhibition society. Another Arts and Crafts acquaintance whom he greatly admired

was Gertrude Jeckyll. Lorimer had been introduced to her by one of his clients - Benson - some years before. 'She's a great authority on gardening, and arts and crafts, and a great character generally'. She had moved into her new home, Munstead Cottage in Surrey, 6 days before Lorimer met her for the second time and he wrote an enthusiastic 8 page letter on it. Lorimer told how she had bought - '20 or 30 acres of a copse across the road, and laid out a complete place there paths - gardens, bought a barn that was being demolished and re-erected it, and some other buildings about the garden - and left a hole in the centre of the ground for the house and now it's built... It looks so reasonable, so kindly so perfectly beautiful that you feel that people might have been making love and living and dying there, and dear little children running about for the last - I was going to say 1,000 years - anyway 600. They've used old tiles which of course helps but the proportion, the way the thing's built - (very low coursed rubble with thick joints and no corners) in fact it has been built by the old people of the old materials in the old "unhurrying way" but at the same time "sweet to all modern uses"...the whole house is whitewashed inside - from attic to basement and I think this is half the charm...who do you think did this for her - a young chap called Lutyens, 27 he is, and I've always heard him described by the Schultz School as a "society" architect. Miss J has pretty well run him'.⁷⁴

For once Lorimer voiced no objections whatever.

Munstead Cottage is by no means so simple as Lorimer's eulogy suggests, but he was very impressed also with Lutyens as an architect who had simply taught himself and was never in an office except for 9 months with E.G. and Ps (Ernest George and Peto). 'Joass has sometimes done work for him and says he's a nailer. It makes me feel a d-d fool - with one's years and years of "office experience"'.⁷⁵ Robert Weir Schultz who changed his name by deed poll to Robert Weir, was a London architect known to Lorimer and Dods. J.J. Joass was another architect whom they had known in London, and possibly even before then, since he had trained in Glasgow.

Lorimer must have got on well with Miss Je~~f~~kyll because he visited her from time to time and collaborated on several jobs with her. He spent at least one weekend at Munstead.⁷⁶ Lorimer's first house commissioned in England was ^{'Whinfold'} only a few miles from Munstead. 'Benson wrote to me some months ago that he was buying 12 acres of land in Surrey, on which he wanted me to build him a sort of overgrown cottage. I naturally said "All right" and when he was passing through Edinburgh 6 weeks ago took him out to see my Colinton houses, with which he was rather impressed'.⁷⁷ The design has much in common with the earlier Colinton Cottages, but the use of tile hanging for the upper floor and windows set almost flush with the outside face of the external walls gives it a southern character (fig.6). The gardens layout was by Gertrude Je~~f~~kyll.⁷⁸

The work in Surrey gave Lorimer more frequent opportunities for visiting his friends in England. On one such visit he spent Sunday with Bob Watson at his cottage near Farnham and went on to see his architect friend Weir Schultz in London. He attended the art workers guild there and afterwards met Inigo Thomas the garden designer, Dawber the architect, Whall and Davis, the stained glass artists, who were at Schultz's.⁷⁹

The friendship between Lorimer and the architect Robert Weir Schultz - was long but chequered. When Lorimer went south for the first visit to the site for 'Whinfold', he visited Schultz - 'to share the room - (thank God not the couch) of my renowned friend R.W.S.... I looked up sundry Grays Inn chaps in morning. My eye they are a useless crowd. Went to one place where 4 or 5 of them share an office in Staple Inn and they didn't seem to have 6d worth of jobs among the lot'.⁸⁰ He used this visit to London to buy so many antiques that he had to borrow £5 from Schultz to keep solvent.⁸¹

Louis Davis also became a close friend. Lorimer had used his paintings on a number of jobs. He told Dods - 'I don't think you met him but he's a ripper - a chap about 40 but as keen as a boy. Such a lovable chap. He and I became great pals at Oxford last year - and I think I told you he's going to do the altar piece at Wemyss'.⁸² Davis was a representational painter. He was competent but not adventurous and it is not surprising that he was the kind of painter with whom Lorimer could become close. He had

no close links with Art Nouveau artists such as were enjoyed by Mennie Mackintosh.

More frequent visits brought Lorimer closer to Edwin Lutyens - 'Did I tell you that I had pulled up with Lutyens' he asked Dods. He had visited Lutyens on his previous visit to London and on this occasion he found Lutyens a - 'very nice chap without any side'. He looked at and admired the drawings for Lutyens' Paris Exhibition Pavilion which he described as - 'a delightful house built round a courtyard', he also looked at a number of smaller house designs - 'all beautifully simple and straightforward', and he determined - 'to try to go to lunch with him the next Sunday I am up, and then go with him to old Shaws. I think it would be a nice ploy'.⁸³ It happened that he was able to take Lutyens to see Norman Shaw 11 months later. Lorimer had Sunday lunch with Lutyens, and noted - 'with whom I'm becoming very good pals'.⁸⁴ He went on to describe Lutyens' social connections by marriage with which he was very impressed and concluded - 'You can't expect to get gentlemen's houses to build, if you never come in contact with the people, who want to build them. L showed me some most interesting plans...I am going with him to see them in the spring'.

In 1898 Lorimer had written to Dods that he intended to make up a foursome to go to France next year with Davis Schultz and Brother Jack.⁸⁵ The trip was made and Schultz visited Edinburgh later in the year⁸⁶ but a love-hate relationship was beginning to appear. Lorimer had intended

to stay with Schultz on his next visit to London but he did not because he heard that Schultz had been - 'abusing me in his usual style, so I wrote Troupy a note and said I did not propose to avail myself of the barracks as I felt I couldn't stand his co-habitee. I know you never loved Schultz 'he wrote to Rods', and I must tell you that I've got so sick tired of him'.⁸⁷ 'Troupy or Troup was another domestic architect working in London.

Ernest Newton was yet another well known domestic architect whom Lorimer met in the south on a visit to the Playfairs, a family he knew from connections in St. Andrews. He found Newton - 'a most charming chap, doesn't much like the tactless and elephantine Schultz'. Schultz was doing a large country house costing £9,000 at this time and Lorimer said he - 'overhauled it but wasn't much impressed. Pretty common and he has the bay window of the coachman's living room as the feature which looks down the central vista of his garden, and the junction between his main house and his offices is just putrid. In fact "he who has made all knowledge his portion" hasn't come off in this case'.⁸⁸

Lutyens came up to Edinburgh in 1901, dined with Lorimer, who again found him charming. 'A most delightful boy. I can quite imagine us becoming great pals. He's coming to K for the week-end'.⁸⁹ Nothing more was said about this visit to Kellie, but hopes were expressed of visiting Italy with Lutyens.

He continued to meet Lutyens fairly regularly although Lutyens drops out of the Dods correspondence after 1906. He met him that year at the R.A. soiree, and was introduced to Belcher and Ernest George, both leading architects in the south, but the person with whom Lorimer was most taken was Detmar Blow. 'He's a man of the world, means to get work, and do it as well as he knows how'.⁹⁰ Blow was mainly a domestic architect and these sentiments were very much in tune with Lorimer's.

The view of the social mingling of architects of an Arts and Crafts leaning, which is depicted in these letters, is vivid and kaleidoscopic. Lorimer emerges as a man not given to half measures. He either enthuses or he damns as heartily. His only sign of irresolution was his alternation of moods towards certain architects for whom he may have felt some rivalry. Many, perhaps most, of his friendships endured and he continued to meet friends like the Tappers whenever he was in town.

4. Lorimer's own preferences in design.

Lorimer's letters give many indications of his own preferences in design. 'My idea of Bliss' - he wrote in 1902 - 'is to get home dog tired at about 6.30 to a beautiful white drawing room, and find a beautiful sweet girl playing Brahms or Chopin on the piano and an infant crowing and gooing on the hearth rug'.⁹¹ The image is

beguiling, and if only the barest essentials were sketched in, they reveal his strong poetic sense.

1905 found Lorimer writing - 'I'm longing for a man to come along to me and say 'look 'ere, young fellah, I'm a new man and I want a new house, constructed in the most up to date manner, and I want it to be characteristic of all the best that can be done now. I want new furniture, new pictures new everything. The only condition I make is that there be nothing old about it anywhere. Wouldn't that be a problem to make you spit on your hands and get your coat off. I believe if one had a free hand that there is enough talent about now to enable one to do a fine thing if one devoted 5 to 6 years to it. Think of the young sculptors one could give jobs to for garden sculpture and the pictures one would have painted for the over-mantels. Oh it would be scrummy'.⁹²

Like so many architects of his day, Lorimer was weaned ~~on~~ Victorian excesses of ornament, and like William Morris was seeking a form of design with an ethic. The search for an ethic in design was shared by earlier men like Pugin and Greenhaugh. How Lorimer viewed Morris is described in another letter of December 1896. The S.A.A. had asked him for the second time to give them a paper. He told Dods that he had offered to do - 'some notes on the artistic influence of William Morris' and he went on - 'it would be interesting to oneself at least to trace out the progress things had made since the time Morris entered Streets Law Courts office because you may scoff and sneer as you like,

but the broad fact remains that it was impossible to get anything decent...for the house beautiful then, and now these people who wish for them and insist on having them can get beautiful things of every description...He was the pioneer and this is what I am going to trace out for these mugs'.⁹³

No copy of this paper has come to light but Dods must have asked to see it because Lorimer wrote later to tell him of his pupil who was - 'turning out a clinker' but who was - 'suffering from a black eye - the result of a street fight when I delivered it - so he didn't hear it - and I am going to make him write it out - for his own instruction and your edification'.⁹⁴

In 1901 he gave Dods a detailed description of what a drawing room ought to be. It was prompted by a stay at May Burrell's over the wedding of her brother, and his reaction to her drawing room was to lay down that it - 'should have a number of large comfortable sofas and a stuffed arm chair or two. All these things should be covered with a strong washable material preferably striped. The things should be of the simplest form, and should have stretched down the back of them, tight fitting muslin covers, either plain or powdered, or better still plain and with a monogram in white. The chair coverings should be warm in cover, and the curtains the same, and the walls and cornice entirely white, painted. A simple chimney piece with a large picture, in a very small gilt frame being in a panel prepared for it. If there is a shelf it should be high

5'6" or so, and from the shelf to the bottom of picture about 18", plain as a background...there sd be no china, and very few knick-knacks lying about, just one or two of the real joy for ever sort, then if there's to be china, let it be a mass of it in a recess in the wall with shaped shelves. Still life or decorative pictures hanging in the panels above the doors into the room, and some noble pictures and other choice things, but not too much on the walls - lots of books, but not lying on tables - if a show table is required let it be the cabriole leg, bellied frieze Queen Anne type, with glass in top only...The chairs other than those described above, should be low in the seat and quite light, so that you can lift them about with one finger, and people forming themselves into groups at the various sofas. The flood of light into the room should be softened by white muslin curtains hanging quite straight, and these and the before mentioned curtains sd both come out of a curtain box so that the rods are not visible to the nude eye. Then the floors sd be random oak boards and either a thick thing with no pattern on top or simply some Eastern rugs. The hearth sd be of marble very large and flush with the floor. The fender a little hinged steel thing set on the marble. The room should really look as if it was used, and everything in it sd look just right, but there sd be no feeling of the curiosity shop in fact proper fitness'.....⁹⁵

There is more than a hint ~~in~~ this of William Morris' belief that you should have nothing in your house which is

not useful or which you do not believe to be beautiful. The choice of furniture need not be final, and pieces can be added or discarded until a balance is reached. Building design requires a clearer view of the final effect, because once built it is to be changed only with difficulty and at some expense. Lorimer seems to have been curiously blind to the final effect of his remodelling of No. 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh, for his own use.

The street is one of the most unified in effect in the whole of Edinburgh and is composed entirely of terraces of uniform houses. Lorimer proceeded to change the character of No. 54 completely. The window sashes on the ground floor, of classical proportion were divided by two vertical and one horizontal astragal into 6 panes. He doubled the number by replacing the astragals with 3 vertical and two horizontal bars to give 12 smaller panes per sash recalling thereby Jacobean or early Renaissance proportions. The 3 windows on the first floor rose from floor level with a cast iron balcony bracketted out and across all three - as well as matching all the other balconies in front of the other houses in the street. A string course across the masonry piers between the windows echoed the line of the handrail of the balcony. Lorimer took out this balcony, and broke the continuous line of them along the street and walled up the two outer windows up to the line of the string course, and substituted 12 panes where there had been 9 hitherto. The top sash of the middle window received similar treatment, whereas the lower sash was split to form French windows

each with 8 panes. A small curved stone balcony on stone brackets with a wrought iron handrail was added. The second floor window panes were also doubled in number, and an extra story added above cornice level by using a steeply pitched mansard roof, in which are set 3 lead covered dormers with curved heads.

It is difficult to find any merit in this work. The starting point might be late Jacobean but vulgarized. Within its own terms which is to say in total disregard for the charm of the street as it stood, the conversion has its own inner harmony but of a somewhat ponderous kind. The Dining Room with a sage green ceiling, now the library of the Ancient Monuments Department, was known as the 'funeral parlour' according to Hew Lorimer.

Lorimer was perhaps too sure of himself. Dr. James Richardson believed that Lorimer - 'was not really archeologically minded. If he thought his design was an improvement on what was there, he carried it out'.⁹⁶ Stuart Matthew has remarked how Lorimer ruined one end of Melville Street, and his father the other when altering premises for Melville College.

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Chapter 4

1. The Colinton Search

The very words 'Country Life' suggest wide spaces, fresh air, and the gracious living of the landowners who provided Lorimer with so many of his commissions. Christopher Hussey in writing articles for the Magazine of that name, confined his attention to their mansions. When, later in 1931, he came to construct a book on the work of Sir Robert Lorimer, he paid very little attention to the labourers cottages and smaller suburban houses which had been designed also by Lorimer. Indeed the pretensions of the neo-pastoral cult of town cottages probably seemed absurd to him.

The reputation of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain and its cottage style of architecture waned quickly over the first decade of this century, leaving a number of mentions of Lorimer's cottages in a few books and magazines. No complete record of them was made. The great war intervened and the modern movement in architecture which arose from its ashes was urban in emphasis. As a consequence, the suburbs were dubbed suburbia, and came to be so ill-regarded by planners that it is necessary to look first at the general context in planning of these minor but highly interesting works of Lorimer before going on to describe how their whereabouts was uncovered.

The squalor and congestion of the old town in Edinburgh needs no further description, nor does the close urbanity of the celebrated new town. The earliest suburbs began to form

about two miles from the city centre at Morningside, Murrayfield and Inverleith. The Hermitage and Craiglockart followed each about 3 miles out. Lorimer built one house in each later in their development. Villas were being put up also in the open country around Edinburgh as well as in the villages of which Colinton was one.

Lorimer's other houses are so largely confined to Colinton that the choice must have been deliberate. It was a good choice. Colinton Dell, a wooded valley of great charm, nestles beneath the Pentland Hills some 6 miles from Edinburgh. The Balerno branch of the Caledonian Railway ran through it. The original village of Colinton was situated on the valley floor. A few isolated houses were built on the plateaus to the north and south in the latter half of the nineteenth century, ² the pace of development began to quicken in about the seventies. Robert Rowand Anderson, the architect to whose partner Hew Wardrop, Lorimer had been apprenticed built his own house 'Allermuir' above the village and to the south in 1880. He was also proprietor of Barnshot Cottage and Torduff.¹ Between 1890 and 1893, the years after Lorimer had left the office, he built a further five houses for letting². Barnshot Cottage was sold ~~at~~ passed to William Wemyss Anderson (fig.3).

1893 was the year in which, according to Hussey Colinton Cottage was commissioned by Miss Guthrie Wright. The 1/8 scale drawings in the care of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments are dated late in that year³. $\frac{1}{2}$ inch detail drawings followed and are dated around April 1894⁴.

The cottage appears on the Valuation Roll in 1895 for the first time. As Hussey commented it was the pioneer of quite a colony of small houses in Colinton.⁵ Although he doesn't make quite clear what constitutes a 'small house', some eleven houses appear to fit this description, of which only 'Colinton Cottage' was mentioned by name. 'Westfield' was illustrated anonymously as 'Cottage at Colinton, Harl and Slate 1895'⁶. It is in fact, tiled and appeared in the Valuation Roll in 1897 for the first time⁷. The only other houses on Colinton north-side which were mentioned specifically by Hussey were those of Messrs. Roney Dougall and Wills, and Dr. Downie, as well as Hartfell for Mr. A. Drysdale. The chronological list of works included also the item '1897 Cottages at Colinton'. The search for these has brought to light two cottages which appear on the Valuation Roll for the first time in 1897, as well as three for 1899, and three for 1901. (fig. 4). The office records for these years are not complete. They are rather casual in the way they describe jobs. No orderly system of job numbers was used. Some letters mentioned clients, others identify jobs by name, and others by their address. Few letters, if any, gave all three. It has been necessary, therefore, to list all mentions of these three things, and armed with a catalogue of them, to then search the Valuation Rolls, and office drawings. A list of all the dwellings in Colinton by Lorimer is given after page 115.

The formation of the colony of small houses mentioned by Hussey, was given its main impetus by Miss Guthrie Wright.

She commissioned the first of all the Colinton houses as well as three others. She also introduced at least one client - Major Mears - to Lorimer. Her motive in buying the two feus immediately across Pentland Avenue from Colinton Cottage, as well as the feu next door to her on the east, may have been to get a say in what kind of houses went up around her, and perhaps also, as Mrs. Pearson has suggested 'to see that she got congenial neighbours'.⁸ It may also be that it was recommended to her as a sound economic proposition.

Her commissions were described in office papers as Cottage 'A', 'B' or 'C', and she may have been the moving spirit for Cottage 'P'. Miss Paterson occupied it as proprietor for only about a year.⁹

The identification of these cottages begins with Miss Guthrie Wright as proprietor of Colinton Cottage in 1895.¹⁰ In 1897 she is shown on the Valuation Roll as proprietor of a further two houses though they are not named. Both were recorded as 'unlet part of year' with reduced rentals of £40 and £35.¹¹ These two houses were probably 'Westfield' and 'Binley Cottage'. Binley Cottage was named for the first time in the 1899 Valuation Roll, with a rental of £85, and the Right Honourable Sir Charles Pearson given as proprietor, and as tenant Captain H.P.M. Barrett.¹² Also named for the first time was 'Westfield' with a rental of £75 and proprietor George William Balfour, M.D.¹³ This last cottage has some similarities of plan with Binley Cottage and Acharra. All three cottages have many features in

common and the contracts seem to have been negotiated with the intention of building them at the same time. Probable estimates for 'A' and 'B' appear on the same page in a letter book¹⁴, and on the next page is to be found an undated estimate for Major Mear's Cottage ('Acharra') which notes that 'these three cottages are subject to a reduction of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ per contract'.¹⁵ 'Acharra' was the last of this trio to be built, it appears on the Valuation Roll first in 1899.¹⁶ Its final statement of costs do not appear in the letter book at all. Binley Cottage is given as £1,576.13¹⁷ and Westfield's as £1,424.18.3.¹⁸

Lorimer alludes to his Colinton work in his private correspondence. Thus in 1896 he mentions that - 'Downie squared last week',¹⁹ which referred to Pentland Cottage shown on the 1897 Valuation Roll for the first time.²⁰ This house, he said, was - 'being rented by Mear's for the winter', and this supports the idea that Acharra was being put up with Binley Cottage and Westfields. He writes later of Miss Guthrie Wright giving him - 'two more houses as speculations for friends, one of them Major Mear's'.²¹ This suggests that Mear's was initially interested in Binley Cottage or Westfield, but then opted for building himself a third house rather similar to these two, and on the feu adjacent. By 1897 Lorimer writes of 3 houses going up.²² The Valuation Rolls for Colinton were revised every other year at this time. Thus Pentland Cottage which was finished by 1896 doesn't appear until 1897. The three

houses, then, were 'Binley Cottage' and 'Westfield' and the third was either 'Acharra' which was dragging on for some reason, or it might have been 'Glenmay' for Roney Dougall. Earlier in summer 1896 Lorimer had exhibited - '3 small houses at Colinton' at the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition.²³

By November 1897 enough houses were in existence for Lorimer to describe taking a new client Benson - 'out to see my Colinton houses with which he was rather impressed'.²⁴ By this time 'Colinton Cottage', 'Pentland Cottage' and 'Glenmay' (1895 according to Hussey) were complete and 'Binley Cottage', 'Westfield' and 'Acharra' were building. The R.S.A. exhibition for 1897 included - '3 cottages at Colinton' by Robert Lorimer.²⁵ We find him next year again reporting that 3 houses were going up²⁶ and they must have included 'The Hermitage', Gillespie Road, for Charles Sarolea, lecturer in this university²⁷ or 'Almora', Spylawbank Road for Patrick Guthrie, Banker.²⁸

This first batch of Colinton houses must have been carried through expeditiously because by the end of October 1898 he wrote - 'I have nothing whatever in prospect for this winter but this one house'²⁹ which he described as another 'Colinton house and stable for about £2,600'.³⁰ This must have been either 'Huntly' for Miss Margaret Paterson³¹ in Gillespie Road, or 'Dilkusha' (now 'Hartfell') for William Walker, tea merchant, and situated in Spylaw Avenue³². Both appeared on the Roll in 1901 for the first time. The R.S.A. exhibition in 1899 had included an exhibit of two houses, one in Colinton and

one a gate house.³³

Lorimer's Colinton development, however, was nearly over. Two more houses appear on the Roll for 1901: a house in Spylaw Bank Road for Smollet C. Thomson, Banker. This was 'Glen Lyon'³⁴; and yet another house for Miss Guthrie Wright in Pentland Avenue³⁵. The rental was £95 and it was unlet. So much work had come in that he wrote of - 'a crowd of jobs to be carried on - and 3 at about 3 thou or thereby, waiting to have working drawings made. I think I must farm at least one of these out to Horsburgh or I'll never get through'.³⁶ A set of three drawings for a cottage for Stuart Silver on Spylaw Avenue exist. The project was never built but the titles for the drawings are put on with a rubber stamp. No other drawings from the office were so titled and it indicates perhaps that these were probably farmed out drawings. They are dated September 1899.³⁷

Drawings for Binley Cottage exist which are titled 'New cottage for Miss Guthrie Wright at Colinton' with a mauve 'A' in a circle on some if not on all the drawings.³⁸ Similarly drawings of Westfield exist which are similarly titled and have a blue 'B' in a circle set on them.³⁹ Acharra seemed the obvious candidate for cottage 'C' being the third of a trio already described. However cottage 'C' has, at long last, turned out to be 'The Rowans' Pentland Avenue. No drawings had come to light in my search, but the correspondence left no doubt that this cottage had been built. The Valuation Roll for 1901 shows

Miss Guthrie Wright proprietor for 'Colinton Cottage', and also for a house in Pentland Avenue for which the rental was £95 and which was unlet.⁴⁰ It appears again in 1902⁴¹ and in 1903⁴². It does not appear in 1904, but the entry following 'Colinton Cottage' lists a house in Pentland Avenue, proprietors Miss Rachel Frances and Louisa Innes Lumsden, of 'Warklaw' Pentland Avenue.⁴³ The rental is given at £85, a drop of £90, whereas 'Colinton Cottage' is shown as £10 an increase of £5.⁴⁴

The matter was finally tied up with the help of Mr. Balfour, the present proprietor who allowed me to approach his lawyer Douglas Moodie, W.S. The deeds of the house record the purchase by the misses Lumsden from Miss Guthrie Wright in 1903. The house changed hands in 1907 under the name of 'Warklaw' and again in 1912 when it was renamed 'Bracondale'. The purchaser in 1912 was Mr. John Clunie Menzies of 'The Rowans', Carnoustie, and when he sold the house in 1936, the deeds refer to the dwelling house formerly known as 'Bracondale' now known as 'The Rowans'...⁴⁵ Since then one drawing of 'The Rowans' has been traced⁴⁶. It is titled 'Cottage C for Miss Guthrie Wright' and is dated 12.9.1900. The feu plan for this cottage had been given in a letter which was very unusual in that the assistant had signed it in his own name - P.C. Nobbs.⁵⁴ Later letters noted that the house 'has been placed fifteen feet back from the main road',⁴⁸ and that 'the house is situated on the new road to the east of Miss Guthrie Wright's existing house and behind the villa occupied by Sir Colin MacCrae'⁴⁹. This

house is called 'Glenflora'⁵⁰ and is shown on fig.1.

The 'main road' actually meant Pentland Avenue and a comparison of the feu plan (fig.2) to the map in fig.1, shows that the feu plan has been drawn with its north to the bottom of the sheet. The area marked 0.187 acres was transferred to Miss Guthrie Wright's policies around 'Colinton Cottage' and accounts for the increase in her rental in 1904, and ^{for} the decrease in the £85 shown against the Misses Lumsden from the £95 the previous year shown against Miss Wright.

'Dilkusha', sometimes spelt Dilkoosha has been another job which has been difficult to tie up. 'Hartfell' at No. 10, Spylaw Park was commissioned by Mr. A. Drysdale and according to Hussey executed in the years 1906-08. Office drawings, however, include drawings of a house for Mr. Walker, and 'Hartfell' on the same site appeared to be an extended version of this earlier house.

The story began when Lorimer passed instructions to some lawyers for a proposed feu of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres.⁵¹ The feu plan shows the site of the present Hartfell, bounded on the south by Gillespie Road and on the east by an unnamed road (later to become Spylaw Avenue). The adjacent plot is marked Prof. Sarolea and is the site of the house 'The Hermitage' built by Lorimer for Sarolea, and the plot across Spylaw Avenue is titled Major Mears feu, and Lorimer built 'Acharra' for him on this site. Thus the very first letter puts the matter beyond all doubts except whether the commission was actually executed.

The correspondence which followed put this also beyond any doubt. 'R.S.L. abandons interest in the corner feu at Colinton in favour of Mr. Walker'⁵² indicated that other plans were changed. R.S.L. 'abandons interest to feu... corner of Gillespie Road and Spylaw Avenue...bounded on west by Dr. Sarolea's feu',⁵³ ties the site to the points of the compass. Design proposals followed⁵⁴, and the stable block was positioned⁵⁵.

The plan of the garden was submitted and approved⁵⁶ and the cost of walls mutual to Professor Sarolea discussed⁵⁷, and instructions about bushes in the corner confirmed⁵⁸. The house must have been close to completion because a 'leak in the roof' also was discussed.⁵⁹ Four years later 'Dilkusha's feu charter not in possession of R.S.L.'⁶⁰ may indicate how Dilkusha's identity became misidentified.

Other correspondence shows Walker as the feuer of Hartfell's site. The proposed feu for Mr. Stuart Silver at No. 4, Spylaw Bank, indicated Mr. Walker to his south⁶¹. The feu plan for this unexecuted cottage design, shows Walker across Spylaw Park⁶². A later discussion of the cost of walls mutual to Sarolea at 'The Hermitage' shows Walker on a plan dated July 1906.⁶³

Some of the original drawings survive. They are all titled house at Colinton for W. Walker. The 1/8" plans signed by Nathaniel Grieve and referring to his estimate of 9.5.99 show a house closely similar to 'Hartfell', and in the same location.⁶⁴ To the west is dotted a future

extension which completed Hartfell as we know it today. One difference may be noted. All 5 drawings of the house indicate white external walls, harling isn't specified but is shown on the half inch details on plan as a plaster line. The house as it exists is stone faced.

The Valuation Roll shows a new entry in 1901. Item 428 House and Stables etc., Spylaw Avenue, Walker, William, tea merchant, annual rent £105. The final evidence which fits the view that 'Dilkusha' has been altered to 'Hartfell' is the correspondence which survives on 'Hartfell' itself. It is all on relatively minor matters. A gardener's cottage is discussed and elevations sent for approval⁶⁵ and the cost of £539 is mentioned.⁶⁶ The accounts for the new drawing room wing came to £891. 7. 7 and the coal store, servants W.C. and extended scullery to £1,968. -. 6.⁶⁷ R.S.L.'s expenses for the year 1907 were 8d and in 1909 6d⁶⁸, which suggests that these accounts were for work already executed, probably in 1906.

Between 1893 and 1900, Lorimer had completed eight houses in Colinton, and four more were in process of being built. Across to the south side of the valley (near 'Allermuir') he was working on a group of three artisans cottages for Mr. Galletly, 'The cute little agent' who had secured 54, Melville Street for him. These cottages came on the roll in 1901.⁶⁹ The group was extended later by another four cottages and they came on the roll in 1902⁷⁰. Sites still remained in Colinton in plenty (fig.5) but the work was to be done by lesser architects. 'Laverockdale'

built in 1912-14 (Hussey's list) and baronial in style and Dunnottar now known as Stonehouse was built in 1912-13 (Hussey's list) in a modified Cotswold style, were Lorimer's last commissions in Colinton. As Lorimer's twenty year association with Colinton came to an end, the Great War began, and by the time it ended Lorimer was engaged on his work in War cemeteries and memorials. This was the work which was largely to fill the last decade of his life.

2. Colinton Cottages and their virtues.

Even though Lorimer cast his eyes upon the wider opportunities of commercial practice, on occasions, he makes clear in his letters his satisfaction in the work he was doing in the years before 1900, and also in the kind of client he was attracting. His private life shows him making further friends from those who shared his wide range of interest. The works which reflect this youthful Lorimer most sharply as a designer in his own right are the arts and crafts cottages which he had begun designing in Colinton. They are so plain and unmannered that they can scarcely be called eclectic. A number of excellent house designs were to come from these prototypes which were of their time and place, and outside the confines of stylistic associations. Such buildings together with those of Voysey and Mackintosh foreshadow the modern movement in their ruthless elimination of the unnecessary, as well as

by the restraint with which their physical fabric was handled. Yet these cottages have proved too modest for their intrinsic virtues to be detected by the undiscerning eyes of the public, and Mussey has very little to say on them. Lorimer's life-long friend Frank Deas had this to say in 1931 - 'All were small, and their design was based on English domestic tradition with a touch of Norman Shaw. They had however a definite Scots flavour and a fresh treatment of detail which stamped them with their designer's individuality'.⁷¹

Deas' idea of a small cottage may be gauged by the cottage 'The Murrel' which he built for himself in Fife (fig.6). Some of Lorimer's cottages have been divided subsequently into 3 or 4 flats.

Lorimer himself had begun to refer to his 'Colinton Manner' by 1900⁷², and he wrote of Foxcovert, a medium sized house at Corstorphine, that he 'had arranged everything on the ground floor for cheapness and treated in the Colinton Manner'.⁷³ The Colinton Manner, it seems, implied a certain plainness. The simple but good proportions were emphasised by the use of cream-washed harling, and the roofs though not as steeply pitched as of the houses of Rowand Anderson or Kinross, made use of the space within their 45° pitch to fit minor bedrooms and attics under combed ceilings.

In 1904, he spoke of a house at Banchory for Mrs. Ferguson as a 'sort of improved Colinton type. Whitewash

and slate roofs'⁷⁴. This house does not appear to have been built, and he gives no other details. Scotch slates, alone, would have been an enormous improvement on the pressed red clay tiles which were used on the earlier cottages in Colinton.

Lorimer applied his Colinton Manner to other houses both smaller and larger than those prototypes which had each cost between £1,500 and £1,800. He built the seven 'rustic cottages' next to the Episcopal Church in Colinton, to near minimum space standards, and at costs varying from £320 to £400 (fig.7). They were for letting. Herman Muthesius in his celebrated book 'Das Englische haus', said a few years later that 'Lorimer's achievements in house building are the most interesting to compare to those of the Macintosh group. He has erected a whole row of smaller houses in the Edinburgh suburb of Colinton in the charming unostentatious old Scottish vernacular'.⁷⁵

The 'Rustic Cottages' follow an earlier unexecuted design for a village at Inverarmon⁷⁶. A pair of similar cottages was also built at Linlithgow Bridge⁷⁷.

The medium sized cottages were also compactly planned either as 'L' shaped blocks or as rectangles, within which Lorimer manipulated the rooms to give considerable variety. Each room was given a distinct character. At no time did Lorimer take a simple cuboid and merely subdivide it in the manner of Voysey. These houses are by no means small by today's standards. 'Acharra' built for Major Bears has a ground floor around 2,200 sq.ft. in area (fig.8). Such

houses have a spaciousness not conveyed by their exteriors. Arnold Mitchell has said of Acharra that 'the hall is a pleasant surprise ... the vestibule leads into a corner that appears to be narrow; but around the corner on one side, the stairs are recessed and when we turn the corridor on the other side we find a deep square bay that gives quite a noble air of spaciousness to the well-planned little building⁷⁸.

The earliest cottages, Colinton and Pentland are both set close to the road with yard like approaches. This is the result of being put on narrow shelves of land lying between roads to their north, and steep plunging slopes to their south. Binley Cottage, Westfield and Acharra which have larger level areas of site, and are to the north of access roads, ~~and~~ are set further back to give more seclusion.

Lorimer had definite preferences on orientation. The public rooms were usually grouped by him to face south over the garden, often around a verandah with French windows. The main entrance would be placed to the north or on one end according to the site and position of road access. The chimneys were placed centrally on plan though not invariably.

Lorimer was always keenly aware of the surroundings of each house and the views from it. Thus 'Teviotdale' (fig.9) which he built in North Berwick in 1898 follows all these rules except that since it overlooks the sea to north, the public rooms are grouped on the north side of the house with other windows on the east and west facades. The

dining room faces due north but is given a wide set of doors to the drawing room so that the evening light could be let in on particular occasions.

The term cottage had implications of scale in Lorimer's time. There were true cottages, which were artisans dwellings, medium sized cottages which were generous by today's standards and also large plain harled houses which Lorimer also designated 'cottages'. Cottage 'P', for Miss Paterson, now known as 'Huntley' in Colinton cost around £3,500. These larger houses differ in that less use is made of the roof space, and a more or less continuous eaves line over the second floor became possible. This can be seen also in Barguillan in Argyllshire (fig.10) and for a house in Peebleshire which was not executed. Such houses continued to be grouped picturesquely, their massing remains informal, but their park-like grounds and generous entrance drives acquire a scale which is not that of a cottage. The same can be said of the medium sized houses, in which the forecourt is enclosed by the arms of the L shaped block and suggests traffic of greater volume than that generated by any cottage.

The word cottage, it is clear from Lorimer's own words, could be applied to houses of fairly generous size, and that it was the manner in which cottages were designed which made them so. This view is reinforced by a rough draft of a letter of 1901 by Lorimer. It is written to the editor of an unspecified magazine inveighing against 'district council regulations which were of such nature as

to make the erection of a seemly looking set of cottages an impossibility'. He goes on 'every architect who tries to do simple and straightforward work knows what difficult things cottages are to design. How hard and fast are the limitations especially where expense is an object as it naturally almost always is. He knows that the moment he departs fr(om) the simplest possible lines the moment he begins to play himself, to let himself go, then up goes the cost. It's also known that a building if it is to be worth anything must have a quite definite proportion. Must be either definitely high or definitely low. The natural proportion for a cottage is the low proportion, low ceilings and large low windows'.⁷⁹

The sense of scale of a building is produced by a complete interaction of proportion, massing, and rhythm. It is not directly related to size in architecture. There are small buildings which attain a grandeur of scale, and larger (though not the largest) buildings which impress us with their domestic scale, which usually derives from their informality. The size of the parts of a building, the room heights, doors and windows, have a considerable influence on the scale. Yet the overall impression of scale, is more influenced by the way these things are arranged.

Terms like the Scottish house, or the English house suggest a commonality between all houses which does not exist. The country house can be anything from a fortified tower house to the spreading country mansion but both impressive in mass. The house in the country for the commuter may be treated as a mini-mansion, and give a clear bold figure to impress immediately by its presence, yet an

equally large house may be treated informally as a large cottage, and be so broken up that its size is only recognised, slowly, in use. The distinctions are, therefore, partly social and of real status, and based on the pattern of living enjoyed by the owners, but also partly ^{of} style and the way the house is dressed out to meet these things, how the emphasis is put, and what other things are added by way of decoration.

'Laverockdale' in Colinton (fig.12) and 'Bunkershill' at North Berwick (fig.13) both display severe stone masses which recall buildings of a country not long under the rule of law. They are not castles but there is more than a hint of the Baronial Hall. 'Marly Knowe' also in North Berwick (fig.14) is no smaller than these houses, but there is no attempt to impress us by its size. In fact the visual figure which it presents has been broken up deliberately by gables and slate hung walls which reduce the sense of mass and apparent weight. The eaves lines is lowered thereby to give as intimate a scale as possible, and the result is an overgrown cottage with high roofs, for Sir Edward Sharpy Schafer, formerly a professor in this university. Its real size can be gauged by the fact that it has been divided into five flats recently.

'Marly Knowe' is sited on a hilltop with a wide outlook a little outside North Berwick. The siting is in consistence with Schaeffers strong views, according to James Richardson. The approach is up a north slope under a canopy of trees and is sombre. As the top of the slope is

reached the drive passes under a gateway between the house and coachhouse and is swung then into the brighter light along the south facade. Passengers alighting from cars overlook the extensive gardens dropping to the south, beyond which North Berwick Law rises in the middle distance. The garden is compartmented by privet hedges, and the compartments are traversed by grass walks lined with herbaceous borders. The north front overlooks an over-shaded and rather bleak croquet lawn beyond which the ground falls steeply. The view includes the Bass Rock to the distant shores of Fife. The planning of the house is unadventurous, for this commanding site. The entrance is through a small porch and lobby into a long, rather narrow and dark corridor. The corridor ends in a spacious hall beyond which the public rooms are grouped around the stairs. The dining room as at Teviotdale faces north for the view of the sea and the drawing room has views north and south (fig.15).

The massing is a mixture of 3 storey gables, and 2 storey wings with hips. This combination works well on the south where the gables are set over the public rooms. The vertical emphasis on the north facade gables does not combine well with the long horizontal eaves of the rest (fig.16). The harling and Scotch slates produce a Scottish character, within which crowstep gables, slate hung walls, boat shaped gables, and casement windows are combined in a picturesque variety. The overall effect is of a well proportioned house with much charm

set on a magnificent site, but which lacks complete unity.

'Dayside' for Mr. and Mrs. ... Tod is Lorimer's finest house of this scale, and is sited on a wide level shelf of ground beside the Ceres Road in St. Andrews. The house is set close to the road with a level lawn behind and to its south, beyond which the garden falls into a shallow valley threaded by a burn (fig.17). The main entrance is set in the side of an open porch, and gives entry to a small lobby, thus the visitor is brought in through two small and tightly knit enclosures before being loosed into a magnificent hall rising through two floors. Two windows set at right angles on the far side of this hall provide an oblique wide view of the garden, and since each window is curved, the effect of a bow window is created, yet set within the rectangularity of the walls (fig.18). A small door at the side of this window gives on to a covered garden porch, also turned to face the main view.

The hall which measures 30' x 21' on plan, avoids the need for a long corridor, and allows all four public rooms to be grouped round it. It allows also the plan to be cranked to something like an S plan. The upper floor corridors lead off a corner and the middle of the hall respectively.

The materials for this house are stone, slates and wooden casement windows. The chimneys are capped by tall pots. The roof is modelled too richly to be described simply. As fig.19 shows the curved inflexion of the bow window is echoed by belled roof slopes and gable ends, a

boat shaped dormer window, and a port-hole window to the garden porch. The way the roof is swept down over the garden porch adjacent to the only gable at the second floor, provides a modelling rich in incident and assured in grouping (fig.19). The ease with which the plan, section and roof are manipulated is not entirely characteristic of him. His letters show that he knew that he tended to overdo things, an opinion shared by his wife⁸⁰. He appears to have been given a fairly free hand with the design of 'Wayside'. He wrote to Dods of spending - 'a long day discussing a 3 thou house with some rather dull people. The only thing that really seemed to fetch the wife was a large press off one of the bedrooms. However they've passed the plans and swallowed the cost'.⁸¹

If someone else was responsible for this design, it was not Matthew whose work is a more wooden version of Lorimer's (fig.20). Percy Nobbs who was in the office at this time had not long won the Tite prize (fig.21) and Lorimer found his design - 'uncommon good. Victor Horse and I went along to his digs 2 or 3 times and gave him our views...but certainly didn't help him much but I think I may say that the taste of the thing is better than it would have been if he had been entirely left to himself. I gave him a fiver to take a weekend ticket to go up and see the drawings and he had a great time and enjoyed himself'.⁸²

Lorimer had noted the possibility of having to farm out

the working drawings to Victor Horsburgh or to Ramsay Traquair⁸³. Could it have been Traquair's design? He had a liking for simplicity as is shown by his design for Skirling House (fig.22), and he liked to stress the horizontality in his designs (fig.23). 'Wayside', however, is so magnificently three dimensional in all its rhythms that we must conclude that it is the happy congruance of Lorimer's abilities, abetted by sympathetic improving by his staff. The matter of its design does not end there, and if the client seemed dull to Lorimer, his influence nevertheless has led also to a fine building. 'Leaponess House' in Scarborough, another house of similar scale and manner is far less satisfactory in composition (fig.24). It is not surprising, therefore, to find Lorimer saying - 'am on my way back from Scarboro from the last trip of all, which ends that somewhat troublesome job'.⁸⁴

Harmony House at Balerno was the last house in the Colinton Manner (1906) (fig.25). By then domestic work in Britain was swinging back to a more ponderous use of form. Lorimer turned to flatter pitches, heavy stone~~work~~, slates and wider eaves for his later houses like the 'Corner House', Gullane (1912) or 'Stonehouse', Colinton, (1914-15), (fig.26). They have their own charm, but their character reflects the vernacular of Dorset rather than Scotland. The walls are emphasised for their massiveness rather than as part of the pattern of spatial enclosure within them.

Vernacular styles in architecture derive in part from

the particular materials available in each geographical region. Shaw Sparrow has noted of slates how - 'the purple Welsh kinds, usually bad in colour, are often brittle; they have never the charm of the rare Westmorelands, with their tender sea-green hue. Scotch slates, dark in tint, are generally small, unlike the big ones from Lancashire; but in a mountain landscape they look very well, being shaggy and rough in texture, as befits a land of heather and of highland cattle'.⁸⁵ One further quality of the Scotch slate which he neglected to mention is the dappled light which comes from their roughness.

Scotch slates provide the richest play of light of all British slates. Welsh slates are more even in texture, split more thinly, and hence provide a cheaper and lighter roof. Westmoreland and Cornish slates cleave as roughly as Scotch slates but yet retain a satin sheen. Lorimer used Westmoreland slates occasionally as for the cottage at 'Glencruitten'. Scotch slates in addition to their uneven surface provide edges which are slightly ragged, and as with Ballahulish slates, contain small bronze coloured pyrites which are too small for the eye to pick out at a distance, yet which, with all the other variations, and the variation in coursing from 8 x 4" slates at the ridge to 8 x 16" or 10 x 20" at the eaves, provide an incomparable play of dappled light.

The effect is not grand or startling, but is an important element of Scotch building, and seen to particular

advantage in the dormer window. Round, bowed, angled, five sided or hipped, the variety is great. Lorimer used boat shaped gables (fig.7), for which there is no British precedent. What led him to adopt a shape which became a characteristic feature of so many of his designs is not known. Behrens used them in Germany a little later and they occur in Scandinavia. They offer the practical advantages that no side rhones are necessary and the shape is aerodynamic. They are a cheap and economical way of being different, and opinion on them varies from finding them pleasantly 'quaint' to downright odd. Lorimer used them sparingly and in my view effectively.

Some of Lorimer's clients had objected to his use of curved roof forms. In 1899 he had been engaged in a tussle over some gables, and he wrote - 'I send herewith tracings showing the gables straight and also hipped. I hope you will not insist on either of these being carried out. As either way would make the house very commonplace - I cannot make out why you have such a down on my nice curved gables'.⁸⁶

The roofs of any large 'cottage' type dwelling formed an important part of the overall effect, and Lorimer treated the roofs of most of them as carefully, as the proportioning of walls, windows or doors. In 1904 Shaw Sparrow suggested that - 'the very first quality to be shown is unity of impression. Dame Nature has always that quality in her coned fungi and domed mushrooms, and I cannot but help thinking that the present day masters of roof construction

like Mr. E.L. Lutyens, and Mr. Lorimer have taken hints from nature's art in coverlids'.⁸⁷

The justice of these remarks is attested by the unity of effect Lorimer's roofs had on him, because he failed to notice their diminutive eaves. Roofs, he said, are - 'coverlids, let them jut out beyond the walls; overhanging eaves are desirable for 3 reasons:- (1) they soften and yet mark out the transition from wall to roof; (2) they throw along a wall a line of cool shadow; and (3) they give to a home a sheltered, cared for look'⁸⁸ such was the southern view.

The details of construction and the structural forms used by Lorimer were too varied to be found entirely within the precedents offered by Scots vernacular building. His use of slate hung upper stories suggests timber framed prototypes, and in Scotland few early examples remain. Norman Shaw, influenced perhaps by his one time partner, J.S. Sedding, popularised tile hanging. But this was merely to re-use a method of which earlier examples were widespread in England. Lorimer's use of hung slates, however, was merely an extension of practice of the larger dormer windows in Scottish towns. They may rise the whole height of a man from the eaves of the building or be set back and rise only from sill height.

The use of curves in roof forms and gables has a wide variety of precedent in Scotland, and on the Continent. Bell shaped roofs for garden pavilions were common in Scotland, and many church towers have roofs with Baroque inflections.

Gables in series were used over long lowish buildings on flat sites in English or German towns, yet Lorimer's use of 3 similar gables on the south facade of the Grange at North Berwick manages to be very Scottish, nevertheless. Catslide gables in opposed pairs also suggest English prototypes. However they were used also by Mackintosh.

The Colinton Cottage, in the final analysis shows a variety of treatment from the ^{most} purely Scottish example, like 'Westfield' of 1899, which is planned as a simple rectangular block with gables either end. It is set at an angle to the road and the front door is in the curved staircase tower at one end, where it provides a pivot to swing the incomer gracefully from the line of the approach path into the house (fig.28).

A design composed from some of the same elements without the same satisfaction from the result, is a gate keeper's lodge. It was illustrated in an early Hopes Window Catalogue for which it must have been designed early in this century (fig.29). The stair tower combines uneasily with the main block and is ill at ease with the high hipped roof. 'Whitholme', another house almost as hybrid in its origins as the lodge, nevertheless shows Lorimer handling a variety of elements which he knits together satisfactorily to achieve a result which is entirely Scottish (fig.30).

Lorimer's cottages had, for a while, been in the vein of modern design, and if he had received the sympathetic treatment from the 'Studio' magazine - the vehicle for

art and crafts design - that Voysey received, his cottages would be better remembered. In their own day Muthesius saw them as those most closely comparable to Mackintosh's houses.⁸⁹ The Arts and Crafts movement was, at bottom, a reaction against the excesses of Victorian ornament, and for a while, it engrossed the attention of all leading architects. After the Boer War the problems of reshaping urban life had come to seem more important. The Arts and Crafts movement continued, but it was no longer the focus of European attention, and Ian Nairn writing of the houses of the stockbroker belt of Surrey, has pointed out how 'the later buildings were stale and dull' - of - 'almost all the good domestic architects of the 1890s. But for some years the ease and vitality of the style carried along lesser architects to produce buildings that were rarely ugly or empty and sometimes approached Lutyens and Voysey. Worth a note' - is - 'a rare southern house by Sir Robert Lorimer [Hascombe] ... So, in 1900, Surrey led the world, by 1914 both it and England were nowhere. Meanwhile the pre-Tudor style which so nearly grew naturally into Modern Architecture ... lost heart, lay down and died'.⁹⁰

If neither the scale or the character of cottage dwellings were suitable for city^{Centre} buildings, the influence of them continued in the garden city ~~suburbs~~, especially as written into the 1919 Housing Act by Raymond Unwin. Lorimer, however, took little further part in it, partly because he had been called to other work but also because

his few efforts at massed housing, as for the Corstorphine land development company or for the Pollock estate in Glasgow were pedestrian, to use Alfred Lochead's words, in quality and not sufficiently economical to meet the stringent times after the war.⁹¹

3. Lorimer as the Scottish Lutyens

Lorimer had become an important country house architect by 1900, and as he became pre-eminent in Scotland in this field of design, it was inevitable that he be compared with his English counterpart. Like Lutyens, not only did Lorimer design country houses but anything and sometimes, everything that went with them. He designed the interiors, the furniture and fittings and he sought out and chose antiques and tapestries, as well as designing the gardens and landscaping.

Lorimer's first commission for a large new country house, to be executed, was Brackenbrough in Cumberland. Earlier commissions which might have led to such works had been abandoned. The remodelling of Mounie, an existing house in Aberdeenshire (fig.31), which was to have been greatly extended, was never carried out, and Ballyards an existing house in Peebleshire for which Lorimer recommended a new beginning was carried out only as alterations to an existing house (fig.32). Lorimer's first entirely new mansion in Scotland was Rowallan in Ayrshire. In 1901 he wrote to Dods that he'd got - 'Ramsay Traquair at 3 gs a week and another bloke insured in a room in the Albert Buildings working at Rowallan - with a crowd of jobs to be carried on - and 3 at about 3 thou or thereby waiting to have working drawings made. I think I must farm at least one of them out to Horsburgh or I'll never get through'.⁹²

He wrote again at the end of the year - 'You remember the estate of Howallan in Ayrshire. It's been bought by a Cameron Corbett M.P., and he strolled into the office one day ('whistling a popular air') - as dear old Lord Nicholson would have said, and said he wanted me to do a 30 thou house on it in the Scottish Baronial manner. So with Brackenbrough just started a few weeks ago at 27 thou for the house, things are looking fairly lively'.⁹³

Howallan would have been Lorimer's largest commission to date, but it was cut down in size later, when Mrs. Cameron Corbett was taken ill after a banquet in London and died. The scheme had been passed to the surveyors in 1902, the working drawings having taken exactly four months. He told Dods also that he had - 'a crowd of other smaller jobs on - so am really fairly busy, though could do with another 30 thou one at the moment in order to keep Traquair on - who I'll need to sack at the end of the month if nothing fresh appears. Matthew came to me at the end of the 3 months - I had agreed with him re a rise of his screw and it ended in my giving him 3 guineas a week, on the understanding that the word screw was not to be mentioned for 2 years. Then the other night he came and asked me if it would prejudice his position with me if he was getting marriedIsn't that a howd'ye do the blooming clerk getting married when the blooming boss can't afford it'.⁹⁴

The surveyor took four months to complete the schedules and Lorimer received a letter from Mrs. Corbett asking him if he couldn't hurry them up. Next week she was dead.

Lorimer gave the job up as lost but then received letters from Mr. Corbett about going on with the scheme but reduced by 100,000 cubic feet - 'one of those nice simple problems' commented Lorimer ironically.⁹⁵ The building which resulted is typically Scottish, says Hussey, - 'but the lack of horizontal rhythms makes the whole restless'⁹⁶ (fig.33). This criticism is wholly justified, though whether the building would have gained greatly in unity, had the larger scheme gone ahead is doubtful.

The main entrance is set beneath a gabled roof, behind which lies a square battlemented tower which does not rise as high as the roofs behind it. The effect of this tower is further weakened by a tall narrow staircase tower to its east. The design shows other inconsistencies also. Whereas the three storey 'T' shaped block on the south side of the block has the simplicity characteristic of Lorimer's best work, the tower blocks at the west end have a hint of fussiness, or of a stylistic pre-occupation in the details of Scottish vernacular.

Lorimer sited the building with his usual care. The bridges on the drive were to be built with - 'pockets left here and there for a handful of earth to be put in for creepy crawly plants to grow in, and also going to set out my gate house found that by moving it down the road a bit, I could get a distant view of ye tower of ye chateau'.⁹⁷

A bound volume of onion-skin letters exists for jobs carried out by Lorimer's office between 1897 and 1906.

What do they tell us about Howallan, the first large mansion house to be commissioned in Scotland from Lorimer? The first letter is dated 8.11.1901, on which date Lorimer posted the revised plans to Mrs. Corbett. He had cubed them at 1/0 to give an estimated cost of £30,796 - 'if we get satisfactory stone a few hundred yards from this site, I think we ought to do it well for less than 11d'.⁹⁸ One month later he wrote enclosing plans for planting avenues and plantations of trees which had been revised (perhaps by the forester)⁹⁹, and another letter followed shortly answering queries which had been raised: 'It is intended to have the actual roadway only 9ft wide and on the rare occasions when vehicles pass each other one can go onto the grass margin'.¹⁰⁰ Still further queries about the spacing of trees were raised and replied to.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ On the 21st January 1902, Lorimer wrote also to Mrs. Corbett about rates for quarrying and mentioned that alterations to the design had reduced the estimated cost to £28,172.¹⁰² Six months later he wrote to Boyde Forest complaining that the price was - 'coming out much too high...you are not the lowest tenderer but you are fairly near to the place'. Lorimer then suggested that they use - 'stuff out of the local quarry' for more of the hewn work and to consider what savings this would effect.¹⁰³

The next letter which was written shortly after Mrs. Corbett's death, discussed arrangements for building only part of the house, and displayed some impatience on Lorimer's part: 'I would be greatly obliged by your

letting me know if you propose to proceed at once with either one or other of those alternatives in order that I may arrange the work in my office'.¹⁰⁴ The project had been under review for a year by then, and eventually Lorimer was authorised to proceed with part of the work, and he notified the changes to Boyd and Forest some $2\frac{1}{2}$ months later.¹⁰⁵ A formal statement of the changes was made.¹⁰⁶ The contract was posted to Mr. Corbett for signature in January 1903.¹⁰⁷ A statement of costs for over £20,000 followed in February,¹⁰⁸ together with a covering letter signed by J.F. Matthew,¹⁰⁹ and plans were submitted to the district council by post,¹¹⁰ after which work must have begun because 13 months later Lorimer wrote to recommend that insurance for £10,000 be taken out as - 'the building is well ahead'.¹¹¹

Certain parts of the scheme were omitted and Lorimer notified the sanitary engineer of them.¹¹² An application for modification of the plans was lodged,¹¹³ and queries about costs raised and answered.¹¹⁴ Nearly two years had passed since the project was started and plans for out-buildings and cottages were submitted.¹¹⁵ The forms accompanying the submission followed.¹¹⁶ Water engineers were called in,¹¹⁷ and further details of drains submitted for approval.¹¹⁸ Insurance for the house and cottages was asked for¹¹⁹ and queries upon it were answered.¹²⁰ The water engineer reported a shrinkage of the water supply and Lorimer reported that - 'he advises that we delay closing the contract for a few weeks' - and Lorimer hoped it

would not - 'seriously affect the date for the occupation of the house',¹²¹ 'the shrinkage reported was quite unexpected and of course is a matter completely beyond our control'.¹²² Further insurance for the gate lodge was asked for,¹²³ further work on the water supply was considered,¹²⁴ and a certificate for £45 for electrical work sanctioned.¹²⁵

The last letter but one, on Rowallan, suggests some slowness in finishing off the job, but that the clerk of works had reported men still on the site. The last letter of all referred again to the water supply, and Lorimer wrote asking the engineers to keep him - 'informed of what is being done in connection with this matter'.

These letters tell us that the job was run on a priced schedule,¹²⁶ and that some of the work, like quarrying, was done on agreed rates,¹²⁷ and that Lorimer used his - 'usual lithographed form of contract'.¹²⁸ Boyd and Forest tendered for the masonry, smithing, joinery and granolithic work,¹²⁹ and each contractor's schedule required him to insure his own work.¹³⁰ The only specific mention of a sub-contractor was for electrical work by Buchan and Hogarth.¹³¹

The drawings would have included eighth scale plans elevations and sections, and innumerable full size and half size details. The problems of supervision with a clerk of works and a local contractor were minimised. Even so a continuous process of adjusting drawings and details must have been carried out on site. Presumably the clerk of works kept a complete record, but if he sent copies

to the office, they have not been preserved. Such adjustments required also adjustments in cost and no complete record of them exists. The certificate book lists £2,699.18s being paid between 8.1.1903 and 23.4.1906.¹³² Reductions were made to sums totalling £28,172 to bring them to a little over £20,000 but another letter mentions that - 'the bare structural works of the house come to over £25,000 and the probable estimate for the additional works necessary to finish brought the cost up to nearly £30,000'.¹³³

The letters in the different handwriting of the various members of Lorimer's staff are so individual and seem to offer such a vital and direct link with the job, and yet all they amount to is a random collection of queries and decisions, and the surprisingly small total of 29 letters, for a job of this size, and the final impression is that life for the architect was a lot simpler in those days.

Lorimer's ability to rise to the grandeur of the scale of this kind of work has been remarked on already. He had become interested in the design of gardens early in his career, and Hussey has noted that one of Lorimer's earliest works was the laying out of the garden at Kellie Castle (fig.34). Rowand Anderson for whom he had worked was responsible for the garden at Pollock House (fig.35), and Bodley gardens have been illustrated in the Studio (fig.36). Lorimer's first design for a garden as a practising designer was for Earlshall, his first private commission. The sketch of it which was published by the Builder shows a garden, like that of Pollock House, within

the Scottish tradition (Chap.2, fig.2). The chance acquisition of a number of mature yew trees has led to a garden dominated by topiary and more like that of Leven Hall (fig.37).

He was asked in 1898 to - 'read a paper of some sort before the A. Society in Edinburgh on 28th - Scotch Gardens'.¹³⁴ A transcript of the paper as given was published in the transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association.¹³⁵ The paper draws on his own experience. Drawings of Donybristle Gardens in Fife which he had made had been published by the A.A. sketchbook in 1893'.¹³⁶ His paper draws also, upon an earlier paper given by his acquaintance J.J. Joass, entitled - 'On gardening, with some descriptions of some formal gardens in Scotland'.¹³⁷ Joass introduced his subject with a general review, after which a number of old Scottish gardens were described. The drawings used by way of illustration are dated either 1893 or 1896, dates which show Joass' interest in the subject was of some years standing.

Lorimer's article begins with a paeon of praise for nature very reminiscent of Sedding, ^{to whom} a garden was - 'Arcady brought home. It is man's bit of gaudy make-believe, his well-designed fiction of an unveiled paradise'.¹³⁸ to Lorimer, the garden was - 'a sort of sanctuary, "a chamber roofed by heaven"...a pleasance of the soul, by whose wicket the world can be shut out from us'.¹³⁹ Lorimer went on, then, to discuss the old gardens of Scotland,

using among other illustrations, the drawings of Barncluith and Balcaskie made by Joass.

Although Lorimer did a lot of thinking aloud about design in his letters to Dods, he was the practitioner at heart who believed in action rather than preaching. He had even tried to cry off giving this paper on Scots gardens, but had found that he - 'couldn't with decency', so he began rather grudgingly to collect material. When he had completed the paper, he determined to offer it to - 'the architectural Review with a crowd of photos if they'll pay up - to recoup myself for all the expense of the photos'.¹⁴⁰ The Review accepted the article which appeared in the number of November 1899. Lorimer wrote to Dods expressing the hope that this article would - 'Boom one a bit in the special line I have taken and mean to stick to. I'm having a lot of copies printed separately and am going to send it round to people'.¹⁴¹

Lorimer's approach to garden design, as in architecture, was to sift, traditional motives and to rework those worthy of retention. The pleasance - the traditional word for a pleasure garden in Scotland - was to be re-created from the best of the past, and Lorimer goes on to draw some conclusions from his examples. He considered the fine scale of Hatton Castle and Balcaskie and concluded that in - 'these two places we have the ideal of what a scotch country gentleman's home ought to be - the house dignified and yet liveable, spacious lofty rooms lovely plaster ceilings, where the "great parquettèd sparely furnished

room of many windows" looks out onto a garden that is in tune with the house'. The garden should become less trim, he felt, - 'as it gets further from the house'.¹⁴²

This notion is not unlike that put in 1891, by Reginald Blomfield in his book on the formal garden.¹⁴³ He had argued therein, that some degree of artificiality was not only Unavoidable, it provided a suitable intermediate zone between the inevitable formality of the house and the informality of nature in the countryside. Blomfield was faced soon with a vociferous opponent, W. Robinson, who asserted with considerable vehemence that the garden should be left as natural and unfettered as possible.¹⁴⁴

Lorimer puts forward an alternative which combines both approaches. The ideal garden for the man with only one gardener, he suggests, was one which allowed - 'the natural park up to the walls of the house on one side' so that - 'on the other you stroll out into the garden enclosed'. In this way he would accept informal surroundings as an effective approach to his building and welcome the contrast that this would offer to the precise shapes of his building. Whereas the designs for the garden on the other side of the building would be formal and in tune with Blomfield's ideas. Lorimer's sketch books contain many gay ornamental details from French gardens. Designs for trellises and garden ornaments equally light in touch are to be found among his office drawings. Whether they were ever realised is doubtful for none seem to exist.

Lorimer was an empiricist who only felt himself justified in theorising on the basis of his own experience, and then not indiscriminately for anyone. He was asked in 1901 to give a paper on garden architecture to the London Architects Association. He said he - 'felt rather like doing it at first but then declined feeling first that there oughtn't to be any garden architecture and second, that if one has any spare time one ought to spend it cultivating one's friends, seeing that to have friends is a far more important matter than to have a reputation among the busybodies on the A.A.'¹⁴⁵

He found time, however, to attend a talk by Thomas Mawson in London on - 'The unity of the house and garden' at which he got up to say that - 'He had listened with great pleasure to Mr. Mawson's paper, and entirely endorsed his view as to the great importance of the aspect in laying out the garden, in the relation of the garden to the house. He did not think that the plan he showed, where the kitchen and scullery were facing due south, was by any means a unique example. He had seen many houses where the architect seemed to have got into his head a type of elevation which he wished to adopt and he had packed in his plan to suit the elevation, and he had made his kitchen and other offices not only look to the south but entirely overlook the garden. In his small experience he had found that that was a thing that clients generally were very keen about, that the servants should not overlook the garden.

On going to a site first, the architect, he thought should carefully consider the blocks of his house, where his kitchen garden ought to be situated and the direction in which it should look, and which the more business part of the house should face. Also the method of approach to the house and the arrangement of the avenue were of the utmost importance. In Scotland, where they had to nurse every bit of sun they could get, the approach should always be from the north if possible and all the public rooms should be to the south and to the west'.¹⁴⁶

Mr. Mawson replied that he was - 'particularly interested in what Mr. Lorimer had to say about gardens. Mr. Lorimer had himself done many charming gardens, therefore anything from him was of special value. Mr. Lorimer had done exactly what he hoped others would do, viz., arrange the gardens round the house which they had designed, provided always that they possessed the necessary practical knowledge which he was afraid few possessed...taking note of Mr. Lorimer's ideal for laying out a garden, Mr. Mawson remarked he could not entirely agree'.¹⁴⁷

Lorimer wrote to Dods that he'd gone to the institute to hear Mawson's paper and - 'it was rather interesting... Mawson I don't think much of - a bit of a poseur I think. Poor little me was called on to speak'.¹⁴⁸ This interchange of ideas does not tell us very much. If Mawson was rather a pedestrian designer, Lorimer equally showed no great originality in garden design, nor did he get the

opportunities for lavish display which Lutyens was given so frequently. The garden at Earlshall, as the late Frank Clark observed, is memorable more for its details than its overall conception. Indeed the essential difference of effect between a garden designed to the Arts and Crafts philosophy and a garden of the modern movement is that whereas the former paid great attention to all the joints and juxtapositions, and strove to fit them together as fitly and beautifully as could be done, the modern movement based on the use of concrete, and of monolithic form, has avoided the expression of joints as far as it could, and has in the Robinson manner eschewed any formality in its arrangement of plants, preferring to set its buildings where ever possible, in wild but carefully contrived, natural surroundings.

The layout of the grounds for Earlshall so closely follows Lorimer's precepts for the ideal garden for a man with one gardener that the one must have been derived from the other. The house and garden are well articulated, but they are not inflected very satisfactorily to the approach drive. The drive proceeds in a dead straight line from the lodge archway and passes along the west side of the house, after which it is prolonged towards a wood, lying across its path some way beyond, and into which it plunges as a ride. There is a certain lack of welcome outside the house, although this could be justified on the grounds that it heightens the welcoming effect of the

courtyard and garden beyond, which greet one when the wicket in the main gate is opened (fig.38).

Earlshall garden was not completed until after Lorimer had met Gertrude Jekyll. There are no records that they collaborated on it although the planting of the borders shows signs of her influence according to Frank Clark.

Another notable early garden by Lorimer is Minto House. There Lorimer terraced a south facing slope to give an interesting oblique view from the upper windows on the west side of the house. It is an intriguing exercise in abstract form, unfortunately now derelict (fig.39).

Lorimer's second large Scottish house was Ardkinglas. Lord Rowallan introduced Sir Andrew Noble to Lorimer saying - 'He's a promising young architect who you well might want to consider'.¹⁴⁹ He proceeded to engage Lorimer and since Sir Andrew was nearer to 80 at the time than 70, he was in a hurry. The house was completed for him in 22 months and at one time 200 workmen were engaged on it.¹⁵⁰

A light coloured local stone was used, with dressing from Dullator, a quarry opened near Edinburgh in the 90s. These dressings have decayed badly but at the time of building there had not been a long enough experience of the stone to foresee its poor weathering qualities.

The general character of Ardkinglas is lighter than that of Rowallan, partly because it is lighter in tone than Rowallan and warmer in colour, but it is also due to differences in siting - the north front of Ardkinglas is

often seen palely golden against dark mountains rising steeply beyond it, whereas Rowallan, set on the crest of a long flattish hill, is seen rather grim and grey and dark against the sky. The massing of Ardkinglas particularly as seen from the main approach is more domestic and less military in bearing. A number of long horizontal eaves provide the primary rhythm of the composition, against which a number of crowstep gables and towers are set. The main vertical accent is derived from the entrance porch set in another corbiegable, which is re-iterated in the higher block immediately behind it, before being transferred to the central tower. A counter movement is provided by 3 prominent stepped gables facing west, and by the bell-capped round bay at the west end. Lighter, more decorative, touches are the bell turret on the main tower, the sculpted dormer heads, and the almost jocular little pigeon house under its facettèd bell roof. (fig.40).

The north face of Ardkinglas is a play on verticals surmounted by 3 stepped gables. The transition from the loftier west block on this face to the arcaded east block is not fully resolved, nor can the long straight terrace walls be said to combine sympathetically with the dominant verticality of this facade (fig.41). The house should have been set on a rocky bluff, perhaps, because the eastern view of the house gives much the best setting (fig.42). The house is here seen on top of a steep bank above the magnificent steps mentioned in the preface (Preface fig.2).

The main approach to the house is through woodland, and after crossing a deep burn by a long bend in the road, a wide meadow is reached with the house set at the foot of it and to the right. The drive then sweeps across this meadow in a wide curve to provide a clear view during the final approach to the house. Yet a more gradual revelation of the house as one approached might have provided a richer experience. One minor but charming feature of Lorimer's design is the dam which he had built higher up the burn to provide water for an electrical generator (fig.43). It is completely faced with rounded pebbles.

Ernest Wilmot writing in 1911 saw Ardkinglas as - 'an example of the typically Scottish work which Mr. Lorimer knows so well how to handle'. It has, he says, - 'a romantic and well considered plan and a picturesque grouping. ...The stepped gables and enriched masonwork to the dormer windows are peculiar to this style which owes much to the old French Chateau...A certain chaste severity is stamped upon the interior'.¹⁵¹

Neither Rowallan or Ardkinglas entirely avoid that sense of restlessness which is so characteristic of Scottish Baronial but Lorimer had enjoyed the work on Ardkinglas particularly. He wrote at its conclusion - 'The wife was with me at Ardkinglas over last weekend, and as the weather on the Sunday was superb we enjoyed it. Vi motored to church with Miss W, and I wandered around, and I tell you I had a lump in my throat, as if I was saying goodbye to a

child. I made a tour - the power house, the dam, the waterworks, then down the hill again to the home farm, the garage, the kennels, the pier, the gardens. All done, finished up. Never in my life have I enjoyed a job like that, it all went with such a swing. I managed to make everyone keen - and as I think I told you the finest clerk of works man ever had. I do think ours is an attractive profession, the way one's life, one's thought heart and soul are intimately bound up with one particular spot for a couple of years or so then that chapter closes and one goes on to something else if one has luck'.¹⁵²

Lorimer's enthusiasm for Ardinglas was shared by his workman and the late John Noble recounted to me how Billy Lang the contractor from East Linton and some of the former apprentices said they'd like to come down again to see their work in about 1949. During their visit they all said - 'We had such fun building the house'.¹⁵³

The next (and last) commission for a large entirely new country house in Scotland, was Formakin in Renfrewshire. Lorimer wrote - 'Now Holms working plans are what I'm busy with; and it ought to be an interesting job, want to make it the purest Scotch I've ever done'.¹⁵⁴ Lorimer's own remarks on Brackenbrough show how clearly he was aware of his tendency to overdo things, and Formakin is not only pure Scotch, it is the most unified of his large house designs. Hussey has written that it shows - 'an increasing grasp of the essentials of design'.¹⁵⁵ Holms was a close friend of Lorimer although he only figures

twice in the Dods correspondence, but this may be because the letters between 1907 and 1917 have been lost.

The earlier mention of Holms had been in 1905 when Lorimer had been staying in one of his own earlier designs. He found it - 'rather amusing staying at Briglands and seeing what one had done these years ago, came to the conclusion that I was simpler and broader now, and more able to leave things alone in detail, but I feel I'm not content enough with myself yet. There's a thing on at present called the cheap cottage exhibition at Letchworth that is exciting great interest, bucketfuls of Faddisms I sd say but evidently something to be picked up, so I'm going up to see it, first week in Sep^r. with Mackenzie of Earlshall, Holms and others'.¹⁵⁶

The sketch design for Formakin was exhibited at the R.S.A. and the Glasgow Herald commented - 'Mr. John A. Holms must be singularly strong-minded if he can withstand the fascination of Mr. Lorimer's drawings for his projected residence'.¹⁵⁷ Formakin is one of Lorimer's most assured works. The entrance gate and lodges have a playfulness akin to Baillie Scott's work (fig.44), and the house though simple and unified, combines a variety of accommodation massed in the shape of a 'U', to which a long low block in the shape of an 'L' is attached. The north east view (fig.45) shows how well they combine, and the south and west facades which are dominantly vertical in emphasis, are set to best effect on top of a steep bank.

Formakin was to be Lorimer's last large new commission for the next ten years, due to uncertainties during, and preceding, the Great War. After the Armistice he was to work on the Scottish National War Memorial, Galashiels Burgh Buildings, and several departments for this university at King's Buildings. None of them is closely comparable to Formakin nor do they achieve the same simplicity of effect and complete subordination of detail. Formakin represents one of several high points in Lorimer's career and when Hodder and Stoughton, who had published Shaw Sparrow's books on housing in 1904 and 1906, brought out a book on the modern house in 1938, nine years after Lorimer's death, it was his only work found worthy of mention.

4. Lorimer as a Gothic man

Lorimer had such a strong reputation in his day for being a Gothic man that something must be said of this role, even though it was dealt with by Hussey at some length.

Lorimer saw himself as a Gothic man, by which he meant that he saw form not as something imposed on matter but rather as something evolved within an ethic based on the inherent qualities of a material and the methods of construction for using it. It was because Gothic buildings embodied such an approach that he was interested in them, and why the numerous sketchbooks which he filled are devoted

almost entirely, to Gothic buildings and their details. Yet Lorimer's strong reputation as a Gothic man rests on a surprisingly small production of Gothic buildings. The Thistle Chapel had attracted wide notice, and he worked regularly on the restoration of old Scottish churches and abbeys but of his designs for 5 new churches, only the Church of the Good Shepherd in Murrayfield is even slightly Gothic, and it is more vernacular than Gothic.

If Lorimer was identified primarily as the architect for the Thistle Chapel it would account for the comment made in 1924 by Clough Williams-Ellis that - 'we find ourselves in a definite period of classical architecture... it has, of course, still rivals. For example, some regular Gothic building still goes on. But with a few exceptions (Sir Robert Lorimer, Mr. Gilbert Scott and Sir Charles Nicholson, for instance) it would be difficult to find an architect who was able and willing to build a "straight" Gothic building of any considerable scale'.¹⁵⁸

One further job which the Thistle Chapel led to was in the United States. Pierpoint Morgan, according to William Laing (late of Nathaniel Grieve, joiners) - 'visited the Thistle Chapel and said he wanted to meet the architects, and said he wanted to commission a similar chapel for himself on Long Island. Lorimer got together the craftsmen he needed, we still had men working with us who worked on the Thistle Chapel. The reredos was made here in the shop to sizes sent over from America and we

sent over two men who spent six weeks just fitting all the pieces together'.¹⁵⁹


Lorimer's first church work was probably as an apprentice for Hew Wardrop on St. Annes, Dunbar. He undertook further work on it after Wardrop's death.¹⁶⁰ His first commission for a new church was in Edinburgh and had come in in 1896, and the Church of the Good Shepherd in Murrayfield, Edinburgh, was opened in 1900. The north aisle and tower had not been completed.¹⁶¹ The walls are of hailes stone, the roof Scotch slated. The painted panels in the reredos are by Mrs. Traquair, and the east window by Oscar Paterson and Thomas of Glasgow is to the - 'full size cartoons of the architect Mr. R.S. Lorimer'.¹⁶² It is a pleasant, well detailed unsensational church in vernacular Gothic, in which plain surfaces and simple Gothic windows of indeterminate period, ~~and~~ are used with segmental arches, and a wood vaulted chancel (fig.45).

St. Peter's Catholic Church in Morningside, Edinburgh (1907) is a larger church group. As with the Church of the Good Shepherd - 'the restriction of cost had to be borne in mind throughout. Effect has therefore been sought in broad simple lines and good proportion'.¹⁶³ The detailing is good, but the general effect of this church is southern. The same year Lorimer built St. John Evangelist at Plumpton Hall in Cumberland (fig.46). Pevsner says it is - 'An excellent church which should be better known. The windows admittedly are conventional, but the south tower with its very pronounced balustrade and its bell openings as a

strong screen of reticulation, the south porch, also with a batter and the bare windowless east wall are features not easily forgotten'.¹⁶⁴

Although British architects at the turn of the century were well aware of the reputation of British architecture abroad, it was left to a foreigner Herman Muthesius to write the definitive book on British Domestic Architecture, and he went on also to write a book on English churches.¹. As Sir James Richards has written - 'the only period during which new ideas flowed strongly from Britain into Europe was that of the Arts and Crafts Movement'.¹⁶⁵

5. Commissions outside Scotland

A trickle of commissions for buildings outside Scotland had come in to the office from the earliest days, and in them, Lorimer, freed from the constraints of producing Scottish work to fit his homeland, exhibited his eclectic inclinations more clearly. St. Marnock's near Dublin, was a simple rectangular farmhouse (probably 18th C) which Lorimer was called on to remodel and extend. An early photo of the house taken around 1850 shows the long low south facade of the original building to which an entrance door and taller east wing had been added in 1847.  Lorimer's scheme of 1894 which was illustrated in the Builder shows the main entrance moved to the east facade and placed in a new extension (fig.49). The long low block was to be raised to the height of the west wing and angular

bays placed at either end of the south facade. The scheme carried out follows the general dispositions of Lorimer's scheme but the angular bays were not carried out. Instead the curved end of the 1847 extension was retained and duplicated by another at the other end of the south facade. The garden entrance and stairs in the middle were constructed. Another difference is that the parapet around the roof is lower as carried out, and the slope of the roof perhaps flatter.

Lorimer executed further work in 1895 but whether this was merely completing work already described, or whether he altered the west and north wings, as well, is not clear. Their handling, apart from the parapet of the tower over the butlers pantry does not reflect him.

The work at St. Marnock's dates from Lorimer's third year in practice. It shows an unpretentious house being remodelled to give a house of grace and presence. The entrance drive has been taken from in front of the south front to allow the main rooms of the house to overlook a new and exciting garden in which topiary and palm trees were mingled happily. The proportions and detail are of his usual standard. How he got this job is obscure but the Jamiesons were cousins of the Haigs the Scottish Whiskey Distillers.¹⁶⁶

St. Andrews in Helsinki is a house which he got to do through his sister who married the Finnish Ambassador in London, Herr Ossian Donner. A perspective by Ramsay

Traquair shows a brick and stone building rather in the manner of Norman Shaw (fig.49). The house has been remodelled in late years.¹⁶⁷

The weekend house at Mandal has already been mentioned. It is in the later Colinton manner translated from stone and slates to wood and shingles. It has ~~the~~ quiet excellence of this period (fig.50). The Salvesons for whom it was done are a Norwegian-Scottish family.

St. Andrews and Mandal were built of the local materials but no stylistic concessions to local traditions were made. However Lorimer's own remarks on his designs for houses in England show that he was concerned not only to fit each house on its site to best advantage, but also to fit the appearance of each house within the vernacular style of each region. When designing 'Whinfold', Benson's house at Hascombe, he wrote of the drawings - 'I think they've turned out rather well, as English as they can stick'.¹⁶⁸ Gertrude Jekyll collaborated on the garden (fig.52). He staked out the job in 1898. The house and stables were to cost - '£3,400 or thereby. Far more than it ought to be but everything is most fabulously dear at present'. Afterwards he - 'walked to Guildford and I sprang a mine of green handled knives and forks...Benson told me that Sturgess has been having a simple hell of a row with Voysey over his house, and no wonder I'd lock the man up in the coal hole and keep him there'.¹⁶⁹

'Whinfold' is made up of the same elements as a Colinton Cottage with the additions of tile hanging. 'High

Barn' which he built near Whinfold a few years later is a varied pastiche of motives. In 1901 he had told Dods of a Stuart Bouvette who had - 'bought 34 acres near Benson and been recommended by him to me re building a house on it. It's a lovely site and beautifully wooded so it ought to be a nice job'.¹⁷⁰

A rough draft of a letter which discusses the planning exists. 'Dear B - I had yours of the 15th returning the revised sketch plans of New B' - the house was originally to be called New Barn - 'and I intended to have sent you a little mezzanine plan, showing that there is a door fr. the bedroom passage' - which - 'leads across the gallery. The central portion of which is open to the hall, and then some steps', (which lead into the bedroom over the dining room).

The general arrangement of this stair-well is similar to that of the hall at 'Wayside' in St. Andrews, and he went on to say that with the gallery carefully worked out and with the big bay, that - 'the "barn" sd now be right. Interesting but not restless or fussy'.¹⁷¹ The big bay, although traditional in form, also recalls strongly Lutyen's work at 'the orchards'. Lorimer met the owners of this house at Miss Jeckyll's and went over to see this house.¹⁷² The rest of the south elevation of High Barn is far from resolved (fig.53), and the change in level of the windows is not harmonised by the stone pilaster strips by which the east end of the south facade is split up into bays.

An undated fragment of a letter to Dods tells that this - 'surrey job is turning out interesting - going to build it with Miss Jekyll's little builder - who knows the local methods thoroughly...I'm on my working drawings for the house - Matthew is to be at Southampton on the 17th back from the war at last thank the Lord!' ¹⁷³ Next year while the job was going up, Lorimer went for a weekend to stay with Benson, and to supervise the work: 'spent afternoon roaming over the job which I think is shaping rather well. Monday morning - spent with Builder who is really Troup's man to see a large house, etc., that Troup has been doing for a man near Witley - better outside than in. I think such a lot of men do idiotic things in the way of plan - in order to work in some pre-conceived idea they have found for the elevation, for instance Troup has a very small kitchen with an 8ft ceiling looking due south! ditto scullery!!! and all this looking over my ladies garden - did you ever?' ¹⁷⁴

He was down again a month later ¹⁷⁵ to look ~~over~~ **High Barn**. Shaw Sparrow illustrated it in 1906 but it is not one of Lorimer's better buildings, indeed it suggests a pastiche of elements borrowed from the vernacular of the south of England, together with a balcony reminiscent of Normandy and a curved gable over the main entrance with a suggestion of Dutch influence (fig.54). Only the title of the house, which strikes the ear oddly as a name for a house, is purely Lorimer's - 'sorry to hear about the trouble regarding the name of the place and I think both New Lodge and especially New Park have rather a Whitaker Wrightish sort of sound.

As it is High Pinkworth wouldn't High Barn, be better or Hill Barn'.¹⁷⁶ As Ian Nairn suggests the house is - 'nothing remarkable'.¹⁷⁷

The work of restoring old buildings successfully requires a light touch and a sympathy for the original work. It is never easy to add new work to old in such a way as to marry them sympathetically. Lorimer's earlier success with Earlshall and his extensions to the manor house of Barton Hartshorn near Buckingham show his breadth of comprehension. The 'Country Life' Magazine illustrated the work on Barton Hartshorn and commented that the additions showed that - 'his architectural sympathies are stimulated by English not less than by Scottish traditional work, as might be expected from one who spent some time working in the office of Sir Ernest George' - which he did not.¹⁷⁸ A similar opinion of Lorimer's work was held by Ernest Wilmot, who writing in 1911 found that - 'Mr. R.S. Lorimer is best known for his Scottish work ... but the Manor House, Barton, shows that he is equally at home with work more characteristically English in its expression'.¹⁷⁹ More recently Nikolaus Pevsner pronounced thus - 'In 1903 Sir Robert Lorimer was called in and added much. In 1908 he added yet more. The result is picturesque and entirely successful. Lorimer carried on the Tudor Style of the house of 1635. He composed his addition into an L-shape with an old walnut tree in the focal position between the two arms'.¹⁸⁰

A completely new house in England carried out by Lorimer in the Tudor style was Brackenbrough. The 'Country Life'

magazine commented - 'Sir Robert Lorimer has shown his grasp of the local conditions by treating Brackenbrough in the broad manner that is characteristic of Tudor work, not only in Cumberland and the Lake District but also in Yorkshire'.¹⁸¹ Nikolaus Pevsner has remarked more recently - 'The style is still Tudor, but the details betray the new gained freedom'.¹⁸² This freedom of manner which he cites was one derived from the lessening grip of style, and from the Arts and Crafts movements insistence upon honest construction and the expressive use of materials. However, Lorimer himself was not altogether satisfied with this design which was his first commission for a large new mansion. He wrote to Dods that this was the job that the - 'Playfairs have been trying to work for me for the last year or two. A big house in Northumberland for a man Harris who has 15 thou a year at least...hope it may mean stables lodges etc., etc., so that I'm working into the right line of country by slow degrees'.¹⁸³ Yet again Lorimer's letters remind us that his primary aim at the end of the 19th century was to excel as an architect for country houses.

Two months later 1/8th scale plans were under way on antiquarian size sheets (52" x 31") - and Horsburgh, a youth and Nobbs were hard at work on them - 'Nobby back for a few weeks previous to taking London by storm. Don't know how he'll end that boy for all his go and ability I don't value his services very highly always feel that there's just as good a chance of his drawings being wrong as right. You

know what I mean'.¹⁸⁴

Construction started on site towards the end of the year. The cost was to be £2,7000.¹⁸⁵ Thirty-five hewers were at work in March of 1902 and - 'As trade is generally slack they can get any amount of good men ... In 8 weeks or so the huge Kirby Hall window of hall ought to be taking shape, which is exciting - think I have got rather a ripping plan for the hall ... then my music room I've tried to make a rare good proportion' (fig.55). He had explained all this to Mrs. Harris in person and she had caught his enthusiasm and was already talking of engaging - 'liffs band' even though the foundations of the room hadn't yet been put in.¹⁸⁶

In 1905 the house was complete and in occupation - 'and though the furniture they have put in the place is too putrid for words, and in spite of wanting to hang oneself from most of the ceilings - still one had a sort of comfortable feeling - of "something accomplished something done ...but the awful crab that I feel to my work as to everyone's domestic work at present is the want of rhythm. The old unconscious lads, struck a keynote - set the tune. Their tune - the only tune that existed for them and on this tune they played in room after room the most delicious variations, but there was no jarring foreign note no scrappiness'.

He went on, next, to describe the quite different treatment of the public rooms at Brackenbrough, and ended on a humble note by saying - 'what a worm one feels, when one thinks of it ... I'm going home determined that my next house is to be rhythmical all through, at least I'm going to spit on my hand and have a good square try at it'.¹⁸⁷

6. The recognition of Lorimer's ability

An early ambition held by Lorimer was to have a magazine devote a whole number to him. The Builder which had been the first magazine to publish his work, was a magazine, as its name implied, devoted to the process of building and to the objective reporting of buildings of merit. Batches of illustrations of Lorimer's works were included from time to time but the reporting to go with them was minimal and rather matter of fact. The magazine never promoted personalities.

The studio magazine, for reasons which have been discussed, published only a little of Lorimer's work. Shaw Sparrow made redress in his books of 1904, and 1906 but thereafter his books were confined to the contents of dwellings rather than to the planning of dwellings as cottages. 'Recent English Domestic Architecture 1909' a special number of the Architect's Review reviewed Pittencrieff House, Dunfermline, a reconstruction by Lorimer¹⁸⁸; and in 1910 the Architectural Review became the first magazine to produce a number largely devoted to Lorimer's work.¹⁸⁹ Twenty pages were devoted to the remodelling of Lynpne Castle, St. Peter's Church, Ardkinglass, Wemyss Hall and Barton Hartshorn.

The large mansions and country houses were designed for a different type of patron who subscribed to different magazines, among them the 'Country Life'. Articles on Lorimer's work began to appear in it from time to time.

Earlshall was reported in one article¹⁹⁰, the Thistle Chapel in another (in 1911) by ~~L.H.C.~~ Lawrence Weaver.¹⁹¹ A long article on the remodelling of Lympe by 'W' appeared in 1910¹⁹² some months after the architectural Review had reported on it.

Lorimer's work was gaining a wider recognition in the magazines, and with competition between them, one article led to others. The Builder was forced to widen its purview. In 1911 it ran a two page review of the Thistle Chapel and pronounced that even - 'lacking the ceremonial concourse, the aspect of the interior is sufficiently gorgeous and complete'.¹⁹³ Six full page plates were included. The Thistle Chapel continued to raise interest and the Architects and Builders Journal published plates of the interior more than 3 years later.¹⁹⁴

Lorimer, as the Gothic architect of the Thistle Chapel, had been widely reported on and in 1913 he achieved his long standing wish when the Country Life brought out a complete number on his work.¹⁹⁵ All Lorimer's major works were reported on except those which had already appeared in its pages and many of the advertisements were taken by firms and craftsmen for Lorimer's work. His reputation as a country house designer of the stature of Lutyens was assured.

Lorimer's work in England widened his interest for the readers of English magazines but it cannot be shown that the work which he did outside Scotland had any lasting influence on him as a designer. His design for St. Marnocks

with high parapets - an uncharacteristic feature for him - is reflected in his house for Ronay Dougal in Colinton, which he designed shortly afterwards (fig.56). The work at St. Barnocks, as carried out however, retained the existing bow ends to the east wing and similar bows were to be used by Lorimer at the Mill of Tarvit, and for the house 'Sheildaig' in the Braids, Edinburgh. In general Lorimer continued to adapt his building to local vernacular styles wherever possible. The old farm Cannes, a late job, which he designed for the Playfairs and which was built in 1928 is provencal in style and has been much remodelled.¹⁹⁶

The final tally shows that about 88% of his commissions were in Scotland, 8% in England and 4% elsewhere. Alterations, extensions and restorations provided more than half of this total. However his work in England, especially in the Home Counties, reinforced his friendships which were in time to lead to his appointment as principal architect for the Imperial War Graves Commission in 1918.

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THE COLINTON SEARCH

The New Houses And Cottages By Lorimer In Colinton

NORTH SIDE

Colinton Cottage*	23 Pentland Avenue	1895
Binley Cottage	42 " " ('A')	1897
Nestfield Cottage*	40 " " ('B')	1897
Roxobel*	14 Gillespie Road	1897
(formerly Glenmay)		
Pentland Cottage	" "	1897
Acharra	3 " "	1899
Almora	Spylaw Bank Road	1899
The Hermitage	26 Gillespie Road	1899
Huntly	" " ('P')	1901
The Rowans	21 Pentland Avenue ('C')	1901
Hartfell*	10 Spylaw Park	1901
(formerly Dilkusha)		
Glenlyon	Spylaw Bank Road	1901
Stonehouse*	1 Pentland Road	1914-5
(formerly Dunnottar)		

SOUTH SIDE

Laverockdale*	Dreghorn Loan	1912-4
Rustic Cottages Nos.1-3	Colinton Road	1901
" "	4-7 " "	1902

* Denotes work which received
some mention by Hussey.

CHAPTER 5 : THE WAR YEARS (1914-18)

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CHAPTER 51. The private domestic work

If the private domestic work of building did not cease entirely during the war years, business for Lorimer was slack. The demand for cottages in the Colinton Manner had ceased a few years before its outbreak as the impetus of the Arts and Crafts approach to cottage design had been lost. Lorimer, himself, showed signs of losing interest in them as early as 1900 when he wrote to Dods that he wanted badly - 'some jobs with a little money in them, I'm tired' - he said - 'of these starved whitewashed houses'.¹

Lorimer makes it plain that he increasingly preferred working on large country house schemes and from about 1905 he concentrated on them and on such ecclesiastical work as came his way. Both these types of work continued at a reduced pace during the war. (Hussey's list shows 23 works for the years 1909-13 and only 11 for 1914-18). He began his last new house in Colinton - 'Stonehouse' - not at all in the Colinton Manner, and three remodelling jobs, Gattonside, Marchmont and Midfield. Marchmont was an existing house in Berwickshire by William Adam, but much altered in the 19th century, (according to Hussey). Lorimer transformed this simple austere Georgian mansion into a building suggesting that slight pomposity which became common for civic offices in the following decades. Three other remodelling jobs were started during the war, Dunrobin and Button Castle are unremarkable but Balmanno

Castle started in 1916, shows a large scale application of the Colinton Manner. He had applied this manner to medium sized houses like Pitkenno in Angus but not since his early ~~un-~~ realised remodelling project for Mounie had he had the opportunity to apply it to a large tower house. The client, Mr. W.S. Miller and Lorimer were to have paid a day's visit (in October 1915) to Lorimer's first job Earlshall, but the visit was postponed.² The next entry in the diary records a visit to Balmanno - 'at above with Mr. Miller, going over all the sketch plans per the memo'.³ Agreement seems to have been reached immediately and the further entries merely record time spent on correspondence on it.

Mrs. Swan says - 'the main point about the work at Balmanno was that Sir R. was given a free hand with all structural work, furnishings, garden etc. Sir R. made repeated journeys to London where he had particular shops (mostly Bond Street), looking out for pictures which might be right for Balmanno. Money was no hindrance to anything that Sir R. thought just right'.⁴ Even the doorhandles and keyholes were specially designed and Lorimer once remarked, 'seldom has an architect such a commission'.⁵ Mrs. Miller, however, found the change from Pollocksheils in Glasgow to the grandeur of Balmanno too much and proclaimed that she would never live in it. Lorimer said bitterly of her - 'She prefers to go on living in her apartment in Pollocksheils with red petticoats round the lights'.⁶

Balmanno was the most complete job Lorimer ever did, and one in which everything was possible. Nathaniel

Grieves did the joinery, and William Laing recalls how in about 1963 they - 'had to take out a painting above the fireplace and all the panelling from door to ceiling had to come out to release the painting'.⁷

All these things explain why Salmanno became his favourite remodelling job and the one he would most liked to have lived in. It shows also how it was the smaller opportunities which a Colinton Cottage could offer to its designer, which he found cramping, and not its manner.

2. Other types of work

The Thistle Chapel, started in 1909, and finished in 1911 does not seem to have led immediately to further ecclesiastical work, even though he received his knighthood for it. His office diary for 1915 opens at January 1st with the note - 'Here morning only, Whitekirk, north window, etc.' Whitekirk Church in East Lothian had been burned down by protesting suffragets^{te} and Lorimer was called in to restore it. Noted down also was - 'Morton to call @ 12.30 re Morton's Mill'. This was a rare incursion into commercial practice involving the design of^a fabric-weaving factory for the firm Morton Sundour of Carlisle.

The cessation of many normal activities during a war allows a re-appraisal of what should happen when peace returns. Perhaps this is why the D.I.A. (Design in

Industry Association) came to be set up in 1915. Prominent among those concerned was James Morton.

The Arts and Crafts Movement whose aim was to reform public taste and wean it away from the ostentation of high Victorian style had produced a wide variety of good designs based upon the hand crafts. Such goods catered for a narrow section of the market, and their influence upon the standards of design of machine-made articles for the mass market was slight. Many of its precepts, however, had been adopted by the German Werkbund Movement, which from 1907 onwards had succeeded in reforming German industrial design. The products had been so very successful ^{that} a number of worried British designers and industrialists were moved to draw up a memorandum for the reform of design in industry which they directed to the secretary to the Board of Trade, Sir Hubert Hewellyn Smith. One of the signatories was a James Morton of Morton Sundour.⁸

The D.I.A. was promoted to encourage good design in a field neglected by the Arts and Crafts Movement. Their aims were close if their methods were different, and W.R. Lethaby, so long the leading member of the Arts and Crafts Movement came on to the council of the D.I.A. The shift of the emphasis from the produce of man's handwork, to production by machines & functional utilitarianism is reflected in the dictum of William Morris that - 'art is man's joy in labour' and of Lethaby that - 'a work of art is a well made thing - that is all', or that it is - 'the well doing of what needs doing'.

Lorimer attended 'A British Industries Meeting' in London in May 1915⁹ which is the month in which the D.I.A. was set up to promote an efficiency style, according to Peyser.¹⁰ Its first propaganda bulletin contained articles by Sir Robert Lorimer, Morley Fletcher, Director of the Edinburgh College of Art (a close acquaintance of his) and James Morton.¹¹ The D.I.A. papers have been lodged with the D.I.B.A. but have been loaned back to the D.I.A. and are not accessible, but Peyser notes that Lorimer referred to Muthesius' stay in Britain as an example of the intelligent promotion of good design, and to Messelt's facades of Wertheim's store in Berlin as a good example of modern design.¹²

Lawrence Weaver, also, interested himself in the D.I.A. and also in May 1915 Lorimer noted that he was at Barguillan - 'writing article for the C.L.'¹³. No article by Lorimer appeared in the Country Life until 11 months later. An article of his 'The fairy fountain in Berlin' had appeared in the number of May 9th 1914. The fountain is embellished with statues of Red Riding Hood, Gretel and Hans in love. They show a strong affinity with the work of Phyllis Bone who later worked a lot for Lorimer. He took a lot of trouble with his articles and seven months later he - 'went to Larbert and had a day with Tom Jones over the home timber question',¹⁴ and to - 'Whytock's works morning re home timber articles and photos'.¹⁵ This article appeared in the Country Life some months later.¹⁶

His visits to the McDonalds at Barguillan had continued into the summer. He visited them again in June¹⁷, and for what was to be - 'the last weekend at B', - where he also met Frank Deas.¹⁸

A branch of the D.I.A. was set up in Edinburgh eventually, and the office diary records that he attended its meetings in 1918. Lorimer's influence cannot have been great. His acquaintances in the Arts and Crafts and his ability to write drew him in at the start of this new movement at a time when his office was slack. But his ideals and tastes were towards the expression of individual things and not universal ideas or forms. His attempts at industrial design were few. He designed a W.C. suite in collaboration with the British Medical Council and introduced a better posture in use.¹⁹ What inspired this design in the first place is not clear but his diary notes that his visit to the manufacturers, Shanks of Barrhead had been postponed,²⁰ and also that it took place finally a month later.²¹

Remirol, or Lorimer spelt backwards, is the name of the closet. When Lorimer wrote later to Burrell and said - 'if you want your name to go down to posterity subscribe £50,000 towards it, [the Scottish National War Memorial] F.C.B. Cadell the painter retorted that Lorimer's - "name would go down to posterity in the Remirol"'.²²

After the war Lorimer was invited to enter a limited competition for a telephone box for the G.P.O. which was won by Giles Gilbert Scott. Lorimer's design is in no way

original.²³ This is not to say that Lorimer was not practical. He got Shanks to experiment and to produce their non-scratch powder porcelain cleanser (still on the market).²⁴ But he was not interested in mass production.

3. Other activities during the war years

1915 was a slack year in the office. Lorimer kept up with his friends. He visited London and saw Weaver and Whall.²⁵ He found time to go frequently to concerts; at the university,²⁶ the Bach Society,²⁷ St. Mary's Cathedral,²⁸ and he never missed the concerts at Nelson Hall arranged by Finney McEwan of Larchmont.²⁹ He also went to the King's Theatre,³⁰ lunched with Martin Harvey the actor³¹ and went to the 'Taming of the Shrew'.³² He passed many weekends at friends houses. 'Went to Burntisland and walked to E.D's through woods'.³³ This was Deas house the Murrell at Aberdour. He spent one weekend with Hobs, the stockbroker,³⁴ and the next one at Taynuilt with the McDonalds (clients for Barguillieam). He went again to the Murrell in March³⁵ and to Taynuilt, with his wife in April,³⁶ and by himself in May.³⁷

He continued to see Deas regularly. He lunched with him.³⁸ He had - 'Dods to dinner'.³⁹ No hint is given in this brief note of what must have been a warm re-union. He spent the following weekend at the Murrell.⁴⁰ He took

a week's holiday at his parents home - Kellie Castle⁴¹ and returned there for the next three weekends,⁴² on the last of which he and Deas went over to St. Andrews for the opening of the Greystoke Memorial.⁴³ He also took a three day holiday there in September.⁴⁴

Memorials had formed part of Lorimer's practice since the 90s. A full page illustration of the Playfair Memorial in St. Andrews appeared in a magazine in 1899.⁴⁵ It is a simple pylon in stone upon two steps, surmounted by a classical cornice. Above all is a heraldic lion and shield. Like so much of Lorimer's it is nothing remarkable in itself and is very similar to the work of his contemporaries and yet withal it does convey a fineness of touch which to the discerning eye sets it apart.

Lorimer took the opportunity to visit Weaver while in London early in 1915,⁴⁶ and some five months later Weaver's book on 'Memorials and Monuments' was published, the purpose of which was to - 'focus attention on good examples old and new.'⁴⁷ The work was generously illustrated. Lorimer's work was mentioned seven times and eight pages of illustrations were devoted to his work. Herbert Baker was mentioned once and Lutyens not at all.

The overall picture which emerges for 1915 is of Lorimer with time on his hands turning to other activities and spending a lot of time with Deas in particular. They may well have been collaborating on work together. Deas did collaborate with Lorimer on jobs occasionally and a later entry by J.F. Matthew in the office diary during an absence

of Lorimer notes - 'Mr. Deas re charge including etc., for job in south of England'.⁴⁸ Lorimer, as a governor of the College of Art, attended monthly board meetings, as well as lectures at it once or twice a month, and the occasional Diploma days. He attended meetings at the R.S.A.⁴⁹ The Receiving day for Architecture was noted down⁵⁰ and the - 'R.S.A. varnishing lunch'.⁵¹

He was a member of several cultural societies. The lamplighters were a group who met regularly at 9p.m. for whisky and talk and which included Douglas Strachan, Morley Fletcher, John Karrack, Dean Perry, John Duncan, Alfred Ewing, Frank Deas, Ivory the Stockbroker, Pittendreich MacGillivray and Lord Salvesen.⁵² The Society of 8 was another group whose meetings Lorimer attended.⁵³

Apart from these things the diary is filled largely with administrative details of such jobs as were going and of business lunches at the Queens or New Clubs. Occasional references to his Arts and Crafts interests are to be found - 'Glasgow Needlework Exhibition',⁵⁴ mixed up with dinner dates with Strachan, the stained glass artist, Fletcher principal of the College of Art, and I.B.C. (1, Bruntsfield Crescent) the home of his Aunt Louise.

Lorimer must have been worried at the slackness of business during these years. The late Dr. James Richardson recalled that - 'Lorimer was a person who just went straight ahead. I remember I was on leave once from the army and I met him in the street. He was complaining about Matthew and wanted to get rid of him. I advised

him to stick to him'.⁵⁵

4. The promise of new commissions

The next diary which still exists is for 1918. It reveals Lorimer becoming busier as the end of the war drew near. He was still occupied with College of Art affairs, and was also regularly attending meetings at the Architectural Association. He attended D.I.A. meetings in January, twice in Edinburgh⁵⁶ and once in London.⁵⁷ February brought an embroidery exhibition⁵⁸ the R.S.A. election⁵⁹ and a meeting of the D.I.A. committee at the College of Art at which he took the chair.⁶⁰ The last mention of the D.I.A. was in March, at 6, Frederic Street.⁶¹

Affairs became quieter again during the summer and the last months of the war. He had bought Gibleston, a Georgian country house near Colinsburgh in Fife in 1916. He had long wished to emulate his father in having a country retreat. He had bought a site in Fife sometime around 1905 intending to build for himself. It was an open site with a view of the sea on the right hand side of the road between Upper Large and Colinsburgh.⁶² However, the costs of building dismayed him, and he bought Gibleston at a time when prices must have been relatively low during the Great War.

It has a fine outlook across 3 miles of gently sloping mixed grass and arable land to the sea near Pittenweem. Across the firth and on the main axis of view lies the Bass Rock some 30 miles off but clearly visible on a good day. He went across to Gibleston for most weekends. Frank Deas went with him in April.⁶³ He inspected the new town built during the war to house munitions workers and wrote an article which appeared in the Country Life.⁶⁶ Weaver stayed the weekend at Gibleston in July.⁶⁷ Late in September he - 'went south for meeting in London with Kenyon and Ware'.⁶⁸ Sir Frederic Kenyon was advisor to the Imperial War Graves Commission on design, and General Ware was chairman of the Commission. The day after, the - 'appt was fixed up'⁶⁹ by which Sir Robert Lorimer became principal architect for the British War Cemeteries in Italy, Greece and Egypt.

Work in the office continued to be slack and the staff was reduced to Matthew and about 2 apprentices.⁷⁰ The addresses of members of staff in the armed forces were noted down in various places in the diaries. Horsburgh was in Canada.⁷¹ 'Nobbs leaves for Canada as soon as he can fix it. Nesbitt is in North Russia. Murmansk Coast'.⁷² Lorimer's secretary Miss Brown (now Mrs. Swan) who had joined him in 1916 was directed to other work and a reference was furnished for the Ministry of Food.⁷³ While Lorimer was abroad working on the war cemeteries the office was closed for a while and Matthew administered such work as was in progress from his home.⁷⁴

Other work was on the way. Lorimer was being considered as architect for the Scottish National War Memorial and he met the prime instigator the 'Duke of Atholl at Club'.⁷⁵ As the war ended Lorimer was more and more asked to do memorials. For a long time they were coming in at the rate of two every week.⁷⁶ Richardson maintained that Lorimer ran them as package deals. He said - 'He employed a mason for his war memorials and he gave people an inclusive price for the stone masons time, and his own profit'.⁷⁷

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Section 4 : (continued)

Triumphal arches, gate lodges and cloisters

The element of cost

The neglected question of scale

5 : The problems in assessing the Commission's work

A typical cemetery in a base area

The lessons of a cemetery in a communications
area

An assessment of 5 atypical front line
cemeteries.

Chapter 6

1. The Establishment of the Commission

The story of how the Imperial War Graves Commission came into being has been told by Philip Longworth in his book 'The Unending Vigil'. He had been taken onto the staff of the Commission for two years to allow him access to the Commission's records while working on it.¹

The task which the cemeteries presented during the Great War was vast. The first job amid the chaos and desolation of warfare was merely the registration of graves before they became unidentifiable as the wooden crosses disintegrated and the markings washed off. The graves were scattered around haphazardly in the places where the soldiers had fallen. The army was too busy fighting to undertake this work and so it passed to a Red-Cross unit led by Fabian Ware, and from this beginning evolved the graves recognition directorate whose job was to locate, identify and register the graves of the fallen.

The means of identification provided for many of the graves was only temporary in the first instance and deteriorated so rapidly that many graves had become unidentifiable. A more systematic approach and permanent method of marking was seen to be necessary. This implied no reproach on the directorate of graves recognition which had worked admirably within the limitations of its somewhat restricted resources. However as the war continued, the

task increased and further resources became essential to meet it, and long term policies had to be established also to provide a clear procedural framework for the day to day work in this huge task. About 4300 graves had been registered by May 1915, and a further 27,000 by October.² By 1916 700 people were working for the directorate,³ and by April 1917, 156,500 graves had been registered.⁴ The Commission which grew out of these things was set up in 1917 and its success owes much to the vision and great ability of the man in charge, Fabian Ware, by this time promoted Major-General.

The permanent form which war cemeteries might take was considered. An advisory committee under Sir Frank Kenyon (of the British Museum) was set up and drew up a report in 1918 entitled - 'How the cemeteries abroad will be designed'. Among the recommendations was one that - 'the architectural designers of the cemeteries should work in the closest co-operation with the horticultural experts. The former will be responsible for the effect to be produced, but the latter alone can advise what trees and shrubs are suitable to the soil and will produce the required results'.⁵ The impetus, it is clear from this proposal, was to come from the designers.

Some of the principles to be followed in the design of a war cemetery, as well as the main elements to be used, were also set down clearly in Sir Frederic's report. First, the principle was stated that all men irrespective of rank or station should receive an - 'equality of

treatment', a principle that determined that however the dead were recognised, all men were to be recognised in the same way.⁶ Second, two alternative approaches were cited. The cemetery could have either 'the appearance of a small park or garden.....in no way recognisable as a cemetery, except by the presence of some central monument', alternatively - 'the cemetery (besides such central monument or monuments) will be marked by rows of headstones of uniform height'.⁷ Sir Frederic went on to recommend the use of headstones as carrying on - 'the military idea'. The headstones were the first design element to be recommended by him.

The suggestion was made at an early stage by Sir Edwin Lutyens... 'that the main memorial in every British cemetery should be "one great fair stone of fine proportions, 12 feet in length"...this stone would be, wherever circumstances permit, on the eastern side of each cemetery, and the graves will lie before it, facing east, as the army faces now'.⁸ Sir Frederic felt that this stone, the second design element to be proposed, would be to some merely a memorial stone and to others an altar. Either way it would not be sufficient because - 'it lacks what many (probably a large majority) would desire, the definitely Christian character; and it does not represent the idea of self sacrifice. For this the one essential symbol is the Cross'.⁹ 'My recommendation' he went on, 'definitely is that these two forms of monuments should be combined; that in every cemetery there should be, on the east side, unless

local conditions render it impracticable, a memorial stone as recommended by Sir E. Lutyens; and elsewhere in the cemetery a cross. The cross should be...of the nature of crosses found in many English country churchyards, or the Celtic crosses characteristic of northern Britain'.¹⁰

The fourth element to be cited included 'other buildings' which would be needed to house the register of graves, the gardeners tools, or to shelter visitors.

'These purposes will be best fulfilled by letting the building cover the stone, in the form of a small colonade or cloister, open (with pillars) towards the graves'.¹¹

Lych gates were considered inappropriate except for those cemeteries in which burials were still taking place.

The fifth design element comprised the plants: 'It is essential that the architectural designers of the cemeteries should work in the closest co-operation with the horticultural experts'. The circumstances of each design could be expected to vary, but the summary of the general policy in this respect suggested that - 'the general appearance of a British cemetery will be that of an enclosure with plots of grass or flowers (or both) separated by paths of varying size and set with orderly rows of headstones, uniform in height and width, but with slight difference of shape'.

At this point, the summary begins to cite forms which had not been mentioned previously: 'shrubs and trees will be arranged in various places, sometimes as clumps at the junctions of ways, sometimes as avenues along the sides of

principal paths, sometimes around the borders of the cemetery'. The summary then goes on to echo the pre-dilictions of Sir Edwin Lutyens, proposing that - 'At the eastern end of the cemetery will be a great altar stone raised on some broad steps, and bearing some brief and appropriate phrase or text'. It concludes that - 'either over the stone, or elsewhere in the cemetery, will be a small building, where visitors may gather for shelter or for worship, and where the register of graves will be kept. And at some prominent spot will rise the Cross...The outlines of this scheme...leaves ample scope for the display of artistic talent in adapting the scheme to the details of the ground in each particular instance'.¹²

The Commission having set up its policy had next to appoint architects to implement it. The task of designing cemeteries for more than one million dead was a huge one. The delegation of work by the six principal architects had to take account of a variety of circumstances. The great majority of all our war cemeteries were along the western front. Christopher Hussey says that Lutyens initially was offered all our cemeteries¹³ but even with six principal architects who were appointed it remained too much for their personal direction. The Kenyon Report had recommended - 'that the cemeteries be divided into a few large groups, that each group should be assigned one principal architect and a number of younger men, working under his leadership; that the majority of the cemeteries should be designed by the younger men, but that their plans should be submitted

to the principal architect and should receive his approval before being sanctioned by the Commission. The principal architect would no doubt reserve a few of the most important sites in his area for treatment by himself'.¹⁴ In this way, observes Philip Longworth, 'A balance would be achieved between youth and experience and between individuality and a common theme of design'.¹⁵ As the Times was to report later - 'in each area a deputy director of works was appointed with the necessary staff. One of the principal architects visited Italy, Macedonia and Egypt; another Gallipoli and Palestine; and a third Iraq, and each either made designs himself, or as in France arranged for them to be made under his guidance by younger architects'.¹⁶

'I was asked rather suddenly to take up the job of principal architect to the Imperial War Graves Commission for Italy and Egypt. Had a letter about it fr Sir F. Kenyon of the British Museum and then was summoned to London by wire to a meeting and it was fixed up'.¹⁷ So began a new chapter in Sir Robert's life which was to take him in an official capacity also to Germany and Greece. In the next nine years he was to work on the designs of 33 cemeteries overseas as well as being consulted on points concerning many others. Kenyon's letter ended with the words - 'In the event of your acceptance, the sooner you could visit Italy or Egypt, or both the better as the matter is rather pressing'.¹⁸ Four days later, Sir Robert replied to say that he would - 'feel greatly honoured in being associated with the work in Italy and Egypt and may

say generally that I should wish to make it ~~my~~ endeavour to render any services that I can to my country in this regard'.¹⁹

No further development happened over the next two weeks, until at the end of them, Sir Frederic wrote again to say that he had - 'been daily expecting to hear from the Director of the Graves Department', that was to say, General Fabian Ware, and he continued, - 'until I hear from him there is nothing more that I can say. He is away on leave'. The invitation to act as principal architect seems to have come from Kenyon himself as chairman of the advisory committee, since he ended his letter by saying that he was - 'very glad that there is a possibility of your undertaking Italy and Egypt' and that he hoped it would be possible 'to make satisfactory arrangements'.²⁰

Two and a half weeks later Sir Robert was informed officially that his appointment as principal architect for the designing of cemeteries in Italy and Egypt had been approved,²¹ but by then he was already in Modane at the beginning of his first Italian tour of inspection.²²

Principal architect to the Imperial War Graves Commission was an official position which was to last until 1927, so the body of work for which each principal was responsible was considerable. Each principal architect acted in a consultative capacity over particular areas, and the way the design work was delegated, both to and by them, will have to be considered.

The principal architects do not appear to have been appointed systematically. The first architect of all to be approached was Sir Edwin Lutyens. Sir Herbert Baker has written how - 'in the autumn of 1917 Sir Fabian Ware asked me if I would serve with Lutyens on the Imperial War Graves Commission. I realised from experience at Delhi that there be a conflict inherent in our different natures and outlook: that he would be propelled towards abstract monumental design, and I would place more importance on sentiment', and he felt as a consequence - 'that, while it would not be wise to attempt any close collaboration in design, I would willingly serve as an independent architect with Lutyens on the Commission'.²³

Thus Lutyens and Baker went out to France in 1917 with Aitken of the National Gallery of British Art in Millbank to advise on the general architectural treatment of war cemeteries. Differences of opinion were not long in arising. 'While Lutyens envisaged schemes of heroic proportions, Aitken thought it wrong to spend such large sums on graves rather than housing' and as a result - 'Lutyens was for a standard application of a grandiose plan' whereas Aitken supported - 'simple designs of modest cost appropriate to the size of the cemeteries, and in harmony with the character of their surroundings'.²⁴ As no agreement was reached by these advisers, Ware was advised to approach Sir Frederic Kenyon the director of the British Museum, and he agreed to chair the advisory committee. The deliberations of this committee were summarised in ^{the} report

- 'How the cemeteries abroad will be designed'. A policy was outlined, broad principles and guide lines laid out, on which the design of British cemeteries should proceed. The report notes (on page twenty) that 3 architects had been consulted - 'whose selection would command public confidence'. The third architect was Mr. Reginald Blomfield, and page twenty four - the last page - carries a note that - 'Sir Robert Lorimer, R.S.A., has been appointed principal architect to Italy and has visited the cemeteries in that country'. He had been appointed for just four weeks by the date of publication of this report.

We can only speculate as to who advised Sir Frederic Kenyon to approach Sir Robert in the first place. When I asked Mr. Longworth if he knew how Sir Robert had come to be appointed, he replied - 'I don't really remember since it's some time since I wrote the book'. The official history had appeared more than 2 years earlier, he continued - 'He was rather on the fringe, is my impression. He did not have a London office - wasn't he a Scot. I imagine it was on a verbal introduction through the old boy network'.²⁵

Personal introductions must have counted for a good deal. Lorimer himself tried to introduce Dods. 'Met Baker in London, nice chap, re the Gallipoli business I'm afraid it's a "wash-out" - but I'll write again to Kenyon tomorrow, and say that if you are approached with sufficient tact it is just conceivable you might consent to act'.²⁶

We know that Sir Edwin Lutyens was the first architect to be consulted and it appears likely if not certain, that Herbert Baker his collaborator on New Delhi, was approached at his suggestion. We know too, that his acquaintance with Lorimer was long-standing and that subsequently Lorimer was invited to design the Memorial Chapel extension at Rossall School on Lutyens' recommendation to the trustees.²⁷ It is probable that the names of those recommended to the War Graves Commission would be passed around an inner circle for approval. Lawrence Weaver, who had already published a book on 'Memorials and Monuments'²⁸ in 1915 would have warmly supported the choice. Weaver, in his book, gave Herbert Baker, Blomfield and J.J. Burnet, who were all to become principal architects, ^{a single} mention each, Blomfield and Burnet with one illustration. Lutyens and Holden, the other two principals, did not appear (Lorimer received 7 mentions and 8 pages of illustrations).

Lorimer retained a close connection with Weaver for many years. On page 22 of Lorimer's letter to Dods about his Italian tour, he noted that he was back in London and that he was 'going to supper with Lawrence Weaver ... report tomorrow, and go on to Edinburgh on Tuesday'.

Lorimer was known widely for his collecting in those art circles from which general advice had been sought on what form the cemeteries should take. He had been in private practice for 27 years when he was appointed principal architect, and although his work and recognition were both centred mainly in Scotland, his work had received

regular notices in Country Life, The Builder, and the Architectural Review.

Lorimer was acceptable to a wide range of interested opinion, and he was to prove more than equal to the new task about to be put upon him. Indeed in many ways the work was to be an extension of much of his earlier work, offering further opportunities for his particular skill in siting buildings sympathetically in the landscape, and in creating gardens to knit the buildings into their surroundings. One difference was that if he had previously worked with a committee on the Thistle Chapel, this work on War Cemeteries was to be his first experience as a public rather than private architect.

2. Lorimer's first tours as principal architect

The role of a principal architect for the Commission involved a complex network of dealings with a wide number of government officials, administrative offices of the Commission, and specialist advisors, all of whose opinions had to be considered, and whose approval had to be sought, before design decisions could be taken. The records which still exist bear out this complexity which is an inherent part of public offices and their work.

Lorimer's letters give many details of how he organised his own work for the Commission. When he was

appointed, he was asked for the soonest date on which he could start. He replied, a week, and he left a week later to the day on Thursday the 26th of September 1918 for the purpose of reporting - 'on every place in Italy where there are graves of British soldiers or sailors - and boss the architectural treatment. The actual carrying out of which will be done locally by a chap Ward - (who wrote a book on the French Men) and who is a lieut - and has a job out here, and also by a very nice chap - who is Burnet's head man in London'.²⁹ This letter which runs to 22 pages, describes a whirlwind tour - 'I don't believe anyone has seen so much of Italy in 14 days as I have'.³⁰ There was little time for work. 'We visited a number of pathetic little cemeteries with their rows of wooden crosses. This was right up close to the front-line and shell fire even going over our heads at one place. They made us wear tin hats'.³¹

Lorimer was accustomed to journeying about visiting his various jobs but hitherto these ^{things} had been undertaken from the security and orderliness of his own office. The notes which he took as he went about his work for the Commission reflect the pressures he was under. The entries begin in September 1918. 'At meeting with Genl. Fabian Ware, Sir Frederic Kenyon: Talbot Sec'y and Col. Messer, arranged to come up fr. Edin'r: Tues 24th - get passports etc., on Wednesday, and leave for Italy, Thursday. Meet Col. Messer in France and go on with him, Hill of Kew, and pick up Ward'.³² Thus the earliest note of all

indicates how every action for the Commission was made collectively with other people. Colonel Messer, for example, was second in charge to General Ware, and being an architect by profession, interested himself in particular with costs.

Odd notes from this same page of the sketchbook suggest that it was all a pretty rushed affair - 'Write Miss Bre clothes,' refers to his secretary Miss Brown, and '£1 per day maintenance less 3/- if getting military food', are jotted against some kind of a check list. He left as arranged on the 26th, arrived in Modane on the 28th and went on to Turin, - 'via Milan, Brescia, Verona to Vicenza motored back to Montebello...29th...to Lugo and Thiene... after lunch went into committee of arrangements. Monday 30th. A wonderful drive up the mountain to the Asiago Plateau...Tuesday 1st Piave district motored about 200 miles'.³³ Wednesday the 2nd October, he went 'Back to Asiago district to Lugo...Montebello to lunch...brief look round Padova. There caught 7 o'clock train for Rome... 3rd...saw St. Peters view fr. Pincian - Pantheon, and drove around...4th arrived at Taranto...5th arrived at Rome 3p.m., did forum, Colliseum, Trajans Column etc., and caught 8.40 for Genoa. After breakfast whirled off to Bordighera. After having visited the cemetery which is most beautifully situated, and has considerable possibilities, reached Savona for lunch. Visited the horrible cemetery. Then on and reached Bordighera about 8...next morning (7th) visited cemetery'.³⁴

The breakneck speed of the tour was broken by occasional pauses without which it would have become intolerable. On the 7th Hill, Ward and Lorimer - 'visited the Hanbury Gardens at La Mortola, where we spent the whole day in this earthly paradise going through the gardens with Benbow the gardener. 8th occupied by motoring back by Savona to Genoa...9th look round Genoa in the morning then ...through the Appenines to Acquata, our base, to Novi...on in the dark to Brescia...10th looked around Brescia...Verona to lunch and arrived back at Montebello by 4.30. 11th Friday..worked all day in office writing up notes and making sketches. 12th worked all day in office making out sketches for Taranto and other L of C (line of communication) cemeteries'.³⁵

The notes which Lorimer took as he went from place to place are not very evocative, but they do reflect strongly, the pressure of events. The huge task having to be sorted out quickly, and the struggle to find, in war torn lands, resources to carry out the job. Thus of 13 days constantly on the move during this first Italian tour, Lorimer spent 7 days working, four and half days sightseeing in Genoa, Brescia and Rome, and a day and a half on long journeys.

He spent 3 more days in the office at Montebello. 'Sunday 13th worked in office in morning drafting report going through notes on Taranto...also went through all plans with Hill'.³⁶ Lorimer seems to have confused the remaining dates on this page. He appears to have finished up at Montebello and then left in the afternoon for Vicenza

on the 14th, lunched at Turin on the 15th and arrived in Paris on Wednesday 16th. He took a respite there of a day and a night before going on to Abbeville to visit more war cemeteries. He - 'Motored about 30 kilos from there to Port Mahon. After lunch interviewed Holden, architect in charge and other officials, and studied plans by Baker, Lutyens and Blomfield and made arrangements re seeing cemeteries on the Friday'.³⁷ Lorimer visited four war cemeteries and - 'motored 150 miles at least...Saturday left Port Mahon, motored through sweet smiling country to Boulogne'.³⁸ There followed various details of passports and other formalities and the - 'end of 1st Italian journey. London had meeting with Kenyon. Monday evening 21st and went through draft report and sketches which were generally approved of'.³⁹

Lorimer made many of his visits to cemeteries in the company of the various specialists of the commission staff, so that the feasibility of his first ideas could be discussed on the spot with them. The staff of the Egyptian department of the Commission was later noted down by Lorimer as - '1. Inspector of works Lieut-Col. temp. 2. Survey officer, Capt. 3. Architect officer, capt. 350 to £450. 4. Contract officer. 5. Gardener officer'.⁴¹

It is certain from the thinness of his notes that he was able to work from the surveys of the sites prepared by the permanent commission staff. Rough layouts were sometimes noted down by him on visits to existing cemeteries which were to be extended, and in other places, also perhaps where the preliminary discussion on site produced immediate

agreement. Lists of suitable plants occur frequently, probably jotted down in consultation with the horticultural officer. Suitable local materials were also noted down.

The graves were scattered about haphazardly as the aftermath of war, and the civilian administrations depleted of staff were in some confusion. Minor problems arose continually which had to be coped with on their merits. Lorimer became involved in such things, as when he noted down questions to raise with Colonel Messer, and included - 'Moving memorial put up by Major'.⁴² In this case an individual army unit had raised a memorial before the Commission had been established. The feelings of the unit had to be considered and yet the Commission was trying to bring a unified approach to all the cemeteries. On the whole, though, this consultative side of the work in Italy does not come through the notes clearly - because of its piecemeal nature.

In 30 days he had not only travelled great distances (at least 5000 miles) but had produced sketch designs for the twelve cemeteries in Italy entrusted to him. The technical details of working drawings had still to be worked out in the temporary drawing offices which had been set up in each theatre of war. The largest proportion of the Commission's work lay in France and Flanders, and was so extensive that much of it could only be supervised by the principal architect in a general way. The smaller scale of the cemeteries in the more remote theatres of war entrusted to Lorimer enabled him to exert a more direct

influence on all of them. At the end of his first Italian tour, he wrote to Dods of how it ended with - '3 days... spent clearing up our notes, working out sketch designs for the cemeteries we have been to, which I have left for these boys on the spot to work out'.⁴⁰

The notes which Sir Robert took on these visits are not comprehensive or even very abundant, and he must have relied on a few pointers to each site to be enough to jog his memory when writing reports. It is clear that he visited each site several times, and usually with other technical officers. His programme of visits was arranged with a Col. Taylor, and the notes taken on these visits suggest the lack of any political difficulties in obtaining sites and the complete co-operation of the Italian government. The general framework of thinking remained military and the outline for the general review prepared for General Ware by Lorimer lists the headings as:-

'1. Front line cemeteries

- a) On the Asiago Plateau
- b) On the Piave

11. Back area 5

111. Lines of communication

- a) Cemeteries
- b) Isolated graves'.⁴³

Lorimer arrived back in London in October after four weeks away, noting that - 'in 2 or 3 weeks probably start for Egypt on the same errand'.³² He was in London again

to make arrangements on November the 9th and under the heading - 'Memo for Ware re Egypt' follows a collection of notes and queries. 'What route...R.T.O. [Railway Transport Officer] no instructions re civilians...passports all possible places. Closed naval port Taranto. Note as to where passport must be visa-d and where I have to report... date of departure 28th'.⁴⁴

Once again he left on time, going from Charing Cross via Folkstone, Boulogne, Paris, Modane to Turin. 'Cold grey day 2nd Dec. train late expect to arrive Taranto about 2.30'. After a further two days on the formalities of travelling he left by P & O liner at 3p.m. on the 4th.⁴⁵ During the voyage, he - 'lectured on E. Africa as a possible settling ground for ex-servicemen. Was well heckled... 7th Dec. steamed into Port Said about 12...left by train at 6.10 with "Lord Kitchener's party"...got into sleeper with Capt. Sanderson, once an Edinburgh advocate, now resident in Egypt and at present on staff'.⁴⁶

Lorimer's visit to Egypt began badly. 'The exasperating people in London had never cabled out here that I was coming until 2 days before I arrived - in spite of all my having rubbed into them about arranging things in such a way that there should be no waste of my time'.⁴⁷ 3 days later Lorimer was settled in and making new friends. 'Heard K [Kitchener] in the corridor in his very loud voice say to Watson: "Nice fellow that architect, isn't he - I've seen a good deal of him, [Lorimer went on] to the Botanic Gardens

where we (Langley & R.S.L) had a great go with Brown, Hills friend - a delightful enthusiast'.⁴⁸ He showed Lorimer - 'the forbidden fruit that Notty Eve gave to Adam, and I can't blame the poor blighter for accepting it'.⁴⁹

Lorimer's diary shows he lost no time in getting down to work in Egypt after his six day journey. Even though it was a Sunday he 'looked over plans and maps to get idea of location of cemeteries and arranged to drive round to ...Chatby and Hadra...Mon 9th...went again to Hadra and Chatby...10th considered possible treatment of Hadra, and went to see Colonel Close re the direction in which the cemetery ought to extend, arranged with him to see Gen. Paul on arrival in Cairo...Saw Mr. Langley, Minister of Agriculture, had long conference with him...11th...to Cairo ...12th called on Gen. Paul, and arranged to write him letter re the matter of the extension of Hadra...spent afternoon in Botanic Garden getting names of trees and shrubs'.⁵⁰ Once again a kaleidescopic picture of meetings and consultations emerges. General Paul was Director of Works (Army) and Colonel Close his second in command.

The 13th - 'Langley's car called at 10 ran me out to his place at Gizerch, went over other portions of gardens and got further notes from Brown. Then visited Cairo Cemetery. Before the I.W.G.C. regulation was issued a large number some hundreds of memorials had been erected, some having been sent out from England, quite impossible to scrap these, but something can be done re a treatment

at the far end where, there are as yet no burials... arranged to meet Consul tomorrow morning to arrange for space to be left for treatment of end... 14th went to Consul's office and arranged with him space at end of cemetery where there were to be no burials pending the design... then went to museum. Afternoon out to the pyramids and in evening had Shaw Briggs to dine and pumped him re mosques, etc. 15, Sunday, Mr. L (Langley) picked me up in car and went by "Service Car" in train, to Minia. Arrived at Minja about 1. Saw cemetery nicely enclosed by good stone wall'.⁵¹ Lorimer's spelling was erratic on these tours but since it conveys the hectic quality of them it has been allowed to stand without comment or correction.

Lorimer found Langley to be - 'a delightful big good looking breezy Welshman and can wangle everybody and everything ... there's a "para" about me in the Egyptian Gazette today'.⁵² It read 'Sir Robert Lorimer, A.R.S.A, F.R.I.B.A, consulting architect to the War Graves Commission has arrived at Shepherd's Hotel. He is the son of the late Professor Lorimer of Edinburgh University and studied architecture in the office of G.F. Bodley. Having finished his Articles he returned to Edinburgh and has since been mainly occupied by domestic architecture. His chief work is the new Chapel for the Knights of the Thistle at St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, 1909'.⁵³ After seeing this item Martin Briggs (architect) called on Lorimer and later gave him a conducted tour.⁵⁴ A few days later he heard

that Major Palmer - 'had been summoned to Palestine H.Q. and said the general in command there wants to see me also. If I'm to go there I will require to cable home for instructions. The Winchester house people have made an awful mess of bracketting Palestine Messpots together (the area Burnet was supposed to be appointed for). Evidently they thought it was a little motor run, whereas the only method of communications is by the air - or a caravan journey, of 5 or 6 days or more as it is about 500 miles across the desert. This (Cairo) is the base for Palestine, and India is the base for Messpots'.⁵⁵ He wrote later 'I am not to take up this area I am thankful to say but Palmer seized the excuse...to get me up here...very decent of P...he realised what an awful pity it would have been to be so near and not to have come up here'.⁵⁶ On his return from Palestine he 'went to tea with the De Cossons (Public Works Dept) - a charming man with an attractive American wife and nice kids'.⁵⁷

In Italy Lorimer had been collaborating with the army and with local authorities, and wherever he went he was escorted by army personnel. In Egypt he was dealing again with the army but also with the British administration of a dependency which was a base area and not itself an actual theatre of war. The notes he took suggest this more centralised control of civilian affairs led to wider consultations being necessary for each site, but also that

he was being given the initiative to seek advice as and when he needed it. '16th Dec. went by train 6 or 8 miles down line to Mangabad where is cemetery on edge of desert ...came back by trolley...17th morning did mosques...18th went for day to Alex...19th old Arabic museum in morning, Darke to lunch, and whole afternoon in old Cairo'.⁵⁸ He spent most of the 20th on travel arrangements and on the 21st left for Kantara where he was - 'met by General Lloyd and shown round the cemetery by him...later went by train to Ishmalia inspected cemetery there...then for walk in the desert...22nd Slept Saturday night at Port Said and in morning inspected cemetery...at 12.30 caught train back to Kantara...dined with General Lloyd and mess then by night train to Bir-Salem G.H.Q. tent camp'.⁵⁹ Most of these cemeteries were in or near the Canal Zone and General Lloyd was commanding the troops in that area.

Sir Robert had been away from Edinburgh for four weeks when on the 23rd he - 'received the first letters from home from Matthew, lunched in mess and afternoon motored to Jerusalem...24th...motored to Bethlehem, stayed night in monastery - attended midnight mass'.⁶⁰ Christmas Day and the 26th were passed sightseeing in Jerusalem, looking at shops and strolling about, and he left after lunch on the 27th, reaching H.Q. Bir Salem at 4. Next morning on the 28th he resumed his labours by visiting General Lloyd at Kantara, and - 'going on by train to Suez...29th lunched at the regency'.⁶¹

The work in Egypt, as in Italy, required proposals for each cemetery as well as a general report for submission for the commission's approval. Egypt had its own committee for War Graves, and so Lorimer was able to present his report in person.

'Monday 30th - pretty seedy having got chill, worked out notes for meeting, and made all preparations for it. Had satisfactory meeting. Whole committee present... 31st stayed in bed till after lunch...very rowdy night at this hotel...1st Jan'y Wednesday still seedy¹, and the writing is very shaky in confirmation of this'. The pressure of these tours and the tight timetable which was required allowed Lorimer neither respite nor convalescence and he continued doggedly, -'2nd...had Darke to lunch, discussed all notes with him...3rd...had notes typed... 3.30 train for Port Said...saw base commandant etc'.⁶² After the usual passport formalities, he embarked for Macedonia at 3 o'clock on the day after. '5th Sunday pretty rough, but improved by Monday morning. 6th arrived Salonika Tuesday morning. 10AM but hung up owing to transport officer not coming aboard till after 3. Got off at about 5.30 reported etc. and go to officers rest house for dinner'.⁶³

61 ~~Lorimer~~ used the delay in offloading as an opportunity for letter writing. A letter headed 'Outside Salonika harbour and dated 8 Jan 1919 takes up the tale again to his friend R.S. Dods. This tour of Egypt was a little less hectic than his first Italian tour, and he

spread himself comfortably in this letter on details of his trip up the Nile, and to Jerusalem, and also his exploration of Cairo with Captain M.S. Briggs. He had had time even to make a lot of purchases of objets d'art. On page 12, he tells how he will have been away 11 weeks by the time he gets back to his office - 'and owing to the fleshpots of Egypt I've put on at least a stone' and without reaching any details of the work in hand, he ended with - 'final collapse of pen'.⁶⁴ He told his wife as he returned to Britain via Greece that - 'only today have we finished going round the cemeteries. I have piles of sketches for the Lance Corporal A.R.I.B.A. who I've appointed as my deputy. A nice chap been over here 2 years and has a wife in London but he's to be promoted Captain for this job which means a rise of fr(om) 1/3 a day to £350 a year'.⁶⁵

A lot of work had been accomplished in a relatively short period. The Commission's first annual report notes that 'the total number of cemeteries requiring architectural treatment is 10 and the number of graves registered is 8434. Sir Robert Lorimer, R.A. the principal architect, visited Egypt and has completed designs for all the cemeteries'.⁶⁶ Despite this work load the tone of the letters from Italy which Sir Robert wrote reflect his pre-occupation with design and his sense of the landscape. He was kept busy nearly all the time and his sight-seeing was fitted in as and when he could, and the notes in his sketch book echoes this. His description and notes of his Egyptian tour differ at a number of points. His interest in design

shows as strongly in his notes as ever, but the notes contain a considerable admixture of administrative detail which also suggests that executive machinery for implementing the designs was not so simple as in Italy. More people seem to have been involved, and the Commission's staffing was still incomplete. The Egyptian cemeteries are larger than most of the Italian ones, and closer to towns. All sorts of minor complications arose. For example Lorimer was wondering at one point if a brick wall erected by General Lloyd was strong enough to remain as the boundary wall to the cemetery or whether it would have to be replaced.

He noted down a number of queries apparently to be put to Langley. '1. possible building materials. 2. Public works D in Cairo. 3. Exact procedure regarding carrying out of work. 4. Relation of Egyptian O of W to the engineers. 5. Planting possibilities i) hedges, ii) rows of trees, iii) wall coverings. 6. Name of creeper with which most graves are covered. 7. Representative of O of W who will be responsible for carrying out the work'.⁶⁷ These notes show clearly that Sir Robert had to check all the executive procedures carefully to make sure his schemes were carried out properly. It seems also, that the initiative to extend some cemeteries and to redefine boundaries was being left to him in some cases, no doubt, after prior consultation and agreement. Another note reads-'Col. Close advised me to see General Paul (Director of Works) in Cairo, re acquisition of additional ground for

Hadra cemy. so that a new centre could be laid out'.⁶⁸

Another point of difference to be seen between his Italian and Egyptian letters is that the Egyptian landscape is expressed in a single word - desert. It seems that he found it a negative place although he did not say so explicitly. Detailed suggestions on planting the cemeteries were expected of him, to judge from the questions he asked, and the care with which he made long lists of suitable plants which he saw in the Botanic Gardens. The list includes :-

'Bougainvillea Spectabilis laterita,
flowered shrub view rose;

Foranavenue Dalderigia Sissoo;

Pepper tree - 2 varieties -
bunches of red berries;

Australian Wattles;

Parkinsonia yellow flower tree with greygreen
foliage delicate;

Mysembryan thenum = the green stuff over
the graves;

For a hedge, Duranta;

Pomelo = forbidden fruit;

Iantana (camera) flowering shrub for low fence
white and red and yellow;

Tecoma - large flowering (yellow) tree shrub;

Brachiphiton - tall tree cylindrical evergreen
shining foliage suitable for avenue;

Ipomoca (species) lovely rose convolvulus;

Cuphea ignea low growing shrub tubular flowers;

White bird Ibis;

Jacaranda do (?) but blue;

Crataegus pyrantha bushy shrub, reddish
orange coloured berries.⁶⁹

These lists, although perhaps not important in themselves, are firm evidence that Lorimer's abilities as a garden designer were being used. Another list includes:

'*Russella* drooping sub-shrub, scarlet
flowers suitable for rock work (pendulous);

Linum-trigignum - low growing bushy sub-shrub
covered with yellow flowers;

Cassia-didymobotrya evergreen shrub erect
spike - yellow flowers;

Montanoa, *grandiflora* white;

Tithonia - yellow;

Tecoma Capensis, low growing shrub,
bright red irregular tubular flower;

Oleander, various colours large upright
shrub long leaf;

Bridolia ascatia large shrub white flower;

St. John's Wort, small shrub yellow flower;

Myrtle hedge;

Banion trees - drops down roots'.⁷⁰

The five technical officers have been listed. Major Palmer recurs throughout the notes. He was to see to the arrangements for seeing the 'remaining cemeteries' and he was to be referred to for 'tracings of existing cemeteries in outline'.⁷¹ He seems to have been Lorimer's link with the army and was probably the survey officer. The architect officer to supervise the works in the area had not yet been appointed and Lorimer was called upon to interview two candidates on the 2nd of January. He found both of them unsuitable.⁷² One was an existing inspector

of works, and the other an Irish practitioner.⁷³ The Committee of Management comprised John Langley, Under Secretary of State (for Egypt), M of A (Minister of Agriculture), President C.A.de Cosson, D.G.S. Buildings, Dr. W. Hastings, D.G.Gen. Sec., A. Holden, Ministry of Finance, and E., a representative ^{of the} Indian army. This committee was convened on the 20th Dec., for ~~Lorimer~~ to present his schemes. The meeting was satisfactory and - 'it was agreed that my proposal that the works be designed by architects and staff supplied by us but in De Cosson's office, so as to get the benefit of their experience in the local ways of doing things'.⁷⁴

The local ways of thought did not always fit in with those of the Commission. The Commission maintained permanent staff in Cairo which ~~was~~ guided on policy by London and on local details by the Anglo-Egyptian War Graves Executive Committee. Colonel Matheson remarked in a letter of - 'the differences between Anglo-Egyptian committee and the London offices. In my opinion, it was a foolish thing to give the Anglo-Egyptian Committee full control over estimates and the construction. Mr. Langley - as you know - is getting very old, and has been for a long time out of touch with work in general. I find it impossible to make him see that there has been a war on, and that prices have gone up by at least 500%.¹⁷⁵ Another difficulty was that this committee had recommended - 'the use of the local limestone. This I do not recommend as it contains a great

deal of salt, and after a short time, disintegration sets... at the last meeting...I fought it on this ground'.⁷⁶

By 1923 Langley must have resigned. The 25th meeting of the committee took place in the board room of the Public Health Department, Dr. W. Hastings was chairman and Mr. C.A. De Cosson, vice-chairman. Lorimer and Colonel Durham attended.

The Macedonian tour of duty ^{in February} followed immediately after the Egyptian tour. The cemeteries were in a battle zone amid a bare thinly populated countryside. The diary entries for the Macedonian tour suggest a less complex political situation than Egypt and fewer people seem to have been involved. 'Wednesday 8th long days motoring and went round three cemeteries...9th another long day...visited 4 cemeteries...10th...to Stavros'.⁷⁷ The long days filled with work continued. He looked at an undesirable site as well as a good site on Saturday the 11th - 'getting in by moonlight'. Sunday was - 'a much needed quiet day - and did some sketching'. Monday he visited Doiran and - 'for the first time had Newham, proposed junior architect with me and gave him my views on the spot'.⁷⁸

Wednesday 15th - 'saw Col. Galbraith re question of material for the great stone, and re getting other material prepared for the great stone, and re getting other material prepared for the wall, etc...agreed to recommendation of Major Aitken as inspector of works, and Palmer cabled to War Office re same - the intention being that he sd at once

start and get stone and other necessary materials collected for the building of walls etc. pending the finishing of the designs, and passing of same as approved'. In the afternoon he visited two more cemeteries.

The 16th was spent in seeing 'Gen. Everett at H.Q. after having seen Fortune, and given him instructions regarding starting the...cemeteries...and in afternoon went over sketch plans with Corporal Newham, and made sketches with him'.⁷⁹ The 17th was also spent checking drawings, the 18th on the report for Egypt, - 'then started notes on Salonika'. He worked in ^{the} office on Sunday 19th, also on the 20th and 21st and the morning of the 22nd. He visited the Churches in Salonika in the afternoon with Captain Everett, and on Thursday had a - 'long day's motoring up into Serbia to see some Bosche cemeteries'.⁸⁰ As usual, Lorimer got on well with everyone he met. He found General Duncan in Salonika 'a very charming and handsome man...I'm dying to bring back a pair of cream coloured mules - such splendid beasts - Gen.¹ Duncan said our men hated and despised them at first but now they love them and can do anything with them'.⁸¹ He had spent 'Friday 24th finishing final sheet of Macedonian report in office, and getting same typed, packing - saying goodbye etc. etc.'. He started back on the Carisbrook Castle,⁸² arriving in Marseille on the 30th. Major Palmer travelled with him,⁸³ and they ran into snow about Dijon and arrived in Paris on the 1st^{March,} and London on Sunday the 2nd, after nine and a half weeks overseas.⁸⁴

The Macedonian tour of 17 days had comprised $9\frac{1}{2}$ days of inspecting sites and discussions, $5\frac{1}{2}$ days in the office working on drawings and reports, one day of rest completely off duty and one day visiting German cemeteries. The annual report of the Commission reported that - 'there were 17 cemeteries requiring architectural treatment... the principal architect, Sir Robert Lorimer, R.A. has visited Macedonia and settled the designs which have been developed by the junior architect and since approved'.⁸⁵

If the conduct of the Commission, viewed at this distance of years, may seem autocratic in some ways, it is because the difficulties under which it laboured have become less evident. Principal architects had been appointed to particular areas for a number of reasons, the main one of which perhaps was to ensure a clear delegation of advice and decision. Burial grounds had been set up in many areas under military control, and not always within the Commission's policy. General Cox, for instance, had met an architect and asked him to do a sketch design for the Indian War Memorial at Port Thewfik. Lorimer wrote to Sir John Burnet to say that - 'In this case the first thing I knew was when in Durham's office some months ago he produced for my inspection the design that had been prepared by your partner, and - as you now make clear - put forward after deliberate consultation with you. I said nothing - not then knowing the circumstances - but it certainly occurred to me at the time that Raeside seemed to have seized the opportunity of being on the spot to

"butt in". Your somewhat tardy explanation describes what happened. Whether Raeside's action was right or wrong your professional conscience will doubtless decide for you'. Lorimer went on to suggest that Raeside had not been entirely open about the matter with him but that - 'It is a great architectural opportunity and I am sure you will make an impressive thing of it. With all good wishes, Yours very truly, Robert Lorimer'.⁸⁶

Twenty months were to pass before Sir Robert's next tour overseas in September 1920. The work on the cemeteries continued, as it was to do so for nearly a decade, and Mrs. Swan remembers drawings from the Commission arriving in the office over the years, being laid out, poured over, approved or corrected, and being returned. A few of these drawings are included in the collection lodged with the National Buildings record in Edinburgh. They show how much of this work was in the nature of outline administration, the checking of designs being worked on by junior architects elsewhere to see that they were keeping to Lorimer's intentions (as passed by the executive committee).

~~Sir Robert~~ Lorimer started his second Italian tour by reporting - 'to Gen.¹ Sir Fabian Ware and arranged with him to write detailed report descriptive of the stage Italy had arrived at, and submit'.⁸⁷ He left Victoria on the 31st with Hill and Durham. The notes which followed are a jumble of names - Russell, draughtsman, Bailie Clerk and so on, places and plants - cyclamen, honey-suckle, clematis, gentian, helibore, cotoneasta horizontalis, berberies,

interspersed with snatches of poetry/like-'. His life was good, his death brave, may God watch, a soldier's grave'. The notes are much more sparse than those of his earlier tours, and gaps occur. Bordighera⁸⁸ on the 15th October 1920 seems to be the last entry.

The question of appointing an architect for the cemeteries in the U.K. arose in 1920 and Sir Frederic Kenyon wrote a note for the committee recommending that Lorimer - 'be invited to accept the post'.⁸⁹ Colonel Durham wrote to Lorimer 3 days later, saying he thought that - 'there would be some 100 to 150 cases where your advice either in details or in an advisory manner may be required...the cemeteries that have been treated by me consisted of small plots where no particular difficulty has arisen, it being merely a matter of siting a cross and providing in some form or other an inscription in memory of those buried there'.⁹⁰

There was some discussion on the terms of appointment in January 1921.⁹¹ In February he began his first tour of British cemeteries at Carlisle. He went on to Leeds the next day where he examined¹ the plot at Lawnwood and suggested treatment which Sir George Cockburn seemed to like,...thought they could undertake paved path at their own expense. Privit hedge, wall cross in centre and flower border in front of wall and path'. Evidently, the local ex-servicemen's branch was also involved. Lorimer continued his tour to Manchester on the 16th to see the Southern Cemetery. In Liverpool, next day, he 'called for Town Clerk and City

Surveyor - whose assistant Mr. Aman went round with us visited three cemeteries (i) Toxteth Park long strip along left side of main avenue. Suggested low wall with splayed coping. (2nd) Kirkdale, 3 or 4 plots, and therefore one comprehensive treatment not possible. (3) Annfield. Plot on each side of main path'. Friday 18th, he was in Birmingham to see Lodge Hill Cemetery, 'Suggested plan on Newhams sketch and on to Tewkesbury in afternoon...Saturday left Tewkesbury for Lantarnan for weekend'.⁹²

He went, next, to Exeter where he met the Exeter City architect - 'saw their proposals for the carrying out of the work which they propose to do at their own expense of about £1500'. On the 22nd, he visited Ontario Cemetery in Orpington, - 'Suggest cost sd be reduced by omitting curb around cross, and that privit hedge sd be carried all way round say about 4ft high and 3ft thick, and railing can remain because won't be seen'.⁹³ The last entry of this visit was at Gravesend on the 23rd.

These entries suggest a tidying up of military graves in civilian cemeteries. By 1921 - '36000 graves have been registered...six war plots have been treated...Designs for a further 13 war plots are in hand. Sir Robert Lorimer, A.R.A., F.R.I.B.A., has been appointed the Commission's architect for the United Kingdom'.⁹⁴ Just before this had happened Sir Frederic Kenyon had noted of Sir Robert's work elsewhere that it was - 'of the first quality and showed excellent task and judgement, besides being economical'.⁹⁵

Thus it fell to ~~Stormer~~ to design the three main naval memorials at Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth. All three were pylons in stone. 'Portsmouth 16th March' is noted but whether he was there is not clear from the entry. He spent 3 hectic days looking at French cemeteries with Birnie (The Duke of Atholl).⁹⁶ He resumed his English visits in May and on the 2nd he was in - 'Chatham with Commander Hazelford...Met Admiral Sir Hugh Evan Thomas and his Chief of Staff - they accompanied us to the site'. He went on to Portsmouth on the 3rd - 'no objection to position suggested before my arrival'.⁹⁷ The annual report tells how 'the three memorials which have been erected in the United Kingdom to the dead of the Senior Service are also, strictly speaking, memorials to the "missing". The Admiralty appointed a Naval Memorials Committee in 1920, to advise the Commission as to the most suitable form of memorials to the 25,567 ranks and ratings who had lost their lives at sea. The committee decided on three memorials at the three manning ports, Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth. They came to the conclusion that "it would greatly add to the sentiment and perpetuation of the memorial to associate it with some practical naval purpose. And what could one have to better fulfil both these conditions than a sea-mark or leading-mark near the foreshore? Surely the combination of a naval memorial at Portsmouth, with a beacon to guide the ships into their home port, and to guide the liberty boats over the swash way, will appeal to all...Sir Robert

Lorimer, with whom was associated Mr. H. Poole, the sculptor says:- "The crowning feature of the four buttresses which project at the four angles of the base will be a seated figure of a lion...The column, which rises from the base, is treated with extreme simplicity until the top is reached, where at the angles there are bronze figures representing the four winds, and projecting from the angles below these figures are to be the prows of ships, the crowning feature of the memorial being a golden globe. The figures and globe are intended to symbolise our far flung empire".⁹⁸

3. Lorimer's later supervisory tours of cemeteries

~~Lorimer~~ began his second Egyptian and Macedonian tour in 1922, leaving Edinburgh on the 27th February. He met his brother John in Paris, and went on alone arriving in Trieste on the 2nd of March, and there he embarked for Egypt. An entry in his sketchbook in red crayon reads - '15 nights in steamer only 5/- per day allowed'.⁹⁹

He began his visits on the 8th of March at Hadra and Chatby, both in Alexandria, and went on to Cairo on the 9th where he found - 'poor workmanship of house walls face ...little architectural treatment possible but will be made to look right by its planting...10th always difficult... great distances to travel...Port Said...11th Saturday go to Minia at 8.30 return 9p.m. Building better, house successful

more intelligence...12th Sunday, afternoon meeting with Dr. Hastings...Monday Ishmailia, and Tel el Kebir...planting best opportunity'.¹⁰⁰ The intensive round of duties continued interspersed with some more social activities. He dined with Dr. Hastings on the 13th, and had Darke to lunch on the 14th. He also saw 'Hill re Kantara and Brown's proposal'. He left for Alexandria on the 15th where he embarked on the 'Abbesiah' and he arrived in Athens on the 17th.¹⁰¹

He began his second Macedonian tour with a visit to the Pentelicon quarries on the 19th, and left for Salonika next day. He visited 4 cemeteries on the 21st. It had been decided to omit Blomfield's cross of sacrifice from the Macedonian cemeteries and Lorimer had designed a conical cairn of small stones surmounted by a small cross, in its place. He spent the 22nd at Jahana where he decided on some changes to the cairn. At Karasouli on the 23rd he decided to omit the war stone. He went on to Doiran on the 24th where again he decided to omit the war stone. He spent the next two days in the office, Sat. 25th and then Sunday - 'with Fortune getting information re the campaign for article and introduction to report'. He went to Kerékoi on the 27th, and Goumenitza on the 28th, a frontier station, and then 'met Fortune at Karasouli'.¹⁰² The 29th saw the start of his return journey to Britain, on the slow train to Nish. He travelled back by train with Colonel Durham. 'Were told that the wagon lit would go no further - a spring gone wrong - we strongly suspected that this was

some ramp between the Greek and Serbian officials...You can picture to yourself the torrent of talk, of gesticulations, vituperations that the situation gave rise to. Durham luckily is one of these delightful people who is never put out always sees the humorous side...He has got a little more French than me, but it's no great shakes, but he shrugs, and laughs and we get along...I forgot to say that Durham knowing the country said it was safer to sleep on the beds than in them'.¹⁰³ They went on to Liabach on the 30th, Lorimer - 'drafting out report etc. in car'. He left Trieste on the 31st, reaching Paris the next day. On Thursday, 6th April, after more than five weeks away, he had¹ a meeting with General Ware, and submitted report etc'.¹⁰⁴ The purpose of this tour was to check the progress of the work and the notes which Sir Robert took, reveal many adjustments and changes.

His report made the point that in Egypt there was - 'no doubt that the unsettled state of the country, and the explosive condition of the native population have seriously hampered the rapid progress of the work, and made the position of Colonel Matheson and his staff a difficult one'.¹⁰⁵ Lorimer also wrote to General Ware and said that one member of the Egyptian committee had - 'stated that the affairs of the committee appeared to be becoming quite a joke - a subject of ridicule in Cairo - or words to that effect'. There were extenuating circumstances - 'but the Egyptian personel appears to me to

be both larger and more expensive than should be necessary for superintending the carrying out of the work in a few perfectly plain cemeteries'.¹⁰⁶ General Ware replied - 'I am writing to Colonel Matheson as you suggest. It will, I know, interest you to hear that sometime ago Colonel Matheson was instructed that, in the opinion of the commission, a reduction of staff would be possible by the beginning of May'.¹⁰⁷

Personal security demanded that Lorimer report his movements continually. After he reached London, he wrote from the Reform Club - 'I never cabled [about his return] but perhaps fussy old Matheson from Cairo did...I am not the least fatigued by the journey it was so cool - and an entire absence of dust that it was no fatigue and dear old Durham ever such an interesting and humorous companion'.¹⁰⁸

Lorimer was asked if he would become principal architect for Germany in 1922. Colonel Durham wrote to Sir Frederic Kenyon on 9 Aug 22. After detailing the extent of the work to be done he wrote - 'I scarcely like to make a suggestion but I think Sir Robert Lorimer might be asked'. The reason he gave that of all the principal architects, Sir Robert had least still to complete.¹⁰⁹ Sir Frederic replied that he was quite willing to recommend his appointment - 'but ~~he~~ has done a great deal for us and I do not think we are entitled to press him'.¹¹⁰ Col. Durham wrote asking Lorimer whether he would act on the 4th Oct.¹¹¹ Lorimer must have agreed immediately

because the next Commission meeting was on the 17th and he wrote on the 23rd proposing a visit to Cologne.¹¹²

So late in 1922 Lorimer set out on a tour of Germany and took along his eldest son.

Colonel Durham welcomed Lorimer's company on this tour. 'Nothing short of Columbus would give me great pleasure than to travel with Christopher and Sir Robert. I have written to you the usual official letter on the subject of this exploration into unknown Teuton Lands'.¹¹³

Lorimer came up to London where he 'met Col. Durham and Robinson and got instructions re visit etc.'. They left next day and arrived in Cologne on the 8th, where they 'were met by General Percival and Capt. Browne, came to office. Went through plans discussed points, then went by taxi to the Sued Friedhof Cemetery and discussed proposals'. He spent the afternoon in the office and the next day with 'Mr. Stewart who is dealing with the legal side of the matter and drafted out report'.¹¹⁴ This was probably the end of this brief tour. He took no notes of how he returned. There is one other entry 'Darmstadt via Cologne, to Cassel (Niedezweheren), Berlin, then Hamburg, Back to Cologne'. This suggested tour was also noted down (in an office memo) to take place before Christmas with Colonel Durham,¹¹⁵ and a little more than a month later he was in Germany again for this tour.

He left Edinburgh and travelled on by Liverpool Street Station to Harwich and the Hook of Holland. He arrived in

Hamburg on the evening of the 14th. He 'visited the Municipal Cemetery in Ohlsdorf and met various officials (and) looked at 2 alternative sites. Triangular site to the west of the main vista at Northend of cemetery, has the greatest possibilities, if the land can be got at a reasonable price. Part of a pine wood - vast cemetery finely planted and laid out in magnificent scale'. He went next to Berlin, and on the 16th he visited the south west Friedhof Cemetery at Warendse where he looked at three sites.¹¹⁶ Sunday was spent visiting Zehrendorf, Conditions in Germany were grim and he noted - 'Money exchange fell on the Saturday fr 29 to 22000'. A railway map is attached to this note and a blue crayon line marks the route Harwich - Hook - Osnabrück - Hamburg - Berlin - Leipzig - Cassel - Frankfurt (for Darmstadt) - Cologne - Cleves - the Hook. The date 13,x11.22 is appended.¹¹⁷ Again no details of the return journey are given.

The terseness of the German entries may be accounted for by the worries which Sir Robert was undergoing currently with the Scottish National War Memorial. Shortly after his return in December, a full scale model of the Memorial in canvas and wood was erected at the Castle, and the simmering popular discontent with the scheme was whipped up to a fury. Critical letters poured in to the press. This particular issue was resolved late in January 1923, so that Sir Robert was able to get away on his next tour in May in a happier frame of mind. In any event his diary for this next visit is more informative.

Lorimer was in Italy again in 1923 for the opening of the cemeteries but took no notes in his diary. It was a very social occasion and his wife Violet went with him.

1924 and 1925 seem to have passed without further visits. Lorimer retained his close contacts with some of the Commission with whom he had become close friends.

By mid 1925 Colonel Durham was far from well and his deputy Col. Robinson wrote to Lorimer - 'To suggest it, If I may, that you would drop him a line, as I feel he badly wants cheering up, and I think that a line from you, if you have the time, would do a great deal in that direction'.¹¹⁸ Lorimer must have responded because Durham thanked him some weeks later from the Canary Islands for his - 'kind note of sympathy' and said he had succumbed to an attack of jaundice.¹¹⁹

A month later Lorimer wrote ^{to} Sir Reginald Blomfield about Durham. 'You have doubtless heard that Durham had a nervous breakdown, and has had to go abroad for a change. This state of things was brought about apparently by the attitude taken up towards him by Ware and his henchman Ellison, which got on dear old Durham's nerves and no wonder! I had a long talk with Durham just before his breakdown and he was very bitter about his treatment'.¹²⁰ The cause, Lorimer suggested, was a difference of opinion about the way the names were put on the ⁿMein gate, and 'as a result Ware and Ellison have since behaved like a pair of babies and refused to see Durham for months on end'. Lorimer disapproved very strongly, because he went

on - 'You have no doubt sized up Ware and Ellison just as I have. Ware - a man of very considerable personal charm but weak and vain, an arch snob, and a faux bonhomme if ever there was one. As for Ellison with his pig's eyes, I "fell in hate" with him the first time I ever saw him'.¹²¹

Lorimer believed that Durham - 'has been the only man in that show all these years with real driving power... and a great deal of the most difficult work that the I.W.G.C. have carried through in different parts of the world could never have been done if had not been for Durham's force and knowledge'. The outside architects should testify to their admiration, Lorimer wrote, and who better than you who have been associated more with him, and who are also - 'the literary man among us...I...will be at the R.A. soiree...perhaps there may be an opportunity of having a word'.¹²² The occasion to do so does not appear to have arisen, because nothing appears to have been done and eventually Lorimer decided to undertake the task himself. He wrote to the Commission ten and a half months later asking who were the principal architects and what were their particular responsibilities. The secretary - E.H. Jarvis - replied in May 1926, naming the seven architects, and discussed ~~the~~ difficulties of defining areas because four of them had worked in France and Belgium.¹²³ Evidently Lorimer prepared the draft letter¹²⁴ for circulating to the other six for their views because he sent it out on the very same day as he received a telegram - 'Appointed

to R.H.S. - Durham'.¹²⁵

In the accompanying letter to the other six principals, Lorimer described the debt of gratitude the Commission owed to Durham - 'for the splendid way in which he has co-operated in the work and made things smooth for all of us, although, as we all realise, his superiors by no means made things smooth or easy in the office for him'.¹²⁶

Lorimer hoped that they would feel able to sign the letter and to return it to him and if they agreed, he would then send them on to the 'Times' and ^{the} press association. Holden's reply is lost, or he did not agree. Everyone else replied. On the 17th Burnet wrote a two page letter, in which he agreed to sign providing - 'it can be done and so worded that it can in no way be read as an act of censure against the Commission...I wish you had discussed it with us when you were at the Durham dinner...could we have a meeting...or would you prefer me to see say Blomfield, Lutyens or Baker, and Warren here?'.¹²⁷ Once again Holden's name was missing.

So far the letter had been fairly formal in tone for an interchange between the only two Scots principals. As he continued his tone became more cordial and it is evident he fully shared Lorimer's feelings for Durham, 'I thought that at the dinner some kindly reference might have been made to our relations with Durham, or perhaps we might have made him some little presentation such as a "loving cup" with our signatures engraved on it, but Lutyens thought

it better to have the simple dinner and no speeches, and at that time I thought that prudent, as whatever we might have said might possibly have caused our friend to refer to his grievances, which grievances I should add, he has never detailed to me. I write this just on the spur of the moment and...will be delighted to sign any paper agreed upon. I think...he deserves every expression of affectionate regard that we can make'.¹²⁸ Blomfield's letter is short and sharp, and repeats the points in the formal part of Burnet's letter. He kept the draft letter till he had heard more about the points of procedure which he raised.¹²⁹

Edward Warren replied that it was 'a very good idea that we should express an debt of gratitude to Durham' and then wrote half a page on why the term "Mesopotamia" should be substituted for Iraq.¹³⁰ Lutyens, Lorimer's closest friend among the principals signed the letter, and enclosed it with his compliments,¹³¹ also Baker with a rapid scrawl - 'Dear Lorimer I do this with the greatest pleasure. Yrs. H.R.'¹³²

Lorimer must have replied to them, and Blomfield wrote again on the 23rd, enclosing the draft letter signed with 3 minor alterations.¹³³ Sir John Burnet also returned the signed draft on the 23rd, and added - 'Please do not mistake me. I never intended to assert that the letter itself contained any expression which would reflect on the Commission...but that you and your colleagues thought of sending such a letter pleases me immensely and

I am obliged to you for bringing it before me'.¹³⁴

The affair shows how the great difficulties of public design stem in the first place from the formal procedures which must be adopted if an individual's actions are not to be misunderstood. The letter was sent to Durham but it was not published in the press. If Lorimer underestimated the difficulties of releasing such a letter to the press, it is evident that Colonel Robinson saw him as the principal architect who stood closest to Colonel Durham. Indeed a further letter from Col. Robinson (Durham's deputy and successor) underlines this: 'No Ware said nothing to me about that truly remarkable letter with its distinguished signatures now in Durham's possession. We were dining with Durham on Sat. night, and now I want to thank you very much: for Durham showed me your covering letter to Ware (of which he had a copy) and you were extremely good to put in the remark about me. I have had so little of that kind of thing in my life - though I have had a good deal of promotion one way and another - that when it does come and unasked for I am really most grateful'.¹³⁵

Lorimer began his second German tour on May 19th 1926. He dined with Robinson at Liverpool Street and reached Cologne at 12.30 next day, having - 'lunched on train, and taxied right out to inspect cemetery. The gatehouses and entrance piers etc., have been finished in rather strongly marked muzchel - kalk - (Travertine) and the effect is excellent. The general layout of the cemetery is satisfactory and the garden work coming on well...Fri 21st left

Cologne 7.45 for Worms...inspected plot and discussed position of cross and screen walls etc...left Saturday 7.22 for Worms interviewed Mayor and principal gardener of the town both extremely capable civil fellows'.

3 of the 4 cemeteries in Germany were in large civilian cemeteries with which they have had to ^{be} integrated sympathetically. He went on to Frankfurt, and as at Cologne visited the museums to see the antiques and the gothic collection of Clemens.¹³⁶ On Sunday he reached Cassel and went to see the Niedierzwehren cemetery where he found 'side walls completed and first few courses of pavilions erected. Long narrow site with raised position at the end'. This was a cemetery in open country near a former prisoner of war camp.

Next he went to Hamburg and on Monday the 24th he went out by train to Ohlsdorf cemetery on the outskirts of the city. It was a large cemetery, - 'a place covering thousands of acres. Our plot sd certainly have the 2 pavilions at the 2 corners. Gateway etc., and have a good thick ^{hedge} like Cologne planted up each side. There is a large German War Cemetery here. Of course better than ours with 7 or 8 different designs of headstone and the brief inscriptions in good raised lettering beautifully carved.'¹³⁷

He travelled on to Berlin where he saw the Stahnsdorf cemetery on Tuesday 25th. It is - 'surrounded by fir wood ...the pavilions were up about the wallhead. A quite efficient young clerk of works (Green) in charge. The

war stone, and the cross are in position, and the surrounding walls etc. completed. Afternoon...went to a vomit of a modern show'. The next day he visited the Indian Cemetery at Zehrendorf. 'No sort of layout. 4 rows of graves running along part of one side of cemetery'. He left for the Hook of Holland on the 27th.¹³⁸

The executive officer in the Commission with whom the principal architects worked mainly was the director of works. Lorimer's championing Colonel Durham can scarcely have endeared him with the vice chairman, General Ware. Lorimer reported on his visit to Germany in 1926 with some asperity that since his last visit $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ago, that - 'in spite of the staff that has been kept for many years in that country, and the enormous overhead charges that must have been incurred, both in Germany and London, the total amount of constructional work executed to date is extremely small'.¹³⁹ This sharpness of tone was not overlooked and General Ware replied to thank Lorimer for his 'interesting and useful' report. 'With regard to your closing remarks as to the slowness of the work, I have kept constantly in touch with this and am quite satisfied, for reasons with which I need not trouble you, that everything possible is being done. There is no foundation whatever for your anxiety as to overhead charges etc. The small staff has been busy on many things and fully justified themselves. It has been a very complicated multifarious business competently and very satisfactorily controlled'.¹⁴⁰

4. The design policy and the Case Law

What was the achievement of the War Graves Commission and its principal architects? As the years pass, each bringing new outbreaks of violence, it becomes harder to remember that the Great War which ended 55 years ago was fought in the belief that it would end all wars. Its cemeteries, consequently, were deemed to be a permanent sanctification for such a huge sacrifice. As Edward Blunden has written - 'What is embodied in the work of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and other organisations of the period with similar purposes, is not entirely an ideal of the present age'.¹⁴¹ It remains questionable if our ideals have advanced in any way during the intervening 55 years. The theories of design of this century are fragmentary and inconsistent, yet overall they reflect a growing impatience with form as something seen not only to be useless, but also as something standing in the way of technical change. Whether this reflects more than the deep restlessness of our times, is doubtful. The strong propaganda against the use of ornament, and of any stylistic features from the past, has swept away the last vestiges of our classical tradition in architecture. Colonnades, arcades, triumphal archways are no longer built and gate lodges, avenues, and symmetry of layout have become exceedingly rare, yet of such things came the vocabulary of design for the cemeteries of the Great War. The choice of such forms, in the main, derived from the deliberate

policy of the commission: a policy which had been drawn up to help to promote a unity in the remembrance of the dead from all the widely differing countries of the Commonwealth, as well as to offer a guide to the designers working in many different countries, and subject to many forms of government influence.

Permanency was to be the keynote of the war cemeteries and rather than to express it in massive construction which would have been both expensive (and grandiose in many people's view), two standard forms were chosen. They were to be set in each cemetery to symbolise steadfastness of purpose. The Stone of Remembrance, (also known as the War Stone), was to be set, like a bier at rest in each cemetery, ~~to carry~~ this belief in the words incised upon it - 'Their name liveth for evermore' (fig.1) and the Cross of Sacrifice stands in each cemetery, like a village cross, to give the memory physical presence. (fig.2)

Such relatively small forms provide symbolic markers. Lorimer's three naval memorials in England provide larger symbols on more open sites, and are like ancient pylons, large enough, also, to carry commemorative panels to the dead on their sides (fig.3). Such forms offer the finality of points of culmination in each cemetery amid the silent groves of headstones. The cross was usually placed at the head of slopes in sloping cemeteries. Lorimer's experience in siting them shows that their strong effect could not always be fitted in satisfactorily. At Cologne, the civilian in charge of the Civic Cemetery in which the

war cemetery is set was - 'anxious not to get his vistas spoilt by our cross being put in the wrong place' and Lorimer - 'agreed to his suggestion which is much the best, with screen wall 4'6" high behind only'.¹⁴²

Lodges and monumental gateways act as a point of emphasis at the point of entry to the domain within (in the tradition of the mansion house), and pepper-pot gatehouses were used by Lorimer for 3 German cemeteries. Such an emphasis of the entry to a cemetery requires a strong culminating feature in support, and the cross and war stone were usually placed on the central axis, on the walk leading from such lodges. The layout at Cassel in Germany follows this pattern and turns many features of an existing cemetery to good account (fig.4). The cemetery plot is long and narrow (about 100 feet by 56 feet) and slopes uphill. The war stone is set inside the wrought iron gates by Hadden of Edinburgh¹⁴³ and the cross of sacrifice is set 380 feet along the central walk, dominating the upward view. The view from it down the hill is closed by the gate and lodges (fig.5).

Cologne follows the same general dispositions as Cassel, but the Berlin Cemetery is a roughly square cemetery within a woodland setting. The entrance is set at the convergence of 3 radiating avenues (fig.6). Since the main axis of the British Cemetery itself is less than 150 feet long, the war stone, if set within the gate, would have been too close to the pale stone cross silhouetted against the dark forest beyond. Accordingly Lorimer has

set the cross centrally along the axis so that it dominates the cemetery and gives this outdoor room so closely set by trees, a central visual pivot (fig.7). The smaller bulk of the war stone effectively closes the main vista without emphasising its short length.

Costs were watched very closely by the Commission. The stone entrance gates and pavilions seem to have been sanctioned against some opposition because Sir Fabian Ware has written - 'I have had to face criticism, which I have insisted is unfounded, as to extravagance in stone work in some of the other cemeteries'.¹⁴⁴ However, on another occasion when Lorimer suggested gold lettering for Cologne, it was refused lest it lead to demands for it elsewhere.

The arcade and the colonnade were both used for modest buildings in Egyptian cemeteries to provide a retreat for contemplation out of the glare of the sun. In a Muslim and highly populated country like Egypt, such buildings were often placed across the main entrance, thus slightly detaching the cemetery from the every day life outside it (fig.8). Such buildings were not required for European cemeteries and were only provided at a few of the largest cemeteries. The complete seclusion of the cloister as used at Neuve Chapelle by Baker appealed to Lorimer. Baker says that - 'Robert Lorimer wrote to me that this cemetery impressed him more than any other he had seen in France'.¹⁴⁵

The most difficult problem in designing war cemeteries is that of preserving a comfortable scale. The larger the

cemetery, the wider the sea of head stones, and the greater the need becomes for markers to provide points of orientation. Whether it was a good decision to put Blomfield's cross in all cemeteries like a trade mark is debatable. It could not be sited informally like the typical village cross at a random meeting of roads, to be seen against a variety of wall surfaces. It had to be given prominence in each cemetery, and it is notably more successful as the point of culmination in medium to small cemeteries, close to village scale, than in the large cemeteries (except where these have been subdivided by hedges as at Cologne).

Scale was taken into account to the extent that at least three versions of the cross were approved, and prints of the working drawings prepared by the Commission are included in the Lorimer Collection of Drawings. Type A is for a cross $20'0\frac{1}{8}"$ high from the top of the foundations.¹⁴⁶ Type A1 is for a smaller cross $14'8\frac{11}{16}"$ high and slightly simpler in design.¹⁴⁷ Type B is for a larger cross similar to Type A but $24'4\frac{17}{32}"$ high.¹⁴⁸ The notes on the drawing are given in English and in French, and the measurements in imperial measure as well as metric. The size of war cross to be used for a particular cemetery was decided by the number of British graves. The secretary wrote to Sir Robert that the commission passed a resolution definitely ruling out the use of 'A' crosses in any cemetery with less than 200 graves. If in any particular case - 'there are some peculiarly strong architectural reasons for using the 'A' cross, this would have to come before

them with a special letter from you setting out the reasons'.¹⁴⁹

The insistence upon particular sizes was ostensibly economic but it was also hierarchical. This is reflected in a report by Major Binnie (Deputy Director of Works) which recorded how the altar block to the Great War Stone (at Cologne) received a slight damage in transit. This had been - 'dressed out, it means however, that the Great War Stone is $1\frac{1}{4}$ " shorter than shown on the detail drawing, but this slight difference is not noticeable'.¹⁵⁰

Any cemetery is as much a problem of landscaping as of architecture. The soft forms of plants had to be balanced against the hard constructed forms, by the designers after agreement on all the particulars of design had been reached by all the various people concerned. Indeed the discussions and bargaining could become very intense. When the question was raised how each of the fallen should be commemorated, Kenyon - 'had seen a choice between leaving the graves themselves unmarked, inscribing the names of the dead in one place in each cemetery, or of providing a headstone to each grave'.¹⁵¹ The absence of headstones would have given the cemeteries the appearance of a garden or park, however he said that he preferred headstones because their rows would - 'carry on the military idea, giving the appearance of a battalion on parade'.¹⁵² The uniformity of the headstones was thought also to emphasise the idea of equality which Sir Fabian Ware was eager to stress. The Kenyon report had led to 79 written

objections of which 38 preferred a cross to a headstone.¹⁵³ A public controversy arose on the Commission's supposed dictatorial imposition of equality of form and treatment of all graves, and the Commission's representative - 'agreed that Balfour should submit designs for a cruciform stone as an alternative'.¹⁵⁴ The Earl of Balfour, former Principal of this University, and a friend of Lorimer's, of some twenty years standing, did so. Further differences of opinion ensued. Sir John Burnett felt that the criss-cross effect would be unrestful, whereas Sir Fabian Ware felt it would be too individualistic and said - 'It is the principle of corporate memorial as against congeries of individual memorials'.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore the cross would have been more fragile, and could not have been used for non-Christians. Eventually the matter was referred to the Commons. The Commission's headstone and Balfour's cross were exhibited in the House of Commons tearoom and an accompanying memorandum was issued stating the reasons for preferring headstones to crosses. 'The headstone would allow space for a regimental badge, number, rank, name, honours, date of death and a personal inscription. The cross would not. There was so much work and so little labour that standardisation was imperative.'¹⁵⁶ Thus as those in authority have a way of contradicting themselves, in the first place they forbad the provision of individual memorials, and they took away the right of choice of headstone from the relatives of the dead by statute, to preserve the ideal equality of treatment, after which they

pleaded that the cost of providing headstones for everyone made such standardisation essential for reasons of economy.

What was the final achievement of this policy? The aim was impeccable, to provide enough variety to avoid monotony, together with enough repetition to ensure order. Unfortunately the effect of repetition varies with number. 'One mother was horrified at the idea that the tombstones should resemble so many milestones',¹⁵⁷ as indeed they do, in the largest cemeteries. No architect of Lorimer's stature would have been unaware of this danger, and he had commented favourably at Ohlsdorf near Hamburg on the German use of 7 or 8 alternative designs for headstones.

Some cemeteries were divided into bays to break~~down~~ the overwhelming effect that is produced by the sight of vast numbers of identical headstones. Cologne is subdivided in this way but the hedges had been planted by the civilian authorities before the plot was taken over. Taranto in Italy is another plot taken over from the town authority. Early photos of it show that the cemetery was subdivided into smaller plots, each partly surrounded by walls (possibly built before Lorimer took over), and by hedges as high as the headstones. Some of the paths between the plots between these plots are shaded by mature trees (fig.9).

It may be that Lorimer left well alone at Taranto, and that hedges, walls and trees were already there. The pleasant intimate scale they provide is notably absent in

later photos (fig.10). The height of the hedges has been reduced to about 10 inches which throws the headstones into greater prominence.

Hindsight suggests that if the Commission's policy worked very well, on the whole, its neglect of the general aspects of scale was something of a shortcoming. The prejudice against congeries of individual memories was reasonable, but it was not positive enough an aim, to give the designers proper guidance. The use of headstones for each grave to carry the 'Military Idea', which was satisfactory for hundreds of graves (and which were intelligible as a group), became oppressively inhuman for graves set out by the thousand, and the cemetery at Mikra near Salonika for 1963 graves reflects this (fig.11). Most of the other cemeteries in Macedonia were situated on wild lonely hillsides and Blomfield's cross was discarded and a steep conical cairn substituted for it, with a small cross as a kind of finial (fig.12). At Sarigol, for example, the annual report noted that - 'Sir Robert Lorimer has replaced the cross by a cairn, conical in form, built of rough blocks on a concrete foundation, it is 11 feet 4½" in height, and is surmounted by a rough stone cross 10 inches square and 3 feet 10 inches in height'.¹⁵⁸ The headstone also was discarded and horizontal concrete blocks used to mark the graves (fig.13). The gain from these simple changes is a more relaxed atmosphere, less military perhaps, but equally unified in effect. Hussey quotes Lorimer as writing - 'It is probably no exaggeration to

say that the conditions under which the work has been carried out in Macedonia have been made more difficult than in any other theatre of war...the local craftsmen are very poor and totally incapable of reading a drawing'.¹⁵⁹

Perhaps there were no Greek craftsmen to produce crosses to Blomfield's design or it may be that the roads were not good enough to allow its transport. Lorimer's cairn which was not only easier to build, but could be built ^{up} upon site, would have met both these difficulties. It was also less easy to damage.

The introduction of cemeteries into lonely countryside posed problems of landscaping which could only be partially solved. Sarigol was a middle sized cemetery with some 718 burials. It lies in gently rolling arable land, and is surrounded by a low stone wall, circular in plan and about 260 feet in diameter.¹⁶⁰ The cemetery sits easily in this semi-wild landscape. It is not part of it but it does not intrude overmuch. As the planting has matured the effect becomes more and more like that of a coppice (figs.14 and 15).

The layout within the walls is bisected by crossing paths and is planted with cypress and catalpa. Each grave is marked by a concrete block.¹⁶¹ The rich planting effects have been described in the official record. 'The cemetery, which is circular in shape and lies on a low mound among cornfields, is bordered by tall cypresses within a stone wall. An avenue of purple-leaved crabapple trees leads from the stone of remembrance, made of local marble, at the northern end, to the cairn built of stone quarried

at Doiran, surmounted by a small cross'.¹⁶²

Kirechkoi-Hortakoi with 574 burials is much the same size.¹⁶³ The layout is symmetrical. The short main axis has been placed on the side of a hill with the entry at the lower end. The slope is used well but the figure of the cemetery, simple though it is, does not blend with the background (fig.16). The same can be said of Struma which is a little larger with 932 burials.¹⁶⁴ The simplicity of the rectangular layout is in sharp contrast to the surrounding landscape (fig.17). Karasouli with 1426 burials¹⁶⁵ is larger but is laid out in an equally simple rectangular fashion (fig.18). The shape is precise and symmetrical and makes no concession to the fact that the cairn set at the top of the main alley is seen against a skyline slanting away to the right (fig.19).

The minor defects of the foregoing cemeteries derive sometimes from the insurmountable problems which they set the designer. It has to be said, however, that the luxuriant planting of them increases their contrast with their backgrounds and that something more austere might well have seemed better adjusted to such austere landscapes. Lahana, by contrast, is an example of a cemetery which is fully adjusted to its surroundings. It benefits in the first place from its smaller size, having only 271 burials.¹⁶⁶ The cemetery is 310 feet long x 70 feet wide and the main axis is across the short width (fig.20). A sense of movement and informality is gained by the entrance being placed off the main axis. The visitor sees first

the back of the cairn, enters the gate to its side, is turned then towards the right ~~for~~ an oblique view of the war stone and finally back to the cairn. This cemetery is set astride a small ridge giving something of the effect of an acropolis and of a point of culmination within the landscape as a whole. (fig.21)

5. The problems of assessing the Commission's work

Lorimer's tours of duty have been described to bring out the administrative background against which he and other principals had to work, and the last section has discussed the problems of architecturally harmonising the cemeteries with the landscapes surrounding them from an architectural standpoint. Design, in practice, is a continuous process of decision making, within which these two aspects are intermingled, and it remains to look at a few Italian cemeteries from both aspects together, by way of a summing up this interaction and its effects.

The cemeteries in Italy fall into three groups. There are war cemeteries in the north, high up in the Alps. There are line of communication cemeteries in the body of Italy and there are three cemeteries in the south. Two are near bases, and the third at a port, outside which a large transporter was torpedoed. Most of the line of communication cemeteries and all the base cemeteries were

within existing civilian cemeteries and Lorimer had to do what he could within fairly confined situations. The brevity of his notes on them suggests that they did not exercise his imagination as much as some, and the registers do not describe their layouts.

Lorimer sketched the plan of Taranto extension cemetery roughly, but in some detail, with notes about the graves already there.¹⁶⁷ In Genoa he merely sketched a treatment for the end wall of the annex.¹⁶⁸ Savona he sketched in outline only¹⁶⁹ but Bordighera, which must not have been executed shows the beginning of a carefully balanced layout.¹⁷⁰ He looked, also at Arquata - 'base town in the Appenines...22 graves [and] Cremona cemetery plot in far left hand top corner of town'.¹⁷¹

The three chosen for development as war cemeteries were Taranto, the naval base on the south west coast, Genoa, the seaport on the north east coast, and Savona, a smaller port 25 miles to the south west of Genoa. Taranto was a British base from May 1915 onwards - 'but its importance to British troops dates from the summer of 1917, when the Mediterranean lines of communication were established... the town cemetery...was used for British burials from June 1915, to April, 1919, but as early as January, 1918, it became necessary to open a British extension at the side, and after the Armistice the 102 British graves in the town cemetery were removed to this extension. The extension now contains 454 graves'.¹⁷²

Lorimer visited the cemetery in 1918 and sketched the layout roughly. He took notes on the graves in plots 2, 3, 5 and 6. 'Eunonimus hedge walls 9' x 2', paths 6' - 7',¹⁷³ suggests that the general layout had been established by this time. Plots 1 and 4 appear to have been empty, and awaiting the 102 graves to be moved from the main cemetery. Lorimer sited the great cross, and put a pergola along the boundary to the road with small buildings at either end. The official description reads, - 'the extension is enclosed by high stone walls painted ivory-white. Along the western side are pergolas, covered with wistaria, at each end of which are buildings of the same painted stone as the boundary wall; that on the left is a gardener's tool house and that on the right, a shelter where the bronze register box is housed. The cross of sacrifice...stands at the centre of the northern boundary'.¹⁷⁴

Taranto cemetery offers the example of an awkward site to which the formal tenets of the design policy have had to be applied (fig.22). The semi-circular path at the entrance uses the immediate change of direction into the main alley, to advantage. The oblique view of the great cross provides interest, but the cross walk ending at a blank wall on the north is unsatisfactory. Perhaps the clearest indication of how this tidy layout has been imposed on some disorder, is the haphazard spacing of the graves in plots 5 and 6.

Once again, however, the luxuriant planting softens the effect of the hard edged architectural forms. The alterations to

the plots and the taking down of low walls surrounding them suggests that here too, the layout was contrived within a partially prepared layout.

Among the line of communication cemeteries are those in the Plain of Lombardy. Dueville and Montecchio lie to the south of the Southern Alps, and their cemeteries contain the graves of those who died in casualty clearing stations which were located there. Further west and near to the Adriatic Sea lies Giavera, where - 'men who fell in defending the Piave from December 1917, to March, 1918, and those who fell on the west side of the river during the passage of the Piave are buried',¹⁷⁵ and Tezze cemetery which - 'contains the graves of those who fell on the north east side of the river during the passage of the Piave'.¹⁷⁶

Each site tells its own story of ancient battles. Montecchio Pre-calcino in particular took the fancy of 'W.G.' who wrote to a magazine saying - 'this photo is... of interest in showing the type of cemetery recently visited by H.M. the King. The great simple gate-piers in the foreground, the rising tiers of graves, and the cross standing out against the distant blue mountains, in the centre of the long, loggia-bounded wall, make this one of the most beautiful of our Italian cemeteries'.¹⁷⁷

The general view of Montecchio supports this view (fig.23). This cemetery, - 'lies on the east side of the road to Thiene, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of the village',¹⁷⁸ and - 'the British extension lies on the slope of a hill over-

:looking the River Astico and giving a view of the Alps. The war stone and the cross stand on terraces at the north side of the cemetery, and behind them is a vineyard. The register contains particulars of 439 graves'.¹⁷⁹ This is a small cemetery which makes excellent use of its sloping site (fig.24).

Lorimer found it a - 'charming site on slope in orchard, view over Venezia and winding River Astico, opportunity for central walk and stone at end, cross at top of hill', later he jotted in blue crayon - 'Back area'.¹⁸⁰ He also visited - 'Lugo to see graves behind existing churchyard - at top of hill up flight of steps, superb view of Asiago district all round',¹⁸¹ and - 'Caltrano 8 graves in row over road and outside com c' (i.e. communal cemetery)¹⁸² where he also sketched a fountain with a - 'very large plain marble basin'.¹⁸³

The scale of this cemetery is excellent and its friendly atmosphere derives from the lack of a prominent axis and the sense of regimentation to which it so readily gives rise when flanked by innumerable head stones. This cemetery retains the freshness of his earliest sketches (figs.26 and 27). As he remarked when he visited the cemetery again in 1923 for the visit of their Majesties, - 'started to do the round...1st Montecchio which is looking delightful, lots of iris pallida, and rambler roses, and no paths'.¹⁸⁴ The official description fills in a few further details. 'The extension...is situated above the main cemetery, on steeply sloping ground. It is entered

by a flight of stone steps, and small flights of steps lead to the terrace on which the stone of remembrance stands. At either end of this terrace is a small building of local stone with a steeply pitched tiled roof; that on the west holds the bronze box containing the register of the names of all buried here, while the other provides shelter and rest for visitors....At the top of the cemetery, reached by further flights of steps, is the cross of sacrifice in an apse in the rear boundary wall with three mulberries planted around it. A "Chinese pagoda" tree stands on either side of the great stone on the terrace below, and beyond them, seats placed near the boundary walls are shaded by white mulberry trees'.¹⁸⁵

The business of collecting the scattered graves, sometimes to a site within an existing cemetery, and sometimes to an entirely new cemetery led to entirely different problems being encountered on different sites. The work at existing cemeteries was proscribed by what already existed yet the entirely new cemeteries were proscribed to some degree by the Commission's own policy. Edmund Blunden in saying that its ideals are not necessarily those of the present, was drawing attention to increased informality of modern life. In assessing the work of the Commission in architectural terms the conclusion which is inescapable, is that the equality of sacrifice, which was the central tenet of belief in its thinking, led to a policy the physical outcome of which was highly formal. The individual was

recorded, but the only expression of his passing was an absolutely standard headstone, ranked row upon row beneath the cross of sacrifice.

The arguments in favour of less regimentation (because despite the slightly repellent air of the word, this is what the Commission's policy amounted to) can only rest on the belief that in human terms, virtue resides primarily in individuals, and not in societies. The 'Military' idea, or the collective view was favoured by members of the Commission at the end of the greatest holocaust of this century. Yet the notion of a war to end all wars carries a rectitude that is akin to self-righteousness. The very terms of the Peace of Versailles showed how the victorious allies believed right to be entirely on their side. However, despite these all-prevailing sentiments a number of British War Cemeteries managed in their designs to slip through the all-pervasive design policies of the Commission.

Mention has been made already of the beneficial effects of using cairns and low concrete-block markers in most of the Macedonian cemeteries. The mountain cemeteries in the Italian Alps are set among scenery so wild, and reached by tracks so primitive that special concessions also had to be made in their design. 'These cemeteries have a common origin in the casualties which occurred during the successful defence of the Asiago front, from March to October 1918, and in the final Austrian defeat in November'.¹⁸⁶ Figure 27 shows their location.

The cemeteries were already in existence when Lorimer first visited them, and he visited some cemeteries from which the graves were later removed. 'Kaberlaba meantime small cemetery of 18 graves might grow and become quite large. In pine wood...Monte Langabisa. Small cemetery partly destroyed by shells, with Austrian plot beyond and Italian to left hand side behind near road'.¹⁸⁷ He appears to have visited 9 cemeteries on the one day. 'Cesuna small cemetery with light railway bank, Austrian cemetery at side [and] Monte Sunio small cemetery approached by steep paths and situated amid craggy and precipitous surroundings',¹⁸⁸ were another two cemeteries which have been closed down. The next day he visited another ten. 'Istrana British Cemetery at corner of 2 roads' appears from the sketch to be well established cemetery and he notes the position for a new entrance, the stone and cross, whereas Paese was merely - '8 graves up a narrow lane. Austrians beyond and 2 Bosche airmen'.¹⁸⁹ 'Arcade, small triangular plot outside communal cemetery - fine row of cypress leading up to it...Villorba, 5 graves outside communal cemetery with good enclosure of hedge...Faliza, 2 graves in existing cemetery...Bavaria nice situation 2 rows of graves with some Italians at one end of row'.¹⁹⁰

Five cemeteries were chosen finally, of which the register notes that - 'the Asiago plateau, which lies on the southern slopes of the Alps directly north of Vicenza, is about three to four thousand feet above sea level. The

cemeteries are exceptionally well placed in the midst of beautiful natural surroundings. They are enclosed by thick rubble walls of the local stone and each has a great cross as a central monument'.¹⁹¹

These five cemeteries form an interesting basis for comparison since they are composed from similar elements, yet each differently to the needs of each particular site. Barenthal is sited - 'on rocky ground by the side of a mountain road in a fir wood 3600 feet above sea level. The nearest house is about two miles away. The great cross, which will be seen against a background of trees, is on the south east side facing the entrance'.¹⁹² The layout is shown on fig.28.

Barenthal is a small cemetery of only 125 burials and Lorimer noted that it was - 'lying along side a road' and sketched a long rectangle and noted - '3 rows of graves'.¹⁹³ Two years later he wrote - 'Barenthal long shaped close to road entered over a bridge and in a wood'.¹⁹⁴ This suggests that all he had to do was to put a wall around an existing cemetery and construct a cross. The graves are arranged assymetrically in dissimilar plots set within an enclosure only 40 feet by 170 feet wide. The direction of approach is off centre between the two longer plots, so that the entrance is centred upon, and leads directly to, the great cross. This cross is contrived from rough masonry matching the boundary walls. The war stone has been omitted. The result is a completely harmonious

articulation of parts. The graves face the front wall of the cemetery but offer no obstruction between entrance gate and great cross. The three dissimilar plots sounds a note of variety amid the general formality of the layout. The paths are entirely detached from the boundary walls.

In perceptual terms, the graves are seen as the main figure on the ground within the simple enclosing wall. The main object of use, ~~for~~ the gateway, and the main symbol, - the cross, both fit well with the boundary wall and tend to associate themselves with the visual ground. Lorimer has produced thereby a clear contrast of figure and ground, set against a backcloth of trees which is completely harmonious. The stone caps added to the gateway to carry the name of the cemetery appear to have been added later because they are not quite in character (fig.29). The register notes that - 'The cemetery is entered over a bridge across a culvert, through small wrought iron gates, and the cross, built of a reddish stone, stands at the north-eastern end in a semi-circular apse formed by the surrounding walls'.¹⁹⁵

Boscon, like Barenthal is a cemetery situated below the side of a hill and set on a level shelf bordered on the other side by the approach road. Both have become clearings as the fir trees around them have grown up. Lorimer's first impression of Boscon was of a - 'small cemetery close to road with graves mostly covered with moss'.¹⁹⁶ It appears, also, to have been another existing cemetery

which required only an enclosing wall and cross. On his next visit he noted - 'Boscon side of road - squarish huge round boulder stones in a wood'.¹⁹⁷ The description in the register reads - 'The side is in a dense fir wood, 5200 feet above sea level...The great cross is on the north-eastern side facing the entrance'.¹⁹⁸ There are 146 graves.

The general layout is similar to Barenthal but not quite so effective (fig.30). The graves are arranged in three similar groups, within an enclosure which is 45 feet deep - that is five feet deeper, and the width is 110 feet - or some 60 feet narrower. The advantage of greater compactness is upset by three things: the central plot of graves is athwart the direction of approach and set between gateway and great cross. Second, the layout is entirely symmetrical and therefore stiffer in effect than Barenthal. Third, the path alongside the inner face of the front wall abuts it. It may be that Lorimer found himself caught between the line of the existing road and the front of the existing graves, but be that as it may, the gate is too near the graves, and this front path is rather cramped in effect. Nevertheless the effect of this simple design which embodies all the other good points of Barenthal is very satisfying (fig.31). The official description reads - 'the cross of rough-hewn red stone blocks dominates the cemetery and, with the grey stone walls, stands out against the dark background of trees. The brilliant blue of the gentians growing naturally in

the turf are a delight'.¹⁹⁹

The third cemetery on the Asiago plateau is Magnaboschi which is - 'on a mound near an Italian military cemetery, on side of road',²⁰⁰ and Lorimer's sketch book shows a rectangular site set a little back from the road. A blue circle is drawn to the left of it marked - 'Hummock possible site for cross'. On his first visit, he used the word communal and then crossed it out and substituted Italian Military. On his second visit (in 1920) he noted - 'Magnaboschi - French cemetery opposite'.²⁰¹ The general situation is - 'a grassy slope in the centre of a valley surrounded by natural rockeries backed by firs and larches. The wild flowers growing among the rocks include primroses, gentians, and cowslips. The entrance to the cemetery is up three short flights of steps, and the great cross is on the eastern side facing the entrance'.²⁰² There are 183 graves (fig.32).

Evidently Lorimer's idea of placing the cross as a small calvary offset from the cemetery did not meet with approval. Graves are set in three similar plots within an enclosure which is about 80 feet deep by 100 feet wide. The entrance to this almost square cemetery, is set back 25 feet from the stony track amid a sloping alpine meadow. Behind it the slope steepens sharply and is forested in pine. The approach to the cemetery is by a path across 25 feet of mountain turf to the gate. The gate itself is set in an apse in the boundary wall which projects forward.

This reduces the sense of obstruction of the middle plot of graves between gate and great cross, and creates the sense of a controlled sideways deflection of alternative routes to the cross. A number of fir trees - about 14 - were planted around the cemetery near to the boundary wall. These grew up to overpower this relatively small enclosure and only four have been retained (fig.33). The flower borders around the perimeter have been grassed over.

This design shares most of the good points of Barenthal and the total effect is perhaps even better. The official description reads - 'the cemetery lies...in open country at the head of a valley...A stone roadway across a field leads to the British cemetery which is entered through a wrought-iron gate between piers of rubble from a local quarry, at the end of a small flight of steps. At the eastern end of the cemetery, facing the entrance, stands the sturdy cross'.²⁰³ The approach view across the alpine meadow, of the stepped boundary wall surmounted by the simple cross echoing the same stonework is truly memorable.

Granezza is another sloping cemetery like Magnaboschi. Lorimer on his first visit, however, noted it to be a similar problem to Cavaletto, the only more or less level cemetery of the 5. He drew out the plan of a rectangular cemetery with a central path, and with the boundary at the far end curved and carrying the note - 'Natural amphitheatre and trees'.²⁰⁴ This design must have been finalised by his next visit in 1920 because he noted tersely - '&Granezza 4 ³ap_{es} high walls 4000 feet up'.²⁰⁵ The 142 graves at

Granezza are set in two plots, in an enclosure about 80 feet deep and 90 feet wide (fig.34).

The register notes that the general situation of - 'the site is a beautiful one, 4,100 feet above sea level, in a small natural amphitheatre about fifty yards across, which is entirely surrounded by rock slopes thinly dotted with fir trees and with a good undergrowth of dwarf beech. The great cross is on the north east side facing the entrance. A wider border of trees and flowers surrounds the grave plots'.²⁰⁶ There are 142 graves (fig.35).

Granezza is not a woodland cemetery. It sits on a slope like a rockery. The trees are spare and sparsely scattered on the rocky slopes behind. It is less dramatic in its lighting than the woodland cemeteries but by not being overhung by trees, it becomes more direct in its effect. The scattering of grave stones echoes the outcropping rock shelves of the slopes above.

Cavaletto is the smallest cemetery on the Asiago. On his first visit Lorimer merely noted - 'about 80 graves - 4000 feet up',²⁰⁷ and on his second visit - 'In a level space'.²⁰⁸ Perhaps this brevity stems from the similarity of this site to parts of Scotland. The register describes how the site is - 'on the south side of the Alps where they descend sharply to the plains and are devoid of thick woods. From it there is an extensive view over the Venetian plain to the sea. The cemetery is 4000 feet above sea level, in a small valley of great natural beauty, where a profusion

of wild flowers grow among lichen covered boulders'.²⁰⁹

The 100 graves are set in an enclosure, 75 feet deep by 70 feet wide (fig.36). Early photographs show its almost level site surrounded by low scrubby slopes. These have subsequently been re-aforested (fig.37). This cemetery differs slightly from the others on the Asiago in that the graves are set in one plot and are sideways on to the direction of approach. They are surrounded by a path and a broad band of turf. The cross is in an apse in the westerly side wall. Thus the graves, as the main visual figure, ~~are~~ further reinforced by the great crosses displacement to a side wall. This provides also a more dynamic and richly varied interplay between this figure, and the wall and cross as ground. Furthermore the informality of this arrangement is the least stiff and most human of these five cemeteries (fig.38).

What was the achievement of these cemeteries? The cemeteries on the Asiago vary in size from 183 burials at Magnabosch down to 100 at Cavaletto. No buildings or tool sheds are provided since these cemeteries are set in a group roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in diameter. Maintenance from a central point, therefore, is easy. The mountain tracks in this area were found not to be strong enough to carry the weight of the war stone or great cross used in most other cemeteries. This was as well, because these cemeteries are too small in scale for them to have been included satisfactorily. Lorimer made full use of this opportunity

to design a rugged cross in rough masonry which combines well with the boundary walls and which is perfectly at ease in this wild upland landscape.

These were the reasons why these small cemeteries came to consist of only four main elements; the enclosing boundary wall, the entrance gate, the headstones, and the great cross. The interplay of the elements gave rise to some variety between sites, and irrespective of preferences for the formal or informal, it was Cavaletto, the most informally laid out which Hussey chose to illustrate in his book.²¹⁰

The particularly good outcome at Cavaletto was to some extent due to its site. Barenthal and Boscon on their narrow sites, were narrow enough, to fit within the contours, and of the three squarish cemeteries Cavaletto is set upon a gentle swell so that the stepping of the boundary wall in answer to it provides incidents which this very simple design needs.

Magnaboschi is the largest of the five with 186 graves. It is set on a steep slope so that the boundary wall steps down a foot every 15 feet or so. The ragged effect of this was softened by fir trees set inside the boundary wall, although as they thickened they have been thinned to leave only the corner trees standing. Granezza lies on a steep slope also, and has to have very sharp set downs in the coping of the boundary wall, but this echoes the rhythm of the natural rock outcrops behind the cemetery and helps to knit in this cemetery to its site. Each of these cemeteries

has its own felicitous features. If they were atypical because they represent special answers to the special conditions in the mountains, they were appreciated nevertheless. Cavaletto was chosen for illustration in 'The Unending Vigil'²¹¹, and Magnaboschi²¹², Barenthal²¹³ and Boscon²¹⁴ were illustrated in 'Their Name Liveth'. The final seal of approval was given when Sir Fabian Ware, first Vice-Chairman of the Commission described these cemeteries as being - 'as impressive and artistically perfect as anything in the world' - high praise indeed!²¹⁵

They were opened officially by the King in 1923 and Lorimer went out on what was to be his 4th round of visits in preparation for the ceremony. He travelled out with his wife and Colonel Durham, reaching Rome to - 'find a crown of the Commission in residence preparing for the royal visitation. Sir Fabian Ware, his sec[retary] and Clark, Capt. Phillips [lawyer], Russell [Horticulture], etc., and several members of the Anglo-Italian mixed commission. V[iolet] went to bed and I dined with the crowd...and wandered about the town with Ware'. The next day he - 'started to do the round that is to be made by the King on Sunday. 1st Montecchio...after arranging various details of this ceremony motored on to Asiago'²¹⁶. He went on to visit - 'the three cemeteries that the King is coming to. The effect of these is disappointing as yet, owing to the slackness of the garden people. They are not yet sown with wild flowers, which was what we hoped for, and the interior of the walls have not yet been planted close with

small leaved ivy, but if properly tackled in the autumn they can be made all right. Ended up at Dueville which is quite successful'.

The next day was spent sightseeing. He dined with Col. Durham. 'Sunday, up betimes, and started with Durham at 8 in an open car first to inspect Montecchio and see that all was ready. Then up to Boscon, Barenthal and Magnoboschi. The charm of the drive out was seeing the whole population of villages turned out to see the royal program...At last the fleet of 7 Lancia cars was seen approaching, and the whole ceremony was gone through in ~~dead~~ silence, the word having been passed round that that was what was correct: the K. saluted the cross and then made a general inspection of the cemeteries. The arrangement was that the children were not to be allowed in till the K. and Q. were gone, but he said let them all come in now. So all these hundreds of tinies, came in among the K. and Q. and their suite and placed their bouquets some on the cross others at the headstones'.²¹⁷ After this moving ceremony the party went on to Barenthal. Magnoboschi, the last of which - 'has the most superb background. A mountainside of green bush scrub with occasional pines emerging out of it'. Then on to - 'Dueville where the final ceremony was to take place, and the leave taking... All was done as usual with due deliberation. There is never any appearance of hurry or bustle with the K. and Q. on these occasions: we were drawn up at one side and I

had a few final words with them'. The day after Sir Robert and Lady Lorimer went sightseeing, ending these visits at Gravera and Tezze', and on Friday they caught the morning train for Paris.²¹⁸

APPENDIX 1

List of cemeteries for which Lorimer was responsible
supplied by Miss Bowden of The Commonwealth War Graves
Commission.

"CONSTRUCTED CEMETERIES AND MEMORIALS IN EGYPT, GERMANY
GREECE, ITALY AND UNITED KINGDOM"

GREECE

DOIRAN MILITARY CEMETERY
KARASOULI MILITARY CEMETERY
KIRECHKOI-HORTAKOI MILITARY CEMETERY
LAHANA MILITARY CEMETERY
MIKRA BRITISH CEMETERY, THESSALONIKI
SALONIKA (LEMBET ROAD) MILITARY CEMETARY
SARIGOL MILITARY CEMETERY
STRUMA MILITARY CEMETERY

ITALY

BARENTHAL MILITARY CEMETERY (ASIAGO)
BOSCON BRITISH CEMETERY (ROANA)
CAVALLETTO BRITISH CEMETERY (CALVENE)
DUEVILLE COMMUNAL CEMETERY EXTENSION (VICENZA)
(GIAVERA BRITISH CEMETERY (ARCADE)
(
(THE GIAVERA MEMORIAL
GRANEZZA BRITISH CEMETERY (LUSIANA)
MAGNABOSCHI BRITISH CEMETERY

MONTECCHIO PRECALCINO COMMUNAL CEMETERY EXTENSION
(MONTECCHIO)
(SAVONA TOWN CEMETERY (GENOVA)
(THE SAVONA MEMORIAL

STAGLIENO CEMETERY (GENOVA)

TARANTO TOWN CEMETERY EXTENSION (LECCE)

TEZZE BRITISH CEMETERY (VAZZOLA)

GERMANY

BERLIN SOUTH WESTERN CEMETERY, STAHNSDORF

(COLOGNE SOUTHERN CEMETERY
(THE COLOGNE MEMORIAL

HAMBURG CEMETERY, OHLSDORF

NIEDERZWEHREN CEMETERY, CASSEL

EGYPT

ALEXANDRIA (HADRA) WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

CAIRO WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

CHATBY WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

ISMAILIA WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

KANTARA WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

PORT SAID WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

TEL EL KEBIR WAR MEMORIAL CEMETERY

UNITED KINGDOM

CHATHAM NAVAL MEMORIAL

PLYMOUTH NAVAL MEMORIAL

PORTSMOUTH NAVAL MEMORIAL

My own researches have added two more to this list

BRALO, IN GREECE and MINIA IN EGYPT.

Appendix 2 which follows lists the cemeteries in the United Kingdom on which Lorimer was consulted. This work was largely bits and pieces but the list makes clear the amount of time and effort which Lorimer must have devoted to such work. The list is mostly compiled from letters from the commission in the possession of Stuart Matthew. The code numbers in brackets are mine. I pencilled them on the letters to allow me to find my way around them while working on them. The cemeteries marked with an asterisk are those which are referred to in his diary notes.

APPENDIX 2

CEMETERIES IN THE U.K. UPON WHICH SIR ROBERT LORIMER ADVISED

City of London Cemetery, Little Ilford.

Camberwell Cemetery, Forest Hill.

Norwich Cemetery.

St. Mary's Cemetery, Kensal Green.

Bordon Cemetery, Hants.

Cannockchase Cemetery, Staffs.

St. Sebastian Churchyard, Wokingham.

All-souls Cemetery, Kensal Green. (U.K. 3 21)

St. Andrew's and Jesmond Cemetery, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Colchester Cemetery.

Aldershot Military Cemetery. (U.K. 4 21)

St. Joseph's Cemetery, Manchester.

St. John's Churchyard, Grayshott. (U.K. 1 22)

Lawnswood Cemetery, Leeds.* (U.K. 4 22)

Fulford Water Burial Ground, York. (U.K. 5 22)

Ocklynge Cemetery, Eastbourne.

Danycraig Cemetery, Swansea.

Linthorpe Cemetery, Middlesborough.

Seaford Cemetery. (U.K. 6 22)

Harefield Parish, Churchyard. (U.K. 7 22)

Wandsworth Cemetery. (U.K. 10 22)

Western Cemetery, Hull. (U.K. 21 2)

Northern Cemetery, Hull.

Hedon Road Cemetery, Hull. (U.K. 11 22)

Christchurch Churchyard, Portsdown.
Epsom Cemetery. (U.K. 12 22)
Sutton Road Cemetery, Southend.
Hove Borough Cemetery. (U.K. 12 22)
Comely Bank Cemetery, Edinburgh. (U.K. 15 22)
Buxton Cemetery. (U.K. 17 22)
Holbeck Cemetery, Leeds.
Cheltenham Cemetery.
Bury St. Edmunds Cemetery.
Harehills Cemetery, Leeds.
Edmonton Cemetery. (U.K. 4 23)
Haverstock Churchyard, Wiltshire.
St. Sebastian's Churchyard, Wokingham. (U.K. 5 23)
Eastney Cemetery, Portsmouth.
Milton Cemetery, Portsmouth.
Kingston Cemetery, Portsmouth.
Shooters Hill Cemetery, Greenwich. (U.K. 6 23)
Seafield Cemetery, Edinburgh. (U.K. 7 23)
Aylesbury Cemetery.
Willowgrove Cemetery, Stockport.
Lambeth Borough Cemetery.
Ince Cemetery, Wigan. (U.K. 9. 23)
Balthamstow Cemetery. (U.K. 21 3)
Bootle Cemetery, Liverpool.
Cathcart Cemetery, Glasgow.
Wigan Cemetery.
St. Woollos Cemetery, Newport, Mon. (U.K. 10 23)

Allenvale Cemetery, Aberdeen, (U.K. 11 23)
London Road Cemetery, Salisbury.
Hunslet Cemetery, Leeds. (U.K. 14 23)
New Wall Lane Cemetery, Preston. (U.K. 15 23)
St. Helen's Cemetery, Lancs.
Grantham Cemetery.
Cambridge Borough Cemetery.
Doncaster Cemetery. (U.K. 16A 23)
Hammersmith Cemetery.
Whitby Cemetery. (U.K. 17 23)
Scarborough Cemetery.
Ford R.C. Cemetery, Liverpool.
Stranton Cemetery, West Hartlepool. (U.K. 18 23)
Killingbeck R.C. Cemetery.
Camberwell Military Cemetery. (U.K. 20 23)
Western Necropolis Cemetery, Glasgow.
Sighthill Cemetery, Glasgow.
New Brentford Cemetery. (U.K. 25 23)
Eastern Necropolis Cemetery, Glasgow. (U.K. 21 4)
Lambhill Cemetery, Glasgow.
Riddrie Park Cemetery, Glasgow.
Witton Cemetery, Birmingham.
Barrow-in-Furness Cemetery.
Piershill Cemetery, Edinburgh. (U.K. 28 23)
Nottingham Road Cemetery, Derby.
Wolverhampton General Cemetery. (U.K. 30 23)
Brockenhurst Cemetery.

Hanley Cemetery, Stoke-on-Trent.
Bury Cemetery. (U.K. 37 23)
Undercliffe Cemetery, Bradford.
Bowling Cemetery, Bradford.
Scholemoor Cemetery, Bradford.
Kensington Cemetery, St. Mary Abbotts.
Wareham Cemetery.
Kingston-on-Thames Cemetery. (U.K. 1 25)
Portland Naval Cemetery.
Willesden Cemetery, Neasden.
Great Burstead Cemetery, Essex.
Plumstead Cemetery.
Kirkdale Cemetery, Liverpool.* (U.K. 2 25)
Eastern Necropolis Cemetery, Dundee.
Western Necropolis Cemetery, Dundee. (U.K. 3 25)
Mariplace Cemetery, Stirling. (U.K. 4 25)
Flaybrick Hill Cemetery, Birkenhead.
Westminster Cemetery, Hanwell.
Maidstone Cemetery.
Canterbury Cemetery.
Tunbridge Wells Cemetery. (U.K. 5 25)
Runcorn Cemetery.
St. Patrick's R.S. Cemetery, Leytonstone.
St. James (Copt Hill) Cemetery, Dover. (U.K. 6 25)
Howdon Cemetery, Wallsend-on-Tyne.
Hebburn Cemetery, Durham.
Bedford Cemetery. (U.K. 7 25)

Streatham Park Cemetery.

Rosskeen Parish Burial Ground.

Cromarty Cemetery.

Tomnahurich Cemetery, Inverness. (U.K. 8 25)

Harton Cemetery, Co. Durham.

Tynemouth Cemetery, Preston.

Garrett Lane Cemetery, Streatham. (U.K. 9 25)

Leigh Cemetery, Lancs.

Phillips Park Cemetery, Miles Plattin.

Gorton Cemetery, Lancs.

Accrington Cemetery. (U.K. 11 25)

Osmondwall Cemetery, Orkney.

Putney Vale, Cemetery. (U.K. 12 25)

Ealing and Old Brentford Cemetery.

Stoke Cemetery, Guildford.

Haslair Royal Naval Cemetery, Portsmouth.

Islington Cemetery, Finchley. (U.K. 13 25)

Acton Cemetery.

St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, Stockport.

Highgate Cemetery. (U.K. 14 25)

Wednesbury Cemetery.

Kings Lynn Cemetery.

Peterborough Cemetery. (U.K. 1 26)

Great Yarmouth Cemetery, Caister.

Charlton Cemetery, Dover.

Margate Cemetery. (U.K. 2 26)

Rock Cemetery, Nottingham.

Gosport Cemetery.

Sandymount Cemetery.

Rose Bank Cemetery, Edinburgh.

Rutherglen Cemetery, Lanarks. (U.K. 3 26)

Hollybrook Cemetery, Southampton. (U.K. 4 26)

Dewsbury Cemetery.

St. Mary Abbott's Cemetery, Hanwell.

Seaham Harbour Cemetery, Durham. (U.K. 5 26)

Stoney Royd Cemetery, Halifax.

Heworth Cemetery, Gateshead.

Barnsley Cemetery.

Monk Bretton Cemetery.

Ardsley Cemetery.

Heaton Cemetery, Bolton.

Tonge Cemetery.

Astley Bridge Cemetery.

Batley Cemetery, Yorks.

Golders Green Crematorium.

Lockwood Cemetery, Huddersfield.

Edgerton Cemetery, Huddersfield.

Lockwood Cemetery.

Eccles Cemetery, Lancs. (U.K. 6 26)

Wimbledon Cemetery. (U.K. 7 26)

Warriston Cemetery, Edinburgh.

Watford Cemetery. (U.K. 8 26)

Paignton Cemetery.

Kilchoman Cemetery, Islay. (U.K. 9 26)

Harton Cemetery, Durham.

Nottingham Church Cemetery. (U.K. 10 26)

Poole Cemetery, Dorset.

Wells Hill Cemetery, Perth. (U.K. 12 26)

Falmouth Cemetery.

Kilmarnock Cemetery, Ayrshire. (U.K. 13 26)

St. Barnabas Churchyard, Erdington. (U.K. 19 26)

Kilchoman Parish Churchyard.

South Metropolitan Cemetery, Norwood.

Everton Cemetery. (U.K. 20 26)

Yew Tree R.C. Cemetery, West Derby. (U.K. 24 5)

West Derby Cemetery. (U.K. 22 26)

Rippleside Cemetery, Barking.

Woodgrange Park Cemetery.

Christchurch Cemetery, Barley, Essex.

Bandon Hill Cemetery, Beddington.

Ilford Cemetery, Essex.

Great Northern and London Cemetery, New Southgate.
(U.K. 24 26)

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Annfield Cemetery, Liverpool.* "

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Exeter Cemetery.* "

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APPENDIX 3

TOURS OF INSPECTION OF WAR CEMETERIES

1918	ITALY (1st)	29 Sep.	-	18 Oct.
	EGYPT (1st)	28 Nov.	-	4 Jan. 1919.
1919	GREECE (1st)	7 Jan.	-	18 Jan.
1920	ITALY (2nd)	29 Sep.	-	15 Oct.
1921	U.K.	14 Feb.		
		2 Mar.	-	3 Mar.
	FRANCE (1st)	26 Apr.	-	29 Apr.
1922	EGYPT (2nd)	27 Feb.	-	13 Mar.
	GREECE (2nd)	14 Mar.	-	6 Apr.
	GERMANY (1st)	5 Nov.	-	17 Nov.
1923	ITALY (3rd)	5 May	-	18 May.
1926	GERMANY (2nd)	19 May	-	23 May.
1927	FRANCE (2nd)	2 Nov.	-	3 Nov.

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Chapter 71. The initiation of the project

The effect of public office upon an architect's role as designer, is to bring in more people at every stage in the discussions on design than for private work. Lorimer's role as designer for the Scottish National War Memorial was different from the War Cemeteries only to the extent by which the public proved able to bring direct influence on him. It made him, in effect, architect to the nation for a memorial which was to become his best known work.

The project came about in the first place as an adverse reaction to - 'A gigantic scheme...in England for a national war memorial. There were to be several millions of money to be spent in Hyde Park, in London'. The Duke of Atholl felt himself obliged to reply to Lord Mond, the spokesman for these proposals, that - 'he could talk about his own nation, but that he had not the right to speak for the Scottish nation...if the Scottish nation wanted a memorial, they would put it up with their own hands in their own country, and with their own money'.¹ Which is how it came to be done, but not before lengthy and difficult proceedings had been gone through, from which Lorimer emerged with enhanced stature.

The matter of a Scottish memorial was taken up by Lieutenant General Sir Spenser Ewart, commanding the forces in Scotland, and in October 1917 he circulated a memorandum

on a Scottish National War Museum to all Scottish regiments, to solicit views from 'those who can speak for the regiments'.² A press officer was appointed to deal with the correspondence which might ensue. An association was set up to work with Sir Alfred Mond's committee to stimulate and to assist local war museums. The memorandum mentioned that the association had already 'been in communication with many cities, towns and villages all over the country including some in Scotland',³ and that - 'No nation in the wide world has in its capital a finer and more natural monument of war than Edinburgh's Castle'. The memorandum ended with a plea, suggested by an anonymous correspondent, for a memorial chapel. An outline plan for a cruciform chapel with individual bays assigned to each regiment was given, as well as two feasible positions on the Castle rock (fig.1.)

Already, three themes which were to appear in the final scheme, had emerged: there was to be a National Hall of Remembrance, as a shrine or chapel to the memory of the Scottish dead; their memory was to be expressed by recording in some way the individual regiments in which they had served; finally there was to be a museum of relics. Brigadier General the Duke of Atholl had written to the press stressing that Scotland would need to be treated - 'As a nation and not a conglomerate of provincial towns',⁴ and he advocated a national museum strongly because, the regimental messes, he argued, were getting

overcrowded with trophies. In this way, the man who was to be put in charge of this national project, came on the scene, and someone who was able to steer it successfully through the storm of controversy which later threatened to destroy it.

The Edinburgh Dispatch for October the 13th 1917, carried an article on three possible sites for the Scottish War Memorial, and it reported that the suggestion made by the Duke of Atholl that there should be a National War Memorial in Scotland - 'has taken deep root'. The sites considered were the Scottish Museum in Chambers Street, the Calton Hill Prison site (later to be used for St. Andrew's House), and the Castle. The article concluded that - 'should public opinion be found to centre on the Castle site as the best, all things considered, it would be a splendid opportunity to remove...unsightly buildings, either by remodelling them or by pulling them down and erecting a new building in their place, which could fittingly house the proposed museum'.

A year later (just before Armistice Day) a committee of 22 members was appointed by the Secretary of State to consider the matter. It was headed by the Duke of Atholl and included Lord Carmichael, Lord Glenconner and Sir George Younger, all former patrons of Lorimer as well as Sir Herbert Maxwell and the architect, Sir John Burnet, two other men whom he knew extremely well. By this time official opinion was firmly centred on the Castle as the

best site. The terms of reference which were drawn up for this enquiry stated that 'the question of a Scottish National War Memorial in Scotland has been brought before the government in connection with the larger scheme for the creation of an Imperial War Memorial in London, and with special reference to the fact that after the war Edinburgh Castle will no longer be required for the accommodation of any large body of troops. It has been suggested that no site could be found so appropriate...as the Castle'.⁵

Two documents were given to the members of the committee to help them in their deliberations. A short history of the buildings on the rock was the first. This was probably compiled by James Richardson, as inspector of Ancient Monuments. It is dated December 1918. Copies of General Spenser Ewart's memorandum were circulated also, because although a little out of date, copies were still available. A preliminary meeting of eight members of the committee, was held in November, and a short report was issued some time later. The suggestions which had come in, in response to the memorandum, were summarised as three: that - 'a museum, a home of record, and a monumental chapel, fittingly assembled within the Castle ramparts, would together constitute a worthy war memorial enshrined in a regal casket'.⁶

The three sites which were found feasible at the Castle were Mills Mount, the southern position of the hospital and the summit of the rock (fig.2). Sir John

Burnet, a member of the committee, had pointed out that the tendency of all the building which had gone on in recent years had been - 'to rear lofty erections upon the lower ward, thereby reducing the importance of the upper ward, which is the real castle of antiquity' (fig.3) and he thought that - 'the accentuation of the mass on the summit would be not only an improvement but a return to historical correctness'.⁷

The committee can be seen to have been aware from the first of the strong popular sentiment for the Castle, and their first report noted that - 'the question of the skyline of the Castle will always be debated'. It was necessary also, they felt, - 'to show clearly that what we now see is a creation of the last 120 years, and that the ancient skyline was something quite different'.⁸

The committee due to meet again in December, was reminded that - 'It will soon be necessary to consider, perhaps even appoint, an architect',⁹ and it closed noting, that - 'if the campaign is successful the public who are to be invited to supply the money - must be kept duly informed and carried step by step. No scheme could hope to be successful unless it were both attractive and popular'.

The first remit to the committee was no more than to require its members to look into the feasibility of providing an acceptable National Memorial at the Castle. In effect, it merely offered a site which seemed likely to become available because Edinburgh Castle would be no

longer required for the accommodation of troops after the war, and it conveyed the suggestion that - 'His Majesty's government were willing to allow it to be used, under suitable safeguards for the protection of its architectural and other distinguishing features, ^[So that] an appeal would be made to Scottish Patriotic Sentiment which would meet with a unanimous response'. The government's general approval for a memorial at the Castle was noted subject to the proviso that - 'The scope and objective of the proposal, however, including the desirability of any such developments must be closely scrutinised'.

The first estimate of the sum required to build the memorial was £250,000 of which £65,000 was to be contributed by the state leaving £185,000 to be raised by public subscription. Doubts began to be raised as to whether this was a proper use of such a sum in times of need? This led to further doubts as to whether Edinburgh Castle was the right site for a memorial?, and what form the memorial should take? The question was also put why the decisions on these things should lie with the committee?, and finally, were they competent to judge?

An unsigned letter of April 7th 1919, apparently written by Lorimer to the Duke of Atholl summarises some of these doubts and interweaves comments and suggestions in a jocular question and answer sequence. Their tone suggests that he had no doubts whatever about his own competence as a designer, nor of his own ability to resolve these difficulties. However the storms ahead were foreshadowed by

the action of Sir Herbert Maxwell, a friend and long time admirer of Lorimer, who resigned from the committee because he believed he could - 'not remain a member feeling...that it is out of keeping with the circumstances...to spend a vast sum of money', on a masonry memorial.¹⁰

The resolution of questions on which so many of the public felt so strongly, promised great difficulty and, although a committee of 22 members was desirable to suggest a broad spread of representative views, it was an unwieldy number for considering anything but broad policy. Further committees proved necessary and five sub-committees were appointed by the main committee in January 1919, to handle the separate aspects of finance, museums, records, construction and propaganda. The members of the construction, or as it was sometimes called, the building committee, were named by the Duke of Atholl as - 'the Lord Provost of Edinburgh (in succession to the late Lord Glenconnor), Lord Carmichael, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board; Sir John Burnet, R.S.A., president of the Society of Scottish Architects; Sir J. Lawton Wingate, president of the Royal Scottish Academy; Sir John Finlay, proprietor of the Scotsman, and myself as chairman'.¹¹

A memorandum from Lorimer's office records the progress of the job from 1919 to 1923, and gives the dates of all the important meetings. Lorimer was asked to submit photos of his earlier work on the 27th of January 1919, along with five other architects, who were not named. He

was selected from this group, and received his draft instructions in March. In April he visited the site ~~with~~ Atholl and on the 10th his appointment was confirmed. It notes that he submitted his first report on April 28th, which was published later in July 1919 as an appendix to the official report of the committee.

Lorimer wrote to Dods a few days before this report was submitted. 'The Castle Scheme - you'll twig from ~~my~~ report ~~what~~ I'm after. The last few days have roughed it all out $\frac{1}{2}$ " - and have now a man putting it down to $\frac{1}{8}$ " - Atholl - chairman of the show - had pot luck with me here one night and stayed till 12 going over my report and discussing procedure and both the Sec'r'y and the under secretary for Scotland have had it all explained to them by me - and seem to like it, oh! it will be fine if it comes off'.¹³

The very idea of a Memorial at the Castle, was to generate a lot of opposition, and when Lord Rosebery wrote a letter to the press describing Lorimer's first design as being like a 'jelly mould', he provided a slogan to which the numerous malcontents rallied. If Lorimer became subject to the pressures of public opinion from his earliest days as National Architect, he was never adverse to lobbying on his own account. As he recounted in his last mentioned letter to Dods - 'I've been making a report and sketch plans...I've got a rare wrangle on that is to get Haig when he comes here to get the freedom on the 27th to borrow it - to enthusiastically advise the people of

Scotland to take it up and go for it - and then a day or two after to publish the report and plan - then I think it might go - I think the money might flow in - and the thing be done'.¹⁴ Haig must have fallen in with this suggestion because Lord Rosebery wrote a month later that - 'Sir Douglas Haig, in the honourable character of junior burgess, has been offering some remarks with regard to the projected Edinburgh Castle Memorial...Sir Douglas seems to forget that on the Castle rock there is already a National Memorial of a unique kind...to bastardise this...would surely be a mistake'.¹⁵

Lorimer's proposals for the memorial as outlined in the 1919 official report discuss the feasibility of making use of the north wing of the hospital as a museum to house the regimental relics, and of the south wing to house the wardens and guardians of the Castle (fig.4). Neither required much alteration for this to be done. The one storey Mills Mount Barrack to the east was to be removed. The old governor's house was to be left. The - 'New Barracks' building was to be tolerated - 'Ugly and gaunt as the building is' because it would cost 10 to 15,000 pounds to take away (and £120,000 to erect a replacement).¹⁶ Detailed suggestions follow as to how the interior should be used, and a consideration of how - 'The baldness of the exterior might be mitigated'. Queen Mary's room in the old palace was to be restored in character with its period, so that it could be used to house some of the more interesting relics. A new flight of steps was to be formed

south of Foogs Gate so that the visitor leaving the museum could reach the palace yard and enter the north portion of the old barracks formed into - 'a pillared and vaulted hall ...of valour and record'. In this way, the visitor would be led up the hill by way of the museums until he would arrive at what Lorimer saw as - 'the crown and apex of the whole scheme - the building in which the memory is enshrined of those who have given their lives in the war'. (fig.5)

One of Lorimer's fiercest opponents was a former employee of his - James Richardson - who had become Inspector of Ancient Monuments. In this capacity, he had to advise the government on Lorimer's scheme. His distrust for Lorimer's intentions was probably responsible for concerting opposition so early on that even in 1919, the first official report noted that - 'an erroneous opinion had been formed that a tall church or chapel was to be built on the summit'. These were the very words used by Dr. Richardson with some emotion in a discussion with me 50 years later.

The report noted the need for - 'a building which will not materially alter the familiar silhouette', a sentiment held both by Richardson and Lorimer, whose differences lay in what was meant by a material alteration. Lorimer's first proposals were that the existing Billings Building on the north side of Crown Square should be removed and a cloister built on its site to house - 'individual memorials to specially distinguished soldiers or sailors'. The Shrine itself was to be octagonal,

about 32 feet in diameter and 45 feet high. If such sizes might seem small, he claimed that - 'Rhythm and dignity are arrived at more by height than floor area... there is a remarkable outcrop of rock, the highest point of rock on the castle hill. This rock, I suggest, should form the centre point of the building...and further, that the very apex of this historic rock should itself uphold some noble and impressive sculptural representation of Scottish valour...the windows...should be filled with stained glass'.¹⁸

The stress upon height rather than floor area in this statement by Lorimer, puts an argument at some variance with his earlier argument that the building should not 'materially' alter the skyline, and he does ask if it is not an inspiring idea that a memorial should be 'reared' from the top of the rock, like the 'Mosque of Omar', or like the 'Mont St. Michel in Normandy'. Perhaps he was too close to the design and too sure of its beauty to see what an alteration it would make, but others were quick to do so.

In May 1919 (according to the office memo), he submitted 1/8" drawings to the small committee and then went on to a meeting of the full committee which was held in the City Chambers. He noted - 'Report to be slightly altered. In the main it seemed to meet with entire approval, also in the main the design for shrine and cloisters met with approval'. The official report

included two key plans, a sketch of the cloisters and the shrine, and lastly a panorama to show the effect on the sky-line. The station point is near the foot of the Mound, perhaps close to the National Gallery, but not from ground level. Indeed the effects of visual foreshortening had been used to reduce the apparent height of the Shrine. This was pointed out immediately by James Richardson. A favourable magazine article on the scheme shown in the report appeared 3 days later and it echoes Lorimer's own enthusiasm and tone of optimism.¹⁹

The office memo notes a number of meetings which Lorimer was having with prominent citizens. The only committee meetings which it mentions, are the Ancient Monuments Board in September 1920 (which was advisor to the government), and a weekend spent with the Construction Committee four days later, at which it was agreed to change the cloister into an enclosed gallery with windows on both sides, and subdivided into bays, each allotted to one regiment.

The public was to be invited to subscribe a large sum of money. Sir Richard Griffith put forward the suggestion for a booklet describing the scheme to be prepared, and which could be sent to the Dominions to arouse interest,²⁰ and from this suggestion came the Thistleday Booklet. The appeal for funds was launched in October 1920 under the signatures of the full committee with extracts from speeches of H.M. the King, the Secretary of State, Field

Marshall Haig, Admiral Rosslyn Wemyss, Rt. Hon. G.H. Barnes, A.J. Balfour, M.P., and D.H. Cameron, R.S.A., R.A.²¹ The booklet must have been used for Thistle day in 1920 and 1921. It shows the second scheme with the Hall of Honour as agreed in September 1920.²² All correspondence on the appeal carried gaily coloured stickers from a series of 48 each representing a unit or arm of the services. The first design (which had been dubbed the jelly mould) appeared in the background of many of the stickers. £100,000 had been collected by April 1922.²² Opposition to the scheme was also mounting and a steady trickle of letters antagonistic to the proposals had begun to appear in the press. The Duke of Atholl's conduct, in chairing the committee came in for a fair measure of criticism. In January 1923 Lord Graham asserted that he had been appointed to the committee in 1919 or 1920 as a co-opted representative of the Naval Auxiliary Forces but he couldn't remember - 'ever having been called to any meeting...The scheme had been treated too much as a "one man show"'. He believed the committee needed to be reconstructed with - 'elected municipal and county authorities, members of parliament, and delegates from such organisations as the British Legion, territorial associations, Highland societies, and of course, members of His Majesty's Navy, Army and Air Force'.²³ Lord Atholl replied that - 'the only request that was made to Lord Graham...was to help to collect funds' and that so far as he was aware, he had - 'done nothing in this direction'.²⁴

There is no doubt that the committee had hardly been convened at all, and many decisions and switches of policy had been agreed 'ad hoc' by Lord Atholl and Lorimer. Five days later Cameron of Lochell wrote from Dinard to say - 'I absolutely concur with Lord Graham in what he writes re the meetings of this committee, and although I have been a member of this committee from the beginning, I believe I am correct in saying that this committee has only met twice since its appointment'. He felt, - 'like the Marquis of Graham, that the whole thing has been too much of a one-man show, although the greatest credit is due to that one man for having raised the money required, an achievement of which he has every reason to be proud. Personally, I adhere to every word of our report, and I venture to doubt if any other scheme would have received the same measure of support, either financially or otherwise. But I do resent the public having been permitted to inspect or criticise the plans and models before they were even seen or considered by the appointed committee'.²⁵ The reasons for this irregularity lie in the political complexities of a national project.

The full committee had been convened in January 1919²⁶ and again in May 1919,²⁷ but the substitution of a gallery for a cloister does not seem to have been submitted to it before it met again, (in February 1923). Lorimer had explained the scheme and shown a model to various Edinburgh citizens in the Castle in December 1922, after which events began to move independently of the committee. The Ancient

Monuments Board sent their second report on the scheme to the first Commissioner in December, the Edinburgh Architectural Association produced a report in January 1923 and on the 16th January Lorimer attending a meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board and noted - 'Scheme to be REVISED'.²⁹ So it was that the full committee was never convened to consider the first revision, and when it met on February 8th 1923 for what appears its third meeting,³⁰ and nearly a month after Lord Graham's complaint, it was to consider the second revised scheme (so called), and what was really the third and final scheme. The Duke of Atholl by working mostly with the smaller construction sub-committee and by much personal consultation, had called the full committee so rarely that it seemed to be used merely as a rubber stamp for approving things decided elsewhere. When Atholl's reply to Lord Graham was published in the press, the Editor appended a note that his letter - 'leaves untouched our judgement of the part which the Memorial Committee have been allotted'.

Two things had more or less forced the Duke of Atholl into his course of action. First, the terms of reference were such that the committee could make no firm decision upon the physical form of the project in the face of the vociferous opposition of the public, which had been so quick to form. Second, no firm decision of any kind could be made before the money for a Memorial had been raised. This meant that not only was the feasibility of the physical

form of the design under test, but also the feasibility of raising enough money to execute it. The two things were interdependent, and both had to prove feasible. Consequently the Duke of Atholl had to use the first scheme before it had been approved to give advance publicity for the appeal for funds, and in this, he was quite justified. The scheme had appeared in the official report and had received the preliminary approval of the main committee in May 1919. As chairman, it was he who was faced, most directly, with the inherent dangers of setting the committee's final seal of approval upon a scheme which might then prove impossible to undertake within the finance procured.

2. The great controversy

The Committee itself had foreseen from the start, that it would be certain that there would be - 'much criticism, some of it not too well informed'.³¹ It would be wrong to attribute the great controversy which arose only to the bitterness of the critics of the scheme, but they did provide a strong factor in it. What did the controversy produce? In the first place it brought about a confusion in the mind of the public on what was actually being proposed, and for what reasons. The pressure of public discontent was

whipped up assiduously by a few people until it became so strong that it endangered the continuance of the project itself. It is necessary, therefore, to look at the controversy in more detail, if the mechanics of this national design are to be understood.

Both the Duke of Atholl and Lorimer had their enemies, and the more heated the controversy became, the harder it became to see the truth underlying it. One editor lamented - 'Who is to unveil the past with a sure hand in the face of sharp conflict of testimony by those who ought to know the facts', in a Scotsman leader at the height of the controversy which raged upon the location and form of the Memorial, and on the conduct of its committee.³²

The conduct of affairs by the Committee was under attack but another difficult aspect of the affair was the number of authorities concerned. The War Office in London, the G.O.C. in Scotland, the Secretary of State, the Ancient Monument's Board and the Dean of Guild all had an official voice. The scheme had been mooted officially in 1918 and for four years the scheme moved slowly between these bodies for their approval. At the same time the discussion of the scheme by the public was fed only by rumours. The Duke of Atholl and Lorimer made efforts to gain the support of as many people as possible, but they were not successful in quietening all the opposition to the scheme. The long delay had deepened popular suspicions that a fait accompli was intended, and towards

the end of 1922, more and more letters of complaint began to appear in the press.

Half inch scale models of the Memorial had been made for the second meeting of the full committee in 1919, and the revised (and second) scheme was ready by the end of 1920. The office memo then shows a pause until 1922. This time was used for raising funds, since the note opposite April 21st is - 'Duke of Atholl re £100,000 collected for above' (i.e. the second scheme). In November 1922 the office of works brought about the final battle. 'There has been placed on the rock a wooden erection... to show the scale of the proposed new building'. The erection provided a silhouette at full scale of the proposed Memorial, a silhouette which, it was asserted - 'entirely changes the familiar lines of the Castle'.³³ The public's reaction was immediate, and the Edinburgh Dispatch printed this anecdote: 'An Edinburgh workman stood on the pavement in Princes Street in silent wonderment at the thing on the Castle rock. "It's fair damnable", he muttered as he turned away. That is just epitome of prevailing opinion'.³⁴ Professor Patrick Geddes wrote from India on - 'the unexpected and disastrous effect... even from the execution of an...in many ways noble project', and he went on to urge that the Dean of Guild court should consider the regulation that - 'all buildings of conspicuous situation...be presented...in model' form.³⁵ Lorimer had made great use of scaled down models in explaining his scheme, but he claimed that this very rough full size model

gave an unfair impression. He wrote back - 'I am not surprised by the spate of letters called forth by the nightmare erection of poles and battens which the office of works insisted on having rushed up for the meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board. In fact I have considerable sympathy for the British workman quoted as having...said *Is na yon fair damnable*. Your correspondents have mainly given their views judged from this erection, which cannot of course, give any adequate idea of the silhouette of the building, or its light and shade and colour'.³⁶

Lorimer's view was supported by another letter from the Professor Baldwin Brown who wrote - 'Judging from a model of the kind now exposed is not always fair to a designer, and this brings one again to the terrace scheme for Princes Street. When a model of a section of this was set up some years ago in the gardens people were frightened at it, as it looked so gaunt and rigid, just as they are frightened now at the untidy erection on the rock'.³⁷ The nightmare erection on Castle Rock did not survive long, and Lady Frances Balfour one of the most bitter and vociferous critics of the scheme wrote three days later that- 'The gales of the last few days, and not heavier than the blasts of criticism, have reduced them to a ruckle of poles'.³⁸

This model, though shortlived, had provoked a fresh outburst of indignation and letters poured in to the papers. The design - 'Revolutionises the grouping of the

present buildings on the Castle rock'.³⁹ Ruskins warning was quoted - 'Disturb, in any single point the simple lines on which the walls now advance and recede upon the tufted grass of the summit and you may as well make a quarry of it at once and blast away rock, Castle and all'.⁴⁰ The model not only strengthened preservationist feelings, it also turned people's thoughts to alternative sites - 'A war memorial should be placed so that everyone can see it and inspect it without having to scale heights. The site chosen should be in one of the most frequented thoroughfares',⁴¹ and another writer asked - 'could we not let our Cenotaph take the place of a Scottish Memorial?'.⁴²

The arguments swayed to and fro. Richard Lodge who had written about the 'revolutionised' massing of the scheme, now wrote that he had - 'never contended that the buildings on the Castle rock were of such value', that no alterations whatever should be made to them. He said that he had - 'two firm contentions (1) the buildings [group] themselves into a beautiful outline...and this is one of the priceless possessions of Edinburgh, (2) No new building...should be allowed to break...this harmony of outline'.⁴³

It is easier perhaps to understand this public outcry in the context of modern town planning. Covent Garden and Piccadilly have raised similar outcries in London, and Charlotte Square in Edinburgh. We have to remember, also, how the Great War caused great social unrest which continued

for years after its ending. The National War Memorial project provided a focus for general discontents in Scotland, four aspects of which provided opinions which will be described to bring out to the full, the turbulence of the background against which Lorimer had to pursue his design. First, there were the discontents of the conservatives who, for one reason or another, were opposed to all change at the Castle. Second, were those of the Utilitarians who were opposed to money being spent on a memorial (even when subscribed voluntarily by the public). These first two groups, in the main, were arguing by principles. The third group, comprised the pragmatists and opportunists of all kinds, a group which argued from examples and were eager to push their own proposals of what form a memorial might take, or where it might be sited. Last, there were the semi-official pronouncements of the editors of the popular press in which they tried to sum up aspects of popular opinion.

The most impassioned opponents of the Memorial were the conservatives proper who wanted no changes on Castle Rock at all, and the first prominent person to come out against any form of memorial at the Castle was Lord Rosebery. This was a change of mind on his part, yet he seemed to provide a focus for public discontents which might otherwise have remained as private doubts. An editorial early in 1919 had begun; - 'Soon we may see a battle royal raging around Edinburgh Castle...As the Duke

(Atholl) is able to quote from letters to himself written by the Earl of Rosebery in favour of the proposal, the mystery deepens [that Lord Rosebery should] condemn it out and out today as "a wanton, insane proposal". It is well, perhaps, in the circumstances, that public attention is being called to the project, for otherwise the report of the Committee, coming with an official air about it might have been swallowed without protest'.⁴⁴ In a letter some 3 months later, Lord Rosebery took an equally firm but less impassioned position, saying that the Castle was - 'a noble monument of all Scottish history, and to bastardise it [by] connecting it with the recent war would surely be a mistake'.⁴⁵

The controversy lasted for more than four years, and as feeling ran high, so the tone of the letters became more extravagant. In December 1922, H. Gregory wrote of - 'the atrocity, hanging like the Sword of Damocles over "the sacred heart of Edinburgh" [and he suggested as] an outward, visible sign, why not have a mass meeting of protest?'.⁴⁶ Three days later A.S. Blair, whom Lorimer knew through his Club,⁴⁷ wrote a somewhat confused letter about - 'the hideous monster raising its ugly head above the Castle' and went on to say that - 'the erection in stone of this elegant monstrosity will make some of us wonder if we really won the war'.⁴⁸ P.M. Campbell set a more philosophical tone by complaining of - 'Putting a negative affair [the Memorial] in the middle of a positive one' (The Castle).⁴⁹

The skyline of the Castle, evidently, was something about which many people felt intensely, yet what is its particular merit? One editorial suggested that - 'the nonsense written about the skyline is really funny. Sky-line, quotha! Many of the buildings which stand out in relief have been built in my own day, and most of the others relate to the period in which the War Office unstintingly exercised its "economy" on this, the finest site in Scotland. The removal of the forbidding mass of masonry which so disfigures the view as seen from the west, will of itself be a blessing'.⁵⁰

The second theme which ran throughout the controversy was the question whether a memorial was justified at all, at a time when so many were living in want. The money, said these utilitarian thinkers, should be spent on the living. The provision of a work of art for the living to formally (and explicitly) commemorate the dead was not necessary or justified. Housing and other perquisites for the living and needy would commemorate the dead by more suitable deeds (if only informally and by implication). Lady Frances Balfour, the widow of a London architect whom Lorimer had known, wrote that - 'the living memorials in Scotland [are] the wounded, the bereaved, the homeless and hungry. When they cry to us are we to give them stone costing £150,000...erected against the will of the many?' This may not have been her foremost consideration because she went on - 'once up, not all the King's horsemen, or

even the Atholl army can pull it down'.⁵¹ Lorimer replied (on January the first) saying - 'I do not care to follow Lady Frances Balfour into personalities, but I wish to refer to what is the main point in her letter, the suggestion that the hungry cry to us for bread and we offer them stones'.⁵² The argument, he said was too simple. There was great distress among craftsmen who had no work, and of the Shrine's cost, he pointed out, seventy per cent would go in wages for them.

The financing of the Memorial continued to be attacked. On January third, Lord Rosebery wrote yet another letter, in which he inveighed against the conduct of the Committee's Chairman, and he complained also of the tardiness with which the Committee had published their statement on finance, and he sounded a xenophobic note on the anonymous gift of £50,000 which had come in. 'We should be proud of him if he were a Scot, though we should think him mistaken in the object of his benevolence; and we should be on our guard against him were he an alien'. He suggested, also, that if the Committee was - 'so attached to the jelly-mould design, ought it not to be transferred to the Calton Hill, where it would not conflict with any historical associations'.⁵³

The late James Richardson (generally known as Jimmy) told me a scurrilous story on fund raising which echoes the malice underlying so much of the debate during the controversy. Lorimer, he said - 'wrote to Burrell and said "if you want to go down to posterity, send £50,000". F.C.B Cadell (who

lived in 4 Ainsley Place) retorted when he heard this, that "Lorimer's own name would go down to posterity in the Remirol", (which was the W.C. which Lorimer had designed for Messrs. Shanks).⁵⁴ The opponents of the scheme were set to destroy it if they could. Lady Frances Balfour was continually on the attack. She wrote again on the 6th to say - 'everything is going well, but the battle is not yet won...let a new committee be formed of democratic, national origin...we don't want to see how much money we can spend but how usefully we can commemorate the dead'.⁵⁵

The third body of opinion, comprised those who were proposing alternative forms and sites for the Memorial. Their motives varied and sometimes their proposals were proffered in hope of bringing a compromise between the warring factions. One correspondent asked that since the removal of the garrison would mean that no parade ground would be needed - 'Why not put the Memorial in the middle of the Esplanade',⁵⁶ and yet another asked why the money could not be used to house pensioners at Erskine House on the Clyde.⁵⁷ The Scotsman of the 6th of January carried 3 letters. One supported the idea of using the Calton Memorial,⁵⁸ another, a Cenotaph as part of an improvement scheme for West Princes Street Gardens,⁵⁹ and the third suggested that a Cenotaph might be combined with a Scottish branch of the Royal Hospital for Pensioners of the fighting services.⁶⁰

A stream of proposals began to come in. Why should

the Memorial not be incorporated in - 'A terrace and promenade in the south side of Princes Street?'.⁶¹ Why should the incomplete Calton Hill Memorial not be put to some practical use, we should - 'take these twelve splendid columns and shift about eight of them so as to form a square edifice with four columns on each side, utilising the existing base and architrave as far as possible and finishing the work with a new building to form a hall or Valhalla inside with a new top'.⁶² Two other letters on the same day spoke of the - 'projection of a mass of building relatively too high and not apparently fitting in to the general silhouette'.⁶³ Earlier criticisms like this had led Lorimer to suggest that the floor of the Memorial could be sunk a little if the building was generally felt to be too high. A third correspondent asked him, did - 'he not think that there was something wrong somewhere when we are asked to erect a building so enormous that it would have, as it were, to be sunk...to bring it into line'.⁶⁴

The tone of the controversy conducted in the press by the opponents of the Memorial was very bitter. John Begg declared - 'What strikes me most in this controversy is the bad temper displayed - that and the confusion of issues which has been allowed to creep in'.⁶⁵ A number of reasons have been given for the malice which was shown, and also some of the reasons for the confusion. The first two schemes had been under discussion for about four years.

The 'news' value of letters supporting Lorimer's design was less than those attacking it, yet a number were printed. Professor Baldwin Brown, Professor of Fine Art in this University, shared Lorimer's interest in Gothic and Medieval Art and met him regularly at meetings of the Architectural Association, an institution in which they both took a prominent part. He wrote his belief that - 'One looks forward to a fresh source of enjoyment owing to the new elements of beauty and interest that the Memorial will add to the buildings on the rock...We must remember that the scheme, as explained and illustrated by the architect was accepted by the Committee specially appointed in 1919, and when one notes that the second name of the signatories to the favourable report then drawn up was that of Lord Carmichael, and the last but one that of the late David Erskine of Linlathen, it is clear that aesthetic judgement of the very best, was brought to bear on it'.⁶⁶

John Warnock, another friend of Lorimer's wrote that - 'This rugged tower, broad based, with its far-spreading buttresses drawing strength from the rock is surely the very picture in stone of what Scotland has been in history'.⁶⁷ Several writers complained that the proposed Memorial was far from too intrusive and that it was not imposing enough. J.M. Munro asked of the second design - 'Is it yet too late, instead of half burying the Memorial to give it prominence on that front of the Castle now defaced by the hideous barrack tenement',⁶⁸ a sentiment echoed next day

by another correspondent who asserted - 'the more prominent the Memorial is, the higher it will be appreciated'.⁶⁹ It may be that each letter provoked others because some ten days later Mr. Nisbet was writing to say that his - 'criticism of it would be, not that it errs on the side of too great but rather of insufficient boldness'.⁷⁰

The divergence of the opinions on the Memorial were too wide to be summed up in any way. The editorials of the day, however, reflect discontent rather than any sympathy for Lorimer (and Atholl's) attempts. When someone asked at a lecture on security and safes - 'Does Mr. Chubb think an excavation could be made in the Castle Rock and fitted with a strong room to store Sir Robert Lorimer loud laughter ensued!'⁷¹ The Dispatch commented on Lord Rosebery's action as giving - 'The coup de grace to this unhappy project'⁷² and two days later it said it would be well to 'let it rest a while, while we find ourselves in the position of a man who having set about building a tower without having counted the cost thereof'.⁷³ Another two days passed and the Editor was commenting that it was - 'no wonder that the War Memorial project has drifted into such a state of muddle when the Chairman of the Committee has such mistaken ideas of the means of gauging public opinion...What the promoters never seem to grasp is that the main opposition is not to any particular design for the Memorial, but to the desecration of the Castle buildings'.⁷⁴ The case for and against any and every facet of the Memorial had been argued so exhaustively that even the Editor of the Scotsman felt finally - 'that the thing is getting near boredom. It is impossible to print all

the letters that are addressed to us by correspondents'.⁷⁵

3. The politics of design.

Lorimer had some enemies who were not without influence. In an early letter to Dods he said what a triumph it would be if the ^{ava}memorial went ahead because it would be 'a smack in the eye to the "enemy" - who have been trying hard to wreck it, incidentally with the hope of wrecking me. But seeing I've prospects of being busier than I've ever been they havn't got me down and out just yet. Did I say we've a meeting...to consider my report - there's a wild talking irresponsible devil of a secretary - but luckily Atholl has his measure all right and I don't think he'll give us much trouble'.⁷⁶ As time went on James Richardson, who knew Lorimer's ways from having worked for him, emerged as the man who had Lorimer's measure. In those ^{early} days, in the office he recalled, 'When a house was designed, I would have to draw the perspectives for the clients. Lorimer would come along and say if we show it that way, it would frighten the clients, and we would adjust it and perhaps lower some parts to delude the clients. That's why, I was able to understand so clearly what he was up to at the Castle'.⁷⁷ The late A.G. Lockhead who worked in the office after the war has taken the view that Richardson added fuel to the controversy. He has told me - 'I remember I did a

perspective to show how the scheme would affect the silhouette of the skyline, and Jimmy Richardson came along to make sure that it was accurate'.⁷⁸ Richardson had other strictures to make. 'When he [Lorimer] came to do the Castle scheme, he sent for all the papers [on the Castle]. Atholl and Lorimer ran the job with almost no attention to the committee. Lorimer had a habit of dictating at these meetings irrespective of who was there. He had built the foundations for the high tower he wanted to build. It would he said, "Be pointed to all the people in heaven". The Board voted against him, but I had to prove him wrong on the later scheme [i.e. the second]. I took him over the drawings through the principles of perspective, and then I drew the true outlines [profiles] in blue pencil, and he had to climb down'.⁷⁹

Technical inaccuracy was not the only thing of which Richardson complained. He found, also, Lorimer not to be historically correct in his restorations and that - 'He had a tendency when he was working on a restoration to overlook the details, and superimpose his own...he was not archeologically minded. If he thought his design was an improvement on what was there he carried it out'.⁸⁰ He accused Lorimer of being jealous of the abilities of his apprentices and colleagues. I asked Leslie Graham McDougall what he thought of these opinions. He replied 'I think Jimmy Richardson has crossed swords with a great number of people. He does not forget these differences either, but Sir Robert was

jealous of us students. He honestly believed that he was the only person who could do certain jobs. I don't say he was greedy for work, and judging his contemporaries, I think he was right. But he did not realise that the younger generation might do something different and as good'.⁸¹

Richardson's contention that Lorimer had deliberately diminished the bulk of the tower in sketches of his second scheme, is supported by photos which appeared in the Scotsman. Fig. 6 shows the profile of the Castle from the Esplanade, and a second illustration (superimposed on fig.6), shows the projected Memorial. It is unclear from the photo whether it shows the actual full scale model or whether the Memorial has been superimposed by photo-montage. The imposition of one profile on the other shows a considerable change to the skyline. The profile from a distant view is taken from near the foot of the Mound (fig.7). Fig.8 which shows the design scheme profile is taken from what may be a photo of the actual model. At all events it seems to be a different photo than that shown in fig.7, and taken from 20 feet nearer the Castle. Alternatively, it is the same photo very slightly enlarged. Either way, it is interesting that when a strict comparison was being argued, that these changes should have been made.

These illustrations made the point firmly that the scheme is not, as Lorimer himself, had suggested in his first report, - 'A building which will not alter the familiar

silhouette'. His own sketch of the profile which is shown by fig.9, seems to have been taken from the top of Ramsey Garden⁵, although whether this can be considered a representative view is doubtful. As the commentary with the illustrations in the Scotsman noted - 'It is unfortunate that no steps were taken at an earlier stage to ascertain whether the original proposals of the architect could be carried out without transgressing the principles laid down in the original report, and still more unfortunate that in the development of the design they have been more and more overlooked'.⁸² The arguments in this article, like the illustrations might well have been chosen by Richardson himself. Whether they overstate their case, as Lorimer had understated his, cannot be known. With the clash of personality involved it is not unlikely, but there is no doubt whatever of the justice of the main contention that Lorimer had a belief in his mission and was apt to consider that the end justified the means. He had such conviction, also, in the superiority of his own powers that it is to his credit that his scorn for many of the misguided gibes being directed against him during the controversy, showed only once in a letter written by him to the Scotsman, in which he hoped - 'It will not be long now till the last crank has fired his last shot'.⁸³

The full sized model at the Castle had provoked the strongest outburst of public indignation, yet as Patrick J. Ford noted sagely, - 'Publicity is an admirable thing,

but matters of detail, however important, cannot be decided at a mass meeting'.⁸⁴ The Ancient Monuments Board were prompted, however, to submit their report (it had been prepared about 3 months earlier) and this even though the Memorial scheme had not yet been adopted.⁸⁵

The Board felt that Billings Buildings - 'is of little interest...and is not, in our judgement, of sufficient importance to stand in the way of a national war memorial if this is considered to be the best site'. The old officers quarters, however, the proposed Pillar Hall, had - 'windows which have remained practically unaltered for 200 years and with which we think it would be a great mistake to tamper more than is absolutely necessary...the old palace, is one of the oldest and best preserved [buildings on the rock] should be treated with the utmost reverence...we consider it would be a grave mistake to obscure the north view of the palace by abutting a building of any width against it'. The members admitted that the outline view of the Castle was not - 'incapable of improvement, though...we attach great importance to the maintenance of this traditional character which appears largely to depend on the solid blocks of building enclosing Crown Square. We are therefore of opinion that the northern block ought not to be reduced or greatly increased in bulk without very careful consideration of the resulting effect on the group as a whole'.

The report thus found that whereas Billings Building was of no significance architecturally, yet it provided part of a well known silhouette which ought not to be much

altered. Lorimer, as a member of the Board, did not help to frame this report, but he was noted to have - 'expressed general concurrence [and that] he sees no difficulty in reconciling his designs'.⁸⁶

This report was based on the first scheme. The second scheme was the subject of a second report, apparently issued together with the first because they were reported on the same day in the Scotsman. The second report found - 'two grave objections. (1) The substitution of a lower building for the old north barracks (Billings Buildings) will effect a marked change in the outline (which) has remained substantially the same for nearly 600 years... (2) The proposed Shrine...would form an isolated and dominant feature foreign to the traditional character'. Neither scheme was found to be consistent with the recommendations of Lorimer's own report which had called for a building - 'which did not materially alter the familiar silhouette.

The second report strengthened the hand of the conservatives. The Scotsman of the day carried a letter saying - 'to place in the very centre and summit of all this, crushing and overshadowing, the beauty and pathos of the Chapel of St. Margaret, a monument to modern cultured taste and exquisite artificiality is impossible',⁸⁷ and another writer asked for - 'Something after the manner of the chapel and south side of Heriot's Hospital'.⁸⁸

Lorimer met the Architectural Association and explained the scheme to his professional colleagues,⁸⁹ as every edition of the Scotsman carried further letters. What is

a Shrine? asked a 'native of Edinburgh', and gave an answer which might have come from Lorimer himself, - 'It is a holy of holies approached through successive envelopes of diminishing size till the inner sanctum is reached'. The conclusion which he went on to draw would not have pleased Lorimer. That - 'the smaller, the more hidden, and the less visible it is, the more it is a true Shrine'.⁹⁰

Edward Salvesen wrote to say - 'I was present the other day at a meeting of representative citizens to whom Sir Robert explained the model of his design. In the end I do not believe there was one out of ten who did not indicate general approval'.⁹¹ This was immediately challenged by A.P. Laurie, Principal of the Heriot Watt College, who asked if he might 'protest against the assumption made by Lord Salvesen [because in his own view] no attempt was made to get the sense of the meeting'.⁹²

John Begg, a distinguished architect and long standing friend of Lorimer wrote to object to - 'Lord Rosebery's jape...he might as well call the St. Giles Crown "a cruet stand" or the Parthenon a pudding basin'.⁹³ Nevertheless the note of derision had stuck, and was echoed again by E.L.G. Stewart pointing out - 'Buttresses a Gothic building must have, yet...without appearing to be positively shored up'.⁹⁴ Lorimer's displeasure must have reached Lord Rosebery because he sent Lorimer a private letter. 'Dear Sir Robert, I am truly distressed at having vexed you, for whom I have so sincere a respect and have had, unknown to

you, opportunities of showing it, the expression you resent is really not mine, for as you truly say I have not seen the structure. It was sent me, however, by an eye witness in whom I have the most complete confidence, and seemed to be confirmed by the photographs. But you must be aware that no chance quip could have any effect on your reputation. Let me explain, however, that I no way rest my argument on the building which you have designed. I am opposed root and branch to the whole plan of the Edinburgh Castle Memorial on grounds which have little to do with the beauty of the building to be erected. You will appreciate, therefore, that our difference is not one of an aesthetic character, but is one of principle; and so I regret all the more that incidentally I should have offended you. Yours sincerely, R.'⁹⁵

The whole matter had become terribly confused and it did not help that each building on the Rock had at least three descriptions. Thus what the Edinburgh Architectural Association called 'Tarrant's building', Lorimer called the "existing barrack", and the Ancient Monuments Board 'the old north barracks'. The descriptive note prepared by the Inspector of Ancient Monuments on the other hand refers to the block of barracks which 'Mr. Billings erected'.

What was the outcome of the controversy? Although the militancy of many of the malcontents had held the centre of stage it had not stopped the inflow of subscriptions. The Herald had noted some time before that - 'A fire of

criticism, some of it from four fairly big guns, has been directed upon the scheme, for a Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle. The shells, however, have fallen wide of the mark...What more convincing proof could there be than the raising of practically the whole sum required.⁹⁶ Yet the fire of criticism was falling near enough to keep down the heads of the Duke of Atholl and Lorimer. Sir Patrick Ford noted how so much of the criticism was misguided - 'Aesthetes, Utilitarians, Philosophers and intellectuals free lances of every kind have ridden a full tilt/[yet one point has been missed that] the bulk of the money...has been subscribed...on the understanding that the Memorial is to take the form of a Shrine on the Castle Rock'.⁹⁷ Sir Patrick Ford was absolutely correct in this, and it has to be said, also, that the barrage of arguments which were rained upon the Committee made it difficult for them to reach any decision at all (which seems to have been what some of the contestants intended).

A considerable body of opinion had shown itself, by this time, to be wholly against the 'jelly mould'. The Edinburgh Architectural Association had reported on the scheme, but A.P. Laurie wrote again saying let the association - 'begin again and set up an open architectural competition'.⁹⁸ The Association wishing to make its own position clear sent an official letter to the Scotsman, to intimate the main findings of its report. The arguments hinge once again, upon the effects of removing Billings Building from the north side of Crown Square, and the report

goes on to put forward three alternative proposals (fig.10). The first proposal suggested moving the proposed Shrine nearer to Crown Court and putting the Gallery on its north side. The second, suggests leaving Crown Court untouched, the Shrine on the site, as already proposed, but linked to the north side of Billings Building, 'the Hall of Memorials would in this case extend along the side of the roadway towards Foogsgate, perhaps enclosing a small sheltered garden court between cloister and Shrine'.⁹⁹ The third proposal, which acknowledged the strength of public feelings that there should be no change to the existing silhouette of Castle Rock, suggests a new Memorial to replace Billings Building with a Memorial of similar shape and mass, 'We are aware that the third proposal is somewhat drastic...but are of the opinion that it presents the most satisfactory and natural solution of the problem'.¹⁰⁰

Lady Frances Balfour wrote once again to the press to say that - 'We have now the report [of the E.A.A. which] must be received, though coming very late in the controversy, with all the respect due to a careful and expert opinion... there is little to add to the controversy', and she ended, a little sadly - 'the site does not seem appropriate... Leave us with the quiet chapel of St. Margarets and the wide view over the Forth'¹⁰¹ but by then the battle had ended.

Matters had reached such a pass, that firm action had to be taken if the scheme was not to founder. Atholl did not hesitate. While Lady Frances Balfour was penning her

last lament, he was addressing a special general meeting of the Cockburn Association. He said - 'It was very unfortunate at the present moment that they should be criticising the wrong scheme, for the plans about which there had been so much controversy had never been before the Committee. The scheme which they had accepted was that they should convert Tarrant's Buildings as they stood into the Gallery of Regiments, and make an abutment on it in the form of an apse, facing south, which would be exactly the same height as Tarrant's Buildings. The result would be that the skyline would be the same as at present'.¹⁰²

The meeting which the Duke of Atholl addressed, had begun with the reading of a resolution - 'That representations should be made to the Duke of Atholl's committee and the office of works that in the opinion of the council the scheme should not be adopted without material modification',¹⁰³ and Atholl's statement nullified its purpose. 'Professor Sir Richard Lodge suggested that no motion should be put to the meeting...Principal Laurie, who seconded, said it seemed to him that the resolution was now perfectly meaningless'. Other members were less willing to give up their pound of flesh. 'Mr. Victor A. Noel Paton, W.S., urged that the motion be put [and] Professor Baily...said after all the old scheme held the field officially "Cries of No". Sir Richard Lodge on a point of order, asked whether the Duke did not state that the scheme had been unreasonably attacked as being the scheme of the Committee whereas the scheme had

never been approved by the Committee...Professor Baily said most of them had been under a misapprehension. The scheme which they were condemning had never existed officially. Neither of them was an official scheme. Mr. Paton said he would withdraw his point if the previous question were carried, which would leave the resolution on the table for a future occasion. The Chairman said he was quite ready to accept that'.¹⁰⁴

4. The politics of the final design proposals

The statement which Lord Atholl made to the Cockburn Society about the scheme which he said - 'they had accepted' raised doubt whether all the committee members could have been approached. Less than two days had elapsed since the decision to produce the second revised scheme - that is the third scheme - and it seems unlikely the scheme was yet in existence. Each member might have signified approval in principle to the new concept but no more. Lorimer, himself, noted that ten days later he - 'spent weekend at Dunkeld. Sir J.S. Maxwell was there. Went through plans with Duke and Duchess. Discussed revised scheme'.¹⁰⁵

Doubt about the scheme continued and it was expressed publicly. The Herald of the 7th of February reported that - 'The National Executive Council of the British Legion,

Scotland, recently passed a resolution [that] the proposed ...War Memorial should be abandoned.' The Glasgow Chapter, however, condemned this action and expressed confidence in the Committee. 'We would like to thank the Committee, more especially the Duke of Atholl, for the great amount of trouble and time they have devoted to the scheme'.¹⁰⁶ The following day Lorimer noted that he had - 'attended meeting at York Place of Construction sub-committee and submitted new scheme which was approved. In afternoon attended meeting of main committee who also approved. Instructed to proceed with model of Shrine showing half inside and half outside'.¹⁰⁷

The support for the new scheme, though less vociferously expressed than the opposition, was solid. From the announcement of the final scheme, to its approval by the full Committee took just seven months. In this time, the Ancient Monument Board produced their third report approving the new design.¹⁰⁸ Lorimer explained the new design to the office of works. The Duke of Atholl reported on it to the War Office and the Scottish Office. Sir Robert heard of the War Office's approval in May.¹⁰⁹

The willingness with which the Committee (in the shape of Atholl) considered putting forward yet another scheme, and one which would fit within the existing sky-line of the Castle was well received. Lord Salvesen believed that the Duke had made a very great concession, a sentiment echoed by others at the Cockburn meeting, at which the final proposals had been announced.¹¹⁰ However, not all the

opponents of Atholl's autocratic methods were mollified. Lord Graham wrote yet another letter of protest on what he claimed had been past irregularities in Committee. He qualified this by saying that although the new scheme deserved careful consideration he hoped that Lochiel's suggestion for the dissolution of the present body may take place so that a properly representative committee might be convened.¹¹¹ Lord Rosebery continued to show his distrust, and was doing so as late as 1927. Shortly before the opening of the completed Memorial he wrote referring to - 'what was so loudly puffed as the Scottish War Memorial' and went on to ask whether it was premature to ask for a statement of the finances, in the tone of someone who was worried about the state of the petty-cash.¹¹² Nobody deigned to reply. He wrote again, querulously, that - 'It is not creditable to the promoters who I presume are persons of respectability'.¹¹³

The removal of the garrison from Edinburgh Castle in May 1923 was an event which stirred fresh doubt. It was even seen by some to break a revered tradition of long centuries, - 'It was an unpleasant reminder that there is life in it [the Memorial] yet and that the project had been going quietly forward while they had almost forgotten about it'.¹¹⁴ The next day Lady Frances Balfour wrote to ask pointedly whether - 'The garrison were being withdrawn from the Castle because it was required for the Memorial...is it the will of the citizens that this place be chosen or is it simply the autocratic desire of those

who first conceived this plan?'¹¹⁵ This same day, May 9th, plans were submitted to the office of works and two weeks later Lady Frances Balfour, whose letters had been so bitter as to suggest a personal vendetta with Lorimer, now wrote to warn everyone that we should not - 'assent too easily to the new model. If the past has taught us anything it is to "wait and see"',¹¹⁶ but the day following the complete scheme was approved by the main committee,¹¹⁷ and shortly afterwards approval was received by the committee from the Scottish Office notifying them of the permission of the Cabinet to proceed.¹¹⁸ Lady Frances Balfour holidaying on the Island of Tiree continued her vendetta by asking maliciously whether - 'that astral body, the War Memorial Committee met of late?...It is reassuring to know that the perpetrators of the War Memorial are still subject to the approval of the board of works'.¹¹⁹ Neil McLeod's tender was tentatively accepted on November 27th¹²⁰ and the plans approved by the Dean of Guild on the 20th December.¹²¹

The work of construction had begun on December 3rd¹²² and on the 27th Lorimer noted - 'Neil McLeod formally accepted for S.N.W.M. £54,450'.¹²³ There must have been quite a bit of preparatory work in gutting Billings Building, and in preparing foundations for the Shrine itself. Four months later the Dispatch reported that there was little to show as yet.¹²⁴ Queen Mary visited the work in August and was satisfied with the progress which had been

achieved.¹²⁵ A year later the Memorial was - 'slowly but steadily taking shape...the progress has been much retarded owing to the lack of skilled labour in the country...much of the sculpture and carved stone work is complete, lying in the building yard ready for erection as stone carvers are not so scarce as hewers'.¹²⁶ During the General Strike Lorimer - 'told McLeod to get all carved stones up to the Castle for safety - as his yard was broken into last night'.¹²⁷

Lorimer visited the site nearly every day and the expense for the taxi up to the Castle each day, appears in the diaries and the apprentices were encouraged by him to visit the site every day. Morton Cowie recalls that - 'Lorimer insisted that we pop into the Memorial every day to watch the things being done...I used to take photographs, and it was one of these that drew attention to a mistake in the groining...I was there through the whole process of the Scottish National War Memorial (1922-7). I worked under Harry Hubbard, a most artistic man. He was responsible for all the working drawings'.¹²⁸ Leslie Graham McDougall has said - 'When I first went to his office [1921] it was all memorials and he sent me off and I spent a week in the Cairndow Hotel sketching Ardkinglas and Dunderave'.¹²⁹

The Castle sky-line became news again in 1926, when there was placed in position - 'a full sized model of the highest portion of the Scottish War Memorial',¹³⁰ reported the Scotsman (fig.11). The article referred to a turret

proposed by Lorimer to rise from the roof of the Shrine, to contain a star to be permanently lit by electricity. Since this turret rose above the existing skyline it was enough to start up a fresh protest, and two days later four letters of protest were printed. The first hoped that - 'The citizens will have no hesitation in condemning the proposed erection'.¹³¹ The second told how the - 'paragraph in your columns today removes a feeling of bewilderment which assailed my mind as I passed up the Mound this morning, for there appeared on the Castle Rock a tall spire which last week did not exist - 'and went on to recall 'that the skyline was not to be altered' and concluded - 'We demand fulfilment of those promises'.¹³² The third letter argued that - 'Surely it is not too late to rectify this great blunder',¹³³ and the fourth referred to - 'the excrescence which appeared a few days ago...and which has now been removed'.¹³⁴ Perhaps the model was merely erected for the Ancient Monuments Board, for the Committee to view and then taken down, and perhaps it was taken down quickly because of the public's reaction. Either way there were signs of the controversy starting up again, and the last letter asserted that - 'whether the newly completed roof of the "apse" is in accordance with this pledge is a matter of opinion, but there can be no doubt whatever that to put a tall tower on the top of the building would be simply a breach of faith with the public'.

The idea of this turret was dropped immediately since

there proved still to be a good deal of feeling against any changes being made to the Castle's skyline. Two months later D. Baird took up this issue yet again writing that the Memorial had changed the balance of the buildings on the rock, and that since the flagstaff tower had suffered by this that - 'an enlargement of the tower' might be done. If it could not, then - 'the height of the Memorial roof should be such that it would not dwarf the tower as it now is'.¹³⁵ This last proposal was hardly practicable since it would have involved taking down the roof of the apse which had been completed, as well as the vault below it, before they could be reformed to give a lower profile.

The King and Queen announced their intention of visiting the Memorial in July¹³⁶ and intimated that they would give a - 'wrought steel casket destined to contain the rolls of honour of all those Scots - over 100,000 - who gave their lives in the war'.¹³⁷ Princess Mary visited the Memorial in March and photos of the Shrine in the Scotsman accompanied the announcement that it was - 'to be opened by the King in July [and that it] is now practically completed'.¹³⁸ Princess Mary's visit was duly recorded: 'It had been anticipated that a quarter of an hour would be spent in the Memorial, but her Royal Highness's interest was such that the visit was prolonged to three quarters of an hour'.¹³⁹

Photos of the nearly completed scheme had become

possible because - 'Within the last week or two there have been razed to the ground the old cookhouses and other miscellaneous buildings which surrounded the Memorial... It was at first proposed to surround the Memorial with a low stone wall, but the idea was abandoned, and will probably be accepted that for the Shrine to emerge, so to speak from the natural rock is much more effective'.¹⁴⁰

Lorimer had become Scotland's National Architect and the Memorial was coming to be acknowledged as - 'the beautiful building which is such a treasure house of memories'.¹⁴¹ He was still as firmly committed to teamwork as ever, and the Times newspaper, in an article in April noted that - 'as the architect is the first to insist, the success of the Memorial is largely due to the team of special designers and craftsmen and craftswomen'.¹⁴² Much resentment was still harboured, despite an outcome generally held to be highly successful, as the Duke of Atholl found out some 3 months before the official opening. One of the arguments against putting the Memorial on Castle Rock had been that it was not near enough to the centre of Edinburgh, and many had favoured a Cenotaph on Princes Street instead. The Duke of Atholl wrote a long letter to the Dispatch in April, to argue that such a Cenotaph was not necessary since the Memorial at the Castle incorporated - 'a Memorial cross [which was] to be fixed on the outside of the south wall for the sole purpose of being a centre around which Memorial wreaths may be hung and a number of hooks will be arranged for the purpose'.¹⁴³

Fresh indignation was provoked by what was regarded as interference with an issue quite separate from the Memorial. Dr. McLaren Shield then wrote to deplore the unseemly controversy. He said that - 'During the past week or two the citizens of Edinburgh have been treated...to an orgy of more or less ill-considered, uncharitable and unsympathetic criticism of the proposed Memorial. With admirable restraint and forbearing patience those in favour of it have remained silent while the object for which they have for years longed and laboured has been assailed. They, for obvious reasons, have been the least articulate, and noisy sections of the community, [and] we have just witnessed an ill-concealed and thinly veiled press campaign, obviously designed to boost the National War Memorial...and throw discredit upon the citizens' Memorial about to be erected in the precincts of the City Chambers...This committee have never by word or deed placed themselves in opposition to the National Memorial...some of us think however, it would have been better if the Duke of Atholl - 'had not sought to meddle in a local matter'.¹⁴⁴ The reproof was dignified but the tone of the letter shows the depth of distrust which Atholl had raised in some people.

The preliminary program of the opening ceremony was announced in June,¹⁴⁵ and the Glasgow Herald on the same day said that - 'The Memorial now stands beautiful and worthy of the Scots who fell'.¹⁴⁶ Princess Mary visited the Memorial again unannounced.¹⁴⁷ The London Times

illustrated the steel casket given by the King and Queen, as well as some of the other work of the Memorial.¹⁴⁸ The Memorial was opened by the Prince of Wales on the 14th July and the discontent ceased as the building began to play the part for which it had been so carefully designed. 'A noble Memorial' wrote the Glasgow Herald, 'one may say without fear of contradiction that no other War Memorial in the country can excel in dignity and grandeur of conception the building erected on the summit of Edinburgh Castle Rock'.¹⁴⁹

The Times carried an even fuller account of the opening ceremony. 'Edinburgh which already owes its unrivalled Chapel of the Order of the Thistle, to Sir Robert Lorimer, is now indebted to him, and to the Duke of Atholl and the Lord Lyon King of Arms, as the moving spirits in the Committee which has supported him, for a War Memorial which is entirely sui generis, and should become the central shrine of pilgrimage for the Scottish Nation'.¹⁵⁰

The descriptions of the opening ceremony are centred upon the illustrious people who assembled for it, and on the pageantry and costumes. The Memorial like any other building is a background for life, yet as the Scotsman noted - 'Seldom has any ceremonial, military or other, had such a setting as that of yesterday...One feature which must have impressed itself was the manner in which the inauguration of the Memorial was linked up inevitably with Scotland's historic past'.¹⁵¹ 'Let the Scottish people

have no more doubts on the matter' proclaimed a Dispatch leader, 'It is worthy of her and her dead'.¹⁵²

5. Lorimer's National Contribution

At a future day, wrote Sir Lawrence Weaver in a guide book to the Memorial 'Some critic of architecture will set about the task of appreciating the contribution of Sir Robert Lorimer to the long history of Scottish building. I believe he will say that the renaissance during the last thirty years of what is conveniently called Scottish Baronial as a feasible and authentic manner of building, is in the main, the work of Sir Robert, and of him alone'.¹⁵³ Such a view closely echoes that of Herman Muthesius, voiced thirty years earlier on the basis of Lorimer's work on houses, yet whatever else it is, the Memorial has very little of the baronial in it. Indeed, the fact that it defies close description may underlie the awkwardness in much of its criticism.

H.V. Morton has described what the ordinary person might feel on visiting the Memorial. He wrote that - 'The Shrine is the highest building in Edinburgh. It rises from virgin rock. It's walls spring from jagged edges (fig.12). In shape it is a sanctuary facing north with an east and west transept. You enter under a great porch and come into a dim place of tinted light. Left and

right lie the transepts divided into bays, each bay lit by a window of stained glass but pale enough to allow you to read the regimental memorials in each bay and the names of Scotland's 100,000 dead in books placed on bronze lecterns. The keynote of the building is harmony. It is difficult to believe that it is not the work of one genius able to work with equal ease in stone, bronze, paint and glass. Such exquisite artistic discipline for the sake of a unified scheme has not been achieved for centuries'.¹⁵⁴

Contemporary newspaper accounts of the building at the time of its opening mainly contented themselves with describing the building bit by bit. The overall appearance was only considered as a profile or part of the sky-line. The London Times however, went into a little more detail when it commented on - 'the firmness with which the buttressed shrine is rooted to its rocky foundation... The tall windows are round headed with a cusped external order, the general style of the building being a fusion of late Gothic and Renaissance characters'.¹⁵⁵ Frank Deas writing in the official guide in the section headed "Style" said 'Proportion, light and shade, dignity and appropriateness to the purpose, were the qualities aimed at in the design rather than the following of any definite style. On the exterior a bold and rather heavy type of detail characteristic of 16th century Scottish architecture, was adopted to harmonise with the roughness of the old rubble walls'.¹⁵⁶ Lorimer had stressed, in his own report, that 'the exterior would be treated in a simple and almost

rugged fashion, deeply recessed buttresses giving a fine effect of light and shade, and also conveying the feeling that the building was sitting strongly on the Rock', and he concluded that - 'such a building, though expressed in the pure language of architecture - proportion, light and shade, texture - would at the same time be thoroughly modern. It could never be taken for anything else but a Memorial to this war'.¹⁵⁷

Lorimer had wished to avoid any entanglement with style, yet the work suggested many associations of ideas, and the question is how well the motives and idioms from earlier styles and uses have been fused plastically within the Memorial's form? Are the parts knit together within a unity that transcends them?

The richness of the Memorial was well received and all dispute was calmed at the time of its opening. 'All who have seen it are impressed by the simple and almost rugged fashion in which the exterior has been treated, and by the peace of the interior' said the Times.¹⁵⁸ Even those who have had reservations on the total effect of such a variety of motives, like T.W. West, prefer their criticisms tentatively, as though restrained by the popular success of the Memorial's rich imagery. Sophisticated taste may feel it to be a 'succès fou', like that of Coventry Cathedral by Sir Basil Spence twenty five years later. Yet the fact remains that had both these buildings been severe and sophisticated, neither of them

would have achieved their popular appeal. The failure of the modern movement in architecture - that is the international style - may be attributable primarily to its insistence upon a simplicity which many people find too sophisticated and cold in effect. On the other hand, despite its grave limitations, no popular assessment of architecture since the advent of the modern movement has been undertaken without feeling the effect of its distorting ideology.

The arguments upon which this appraisal of the Memorial will rest, postulate first that values in art rest upon taste. Second, that any society's taste reveals several levels of appreciation. Third, that there is no inherent reason why a building may not cater for several different levels of taste, simultaneously. Put another way, the argument is that good architecture does not have to be aristocratic, and so cater only for an elite level of highly refined taste. Nor must it be democratic, and cater only for the naive level of the wider populace. Architecture can perform to both these audiences, and ought to, as well as to other audiences intermediate to them. Following from this, Lorimer's contribution to the Memorial will be considered at the theoretical level of art, and within the view that the various architectural forms have scales inherent to them which differ in their effects of massiveness, brutality or strength, smallness and delicacy (or even weakness). As a consequence each form can be seen broadly to harmonise with a particular

range of sentiment with which they have some correspondence. This correspondence is not to be defined at all precisely but an awareness of it can help our understanding.

A few examples may be cited to make the matter clearer. The most severe or abstractly geometrical form carries no social or national sentiment, whatever its size or scale. The Pyramids of Egypt or even the repetitive slab office blocks of the Barbican in London convey no sentiment because there are no humanising touches. The middle range of form, like a classical order of columns and entablature, conveys a sense of dignity but carries national or local sentiment rather poorly. The effect of such middle forms may give the building its main rhythmic subdivision, or produce its visual "grain", to use a term in common use. Alternatively, as a tank room on the roof of a slab block of offices, a middle form can give an individual touch to a purely geometric outline by which it becomes a stronger individual image. Lastly, there are the details of a building, including all those small parts which can vary from the most matter of fact expression of the fixture of innumerable bits of material, to the pawky humour of a Lorimer finial, shaped like a monkey.

How thoroughly does the Memorial meet these levels of expression? How well proportioned is it? What of its rhythm, massing, light and shade? All things, stressed by Lorimer himself. Before turning to consider each of these things, we must consider one other aspect of the

perception of a building. In categorising a building into large and middle forms and details, we are attempting to break down the 'figure' of a building into some kind of order of visual components. The figure itself will vary in impact according to the refinement and selectivity of the onlooker, as has been suggested already. Its impact will vary, also, by its contrast with the visual 'ground' against which it is perceived. The discussion so far has considered an individual building considered by itself as a 'figure'. If we turn our attention to a group of buildings like those on the Castle Rock in Edinburgh, then their total effect is a broader figure within which each individual building has become a middle form and the group as a whole is the large form. Indeed the public controversy about the Memorial rested very largely on the disturbance which the Memorial (as a middle form) would have caused to the group as a whole (or as a large form): whereas the detailed criticisms of the Memorial as an individual building were centred upon it as a large form in its own right. Thus the arguments were based on different 'grounds', logically and visually.

In applying this theoretical approach to an appraisal of the Memorial, it is convenient to start with the details. There had been some criticism of them and of the way Lorimer had handled the artists and craftsmen who had undertaken them. The lettering for instance raised some doubt. Sir Lawrence Weaver wrote - let me plainly say that

some may find (parts of the Memorial) coarse to the point of crudity. The lettering, for example, has none of the classical refinement of the alphabet from Trajans column which is almost the norm in the best English Memorials. It is broad and strong, and I like it, for it seems at home. It is, above all, Scottish, and I know no greater word of praise in this relation'.¹⁵⁹ Sir Herbert Baker was one architect who criticised this coarseness. Mr. Pilkington Jackson has told me that on a tour of the Memorial, Baker - 'tapped some of the letters and said to his son, "I think we could have done a little better than this"...Lorimer had wanted the lettering - as it were - hacked out of the wall, to convey a sense of strength'.¹⁶⁰

Morton Cowie who was apprenticed to Lorimer in the post war years told me how he had had to lay out the lettering for a granite memorial. 'When I had finished, I got a frightful ticking off for not using my loaf. I did it all very accurately using the lettering he liked (fig.13), but he said that if I had thought about the material - granite, I would have used simpler forms because of the hardness of the material'.¹⁶¹

Precedents for cutting away the background to leave the lettering standing out are common in Scotland and Lorimer's desire for an effect of strength seems right. Yet if rough, even brutal lettering is appropriate in granite because of its intractability, and if the manner of making letters must follow in some way from the nature

of the material being used, what suitable manner could be expected from expert carvers working in a soft sandstone? The answer must be a fully controlled manner, and as the smaller lettering on the Memorial is erratic, if only mildly, it suggests to those fully acquainted with the processes concerned, a casual if not poor setting out on the drawing board, rather than the minor irregularities of direct carving. The lettering on the architraves in the Hall of Memory is quite regular, yet suffers perhaps from being too big for this treatment, because they appear almost papery and two dimensional, rather than being part of a 'strong' wall surface (fig.14).

~~Shelton~~ Lorimer's control of the sculpture and carving work was firm. In many cases he seems to have suggested themes to the sculptors for their interpretation. 'I'm going to have a great archway into the Shrine. You are to put the five angels representing the five cities of Scotland on one side and the Tree of Empire on the other side' he told Pilkington Jackson who, then, - 'made sketches and he came and looked at them but he didn't interfere'.¹⁶²

The Committee of Management wisely thought that they could - 'leave to the discretion of the architect...the selection of the artists and craftsmen with whom he wished to be associated'.¹⁶³ Thus it came about that Lorimer was responsible not only for engaging some of the sculptors, but also for finding them. He visited Phyllis Bone in this way and told her - 'You are just the person I am looking for. I want some sculpture for this Memorial I

am doing, I want some here, and here, and here, I'll leave it to you what to put on the capitals. When you've something to show me, ring me up'. She did lots of plaster models on the theme of virtue contrasting with vice. When she had four of them ready she rang him up and told him - 'I don't think it's anything you will like but he came across and seemed to like them...I was young enough to take Sir Robert's advice - not that he pushed his advice down my throat, but he was so helpful in so many many ways'.¹⁶⁴

Most days, according to Mrs Swan (Lorimer's secretary) - 'I went up to the Castle on foot, and then went round all the contractors asking if there were any questions for Sir Robert. I then compiled a progress report from them'.¹⁶⁵

Lorimer kept a close eye on the work personally, as a six weeks sample from his office diary will show: 'Saw

Portsmouth re alterations on the base of his group'.¹⁶⁶

Duke of Atholl and Jackson afternoon'.¹⁶⁷ They must have visited the Castle because '2/6 taxi' is also noted.

'Strachan 9.15'.¹⁶⁸ 'Castle 10.30 with the Duke'.¹⁶⁹

'Phyllis B. [Bone] at 12.45'.¹⁷⁰ 'Portsmouth 12.40 SNWM.

Taxi 2/6'.¹⁷¹ SNWM. 9.30 Mrs (Meredith) Williams 4.30

taxi 2/-'.¹⁷² 'Strachan @ 9.15 for (Percy) Portsmouth

taxi 2/6'.¹⁷³ '4.30 Mrs. Williams studio. D.J. Burns

Studio'.¹⁷⁴ 'Haddens'.¹⁷⁵ '2.30 Jackson Studio'.¹⁷⁶ 'At

Haddens re the box for the Castle'.¹⁷⁷ 'Portsmouth @

9.30'.¹⁷⁸ 'Miss Bone at 4.30 Mrs (Meredith) Williams

Carrick Studio'.¹⁷⁹

It is clear that Lorimer was content to delegate, but equally ready to give firm directions when necessary. 'He got Carrick to do the nose of the angels very rough and textured because he knew the fine detail would be lost'.¹⁸⁰ He was open, also, to suggestions by others. Mr. Pilkington Jackson told me how he - 'suggested the [bas relief] flags inside the gallery of honour. Lorimer had wanted to use real flags but I persuaded him not to. I submitted a maquette and he and Atholl agreed'.¹⁸¹ Some abrupt changes were made also. 'Over the door Mrs. Meredith Williams had a soldier in bronze, done very round and three dimensionally as "Reveille". I saw it in place. Sir Robert had it removed and Pilkington Jackson did another one. Sir Robert had the vision, there's no doubt about that'.¹⁸²

The work on the Memorial involved so many interests as well as so many craftsmen. The Duke of Atholl was able to help in settling the question of whether county badges should be added to regimental ones in the various 'bays' in which it was now agreed that the names of the fallen should be recorded at the Memorial. Lorimer also wanted - 'Bardies [Atholl's] criticisms on Mrs. Meredith Williams frieze in the Shrine, a cast of which was being made. He had not, however, needed Bardie's help to carry through an important change in the windows of the Shrine. By now Strachan had finished these in the Gallery, which let through sufficient light to enable the names in the books to be read, and he had begun to sketch windows of the same delicate colouring for the Shrine. Lorimer

took him by the elbow and told him "that would never do, he wanted a good splash of colour coming down through the windows" he said. Strachan acquiesced, and achieved the marvel of designing windows whose rich colouring is one of the chief beauties of the "Memorial".¹⁸³

Myles Johnson, who worked on the heraldic painting in the Memorial has said - 'I know from my own experience how difficult it is to get artists to agree. On one occasion he [Lorimer] was very elated because Strachan had scrapped a £2000 window because he [Lorimer] wasn't pleased with it. Sir Robert had in mind what he wanted and Strachan fell in with him'.¹⁸⁴ Dr. Charles Varr has told a story which suggests that the Memorial is the poorer for this. He wrote - 'It is not generally known, I think, that to a considerable extent the colouring in the windows of the Shrine of the Scottish National War Memorial is not what Douglas Strachan wanted it to be. Had he had his own way, these windows would have been aglow with all the fire and glory of the deep majestic colouring of which he was absolute master. But Sir Robert Lorimer, who, prince of architects, though he was, admitted to having little or no colour sense, insisted on a much more muted tonal effect. With this, though against his will, Strachan complied. The windows as they stand are, of course, among the noblest specimens of stained glass in the country; but had Strachan had a free hand they would have been much nobler still. It was all very sad, for a few days before the Memorial was

opened Lorimer and Strachan went together to have a last look at their respective masterpieces, standing in the Shrine and gazing at the windows, Lorimer suddenly laid his hands on Strachan's shoulder and said, "I must admit it, Douglas, you were right and I was wrong". Strachan there and then determined never again would he execute a commission which placed him under the control of an architect'.¹⁸⁵

This anecdote has a casual note to it which scarcely reflects the constant conferring which took place. It is true, however, that Lorimer had some disagreements with Douglas Strachan. Mrs. Swan recalls that - 'Sir Robert came back from seeing Strachan and he was pacing up and down the room. Then he said "Take a memo. We've had an argument on the windows. He wants brilliant and bright colour which won't look right"'.¹⁸⁶ Yet this was no snap decision and Sir Robert's own speech at the opening ceremony mentioned that - 'endless' conferences took place with the various artists...the number of times within the last two or three years that I have issued from the house of my friend Douglas Strachan, at about one o'clock in the morning, cannot be counted'.¹⁸⁷

Dr. Strachan, himself, wrote a tribute to Lorimer's passing in which he had this to say: 'If Lorimer could hit hard on occasion, his appreciation and backing were equally vigorous. Also, he could do naturally, and indeed with generous exaggeration, something that not all "strong" men can do, or do graciously, he could own that

he had been in the wrong'.¹⁸⁸ If there was some divergence of opinion, it was not allowed to show in public. The Queen visited Strachan's studio in 1925, at which time the scale drawings were shown to her as well as - 'the trial light of the series, which is almost complete in the glass, was also inspected'.¹⁸⁹ The Bulletin next day, described the subjects for the windows and no more, and gave the emphasis to such topics as the difficulties of finding the studio,¹⁹⁰ and the Scotsman in an article on the progress of the work described how the windows were 'mainly carried out in a diaper pattern of pale silvery glass, but into each is introduced four subject panels'.¹⁹¹

Two years later the Scotsman discussed these windows in its column on art interests. The use of modern subjects it claimed - 'brought the stained glass illumination down to date. In the subdued light of the interior of the Memorial, the illumination of the windows inevitably has an arresting effect; the message of the glass stands out conspicuously. Light, indeed, is appropriately the most effective factor in the Memorial. It may not have been by intention...but in the result it is so'.¹⁹²

The Weekly Scotsman told the story of - 'Princess Mary at our National Shrine', and emphasised that - 'light will play a special part and will produce a wonderful effect, a golden light from a beam in the upper part of the building penetrating into the Shrine itself. One is reminded of the golden light that streams through a

coloured window upon the tomb of Napoleon at Les Invalides'.¹⁹³ The idea is romantic, and probably explains why Lorimer felt it necessary to carry the roof of the apse so high. There is no roof at this level to meet it (the roof of the Gallery of Honour being flatter and much lower) and the south gable of the Shrine appears incomplete and a little forlorn. However to gain the shaft of golden light from the south, this gable had to stand free. The sun has to be shining also, it may be remarked, and on dull days there is no shaft.

Light plays an important part in the design and Sir Herbert Baker has noted that - 'Robert Lorimer, the brilliant Scottish architect of...Scotland's War Memorial, was a devotee of glass and influenced both Strachan and Hendrie', and he went on to quote Lorimer as saying a window is not - 'a picture, but that it is a window, and not of dull obscure glass but of glass that sings and sparkles and vibrates with pure and gleaming colour'.¹⁹⁴

Lorimer was in no way oblivious to the charms of colour, yet the question remains would the Memorial as a whole, have benefitted from stronger colour in the windows, as suggested by Charles Barr? I put the question to Mr. Pilkington Jackson who replied - 'Charles was a marvellous person but parts of his book should not be taken too literally. It was I who advised that the wood carving on the Shrine should be painted rather than left natural and plain. In the big gallery Lorimer, I remember, wanted a screen to blot out the view of the buildings of

Crown Square. He wanted Strachan to make the windows symbolical but to let in as much light as possible. I never heard that Lorimer had second thoughts. In the inner Shrine Strachan had a free hand with the colour. It would have been fatal to have the gorgeous colour of the seaman window as in St. Giles, with the great blazing masses of colour at eye level which would have distracted from the true meaning, and the regimental colours themselves'.¹⁹⁵

Problems arose with painting parts of the interior also. In harmonising the colours, Mr. Myles Johnson has told me that - 'the house painters, I think, were putting the heraldic colours on to the direction of Sutherland, but Sir Robert wasn't satisfied. "We will never get it right until we get an artist and his palette", he had said. I had to tell the housepainters what to put underneath as undercoating and we (artists) finished it off'.¹⁹⁶

Lorimer, it appears, also worked directly with the painters. He - 'would give them pieces of stuff and materials to work from, but they couldn't give him what he wanted, and I was brought in to harmonise the colours. For example, the background to one of the emblems had been painted a nice blue to match a blue ribbon, high up on a wall, but it looked black by comparison. I used a technique of spotting on colour, like the pointillistes, and a mixture of blue spots and orange spots'.¹⁹⁷

The artists were himself, Sir William Gilles, and Donald Moodie, and one of the effects that they had to

allow for was that of the stained glass windows. Mr. Myles Johnson disagrees with the view put forward by Dr. Warr. He says - 'It was obvious to me that the difficulty was going to be , to get enough light inside. Red windows would have made the interior too dark. As it was, the carving couldn't be read clearly because there wasn't enough light. It wasn't lit by a strong side light but by a soft light from behind. Bearing this in mind, we had to have a light green and a light red. Then we took Vandyk Brown and black water colours and stippled the whole thing to get an equal penetration. Then we went over it with a chamois and the high parts were wiped clear, and the dark colour went into the hollows...the Memorial was a complex job, and some changes had to be made as we went along'. The large lettering incised in the stone above the bronze frieze in the Shrine - 'originally was given a gold background, but when the bronze panels were put in below, Sir Robert said "this won't do, it will have to be toned down to match the bronze panels"',¹⁹⁸

Mr. Myles Johnson then spoke of Nixon. 'He was a marvellous colourist. If you just paint a material, you lose its quality, but he used colours so that the texture of the wood came through. Sometimes the wood was wire brushed to raise the grain, but I don't know how Sir Robert found Nixon. I remember one piece of sculpture which I coloured was pronounced by Sir Robert to be too pretty. I pointed out that the colours could hardly have been

duller. "Not the painting" he said, "It's the sculpture itself which is too pretty. It attracts too much attention at this spot". The medallion of the pelican feeding its young at the entrance must have been the same, I had done it several colours in accordance with an earlier scheme, but at the very end, as the last thing, he said "I know, we'll make it all gold". It was to make it the keynote of the 'Memorial'.¹⁹⁹

All these adjustments suggest very strongly that ~~Sir~~ **Lobner** knew from the first that the windows of the Gallery of Honour would have to be muted in colouring to prevent them overwhelming the effect of the regimental memorials. If there had been enough windows for every regiment to have been adequately represented in stained glass, this would have given an entirely different - and even perhaps - better answer, but within the limits imposed by remodelling Billings Building, it was not feasible to do this, and the balance achieved in the existing Memorial is very good.

Associative values rest also upon local and national differences in preference, and on differences of class and calling. H.V. Morton has suggested that - 'The Cenotaph in London and the National Shrine in Edinburgh are the most remarkable symbols in existence of the temperamental difference between the two nations. One is Saxon and inarticulate; the other is Celtic and articulate. Grief locks the English heart, but it opens the Scottish. The Celt has a genius for the glorification of sorrow. All his

finest music is sad; all the greatest poetry springs from tragedy. That is why Scotland has built the greatest War Memorial in the world'.²⁰⁰

Douglas Strachan's view of Lorimer shows that he regarded him to be well fitted to be the architect to mirror and focus Scottish sentiment in this Memorial. He wrote - 'What struck me most was the exceptional range of his moods - of the elements that existed in him: the artistic (dreamer) and the man of action - elements usually regarded as mutually exclusive. This gave a certain portentousness to him; something of the forceful quality implied when, for short, one says "Napoleonic". He was deeply emotional: surrendered himself completely to the spell of great music and I have seen tears in his eyes as he related some child incident that had touched him in his tender beauty'.²⁰¹

The details of the Memorial, whether artistic or architectural were mostly successful, and since Christopher Hussey dealt generously with them in his book no more will be said here. The bays into which Shrine and Gallery are divided provide a range of middle forms. The Shrine is divided into bays by the Gothic buttresses to the vaulting, both internally and externally, whereas the Gallery of Honour lies within the plain walls of Billings Building. The rough pattern of stonework of its exterior is introduced also between the massive buttresses of the Shrine to help knit the Shrine to Billings Building. Unfortunately roughness tends to suggest weight and strength, and the smoothness of ashlar (of the buttresses) to suggest

refinement and grace. It can be argued, therefore, since we are discussing a middle form of what is not a very large building that the buttresses also should have been rough dressed to suggest their affinity with the living rock from which they are seen to spring. As they are, they contrast not only with the bedrock but also the random stone infilling. Consequently the buttresses which are obviously overweighted functionally, attract too much attention and because they appear to strive for effect, seem even self-conscious (fig.15).

The Gothic bays of the Shrine are well modelled internally, as might be expected of the designer of the Thistle Chapel, and it is only in some of the details that the Shrine does not seem perfect. The placing of the Meredith Williams Basrelief bronze panels immediately below the stained glass windows, for example, produces a contrast which is detrimental to them, and it is only after dark when the light has died from the great window above, that they are revealed to proper advantage by the artificial lighting.

The Gallery of Honour has been remodelled from a 'U' shaped building with plain stone walls (fig.16). The main space is divided into a nave and side aisles by introducing columns, carrying architraves from which the nave is roofed by a barrel vault. The spaces between the columns on each side, form bays within which the regimental memorials are set, attached to the outer walls. The

architrave is also used to good effect to carry a series of battle honours in letters eighteen inches high. These honours are repeated on many of the regimental memorials because each regiment was allowed to choose the things to be commemorated in their own memorial. The variety of form which the memorials take, is held together by the strong framework of columns and architrave. Whether the light is strong enough to warrant the use of such sharp modelling, and facets may be questioned. Yet when they have been carefully floodlighted to bring out their form with full effect, then they begin to overshadow the importance of the regimental memorials. Indeed, the final balance of effects is good but it may well be that quieter, softer modelling could have responded to the quiet light even more harmoniously (fig.17).

This last point leads us to the total effect of mixing Gothic, classical and Scotch Baronial forms in this Memorial, and the benefits and disadvantages in the use of such a mixture. The organic quality of Gothic is such that the transition from light to darkness inside, can occur without that sense of deprivation which occurs when a geometrically simple figure is partially obscured. The difference between the Gothic valuting of the Shrine and the post and beam construction of the Gallery of Honour shows particularly in the roofs over them. The steeply pitched roof over the Shrine ends in a south gable, because the roof over the Gallery is so much lower and flatter in

pitch as to be invisible from the ground. Lorimer had designed this gable with the intention that it should carry a turret, an intention which had to be abandoned. Even had this turret been built, it is debatable whether it would have resolved this awkward junction of different roofs. Lorimer, himself, was keenly aware of the quality of the profile of the Shrine. Morton Cowie tells how - 'In his room during the building of the Memorial, he had a model at half inch scale. Lorimer got me into the room one day, and got me upon to a stool to take the roof off the model. "Lift it", he said, and at a point when he said, "Stop", he inserted wedges. This explains the slope on the ridge of the Shrine. The only views of it (on Castle Rock) are close to, and by lifting the ridge in this way, the false perspective was corrected for these views'.²⁰²

The mixture of styles in the Memorial reflects its mixed parentage. The first design would have provided a circular Gothic Shrine linked to Gothic cloisters. Lord Crawford, who since 1918, had been first commissioner of the office of works, in Lloyd George's government, was inclined to think Lorimer's plan too Gothic in character. Atholl's reply that - 'it was difficult for him to imagine a semi-ecclesiastical building, of the necessary feeling of reverence in any other style, seems to have convinced him'.²⁰³ The rough passage of the first and second schemes made it clear that only something within the existing skyline had any chance of carrying public opinion in its favour. The Duke of Atholl has said, that the committee

then - 'asked the architect if he had any further suggestions. Then Sir Robert made the same suggestion that His Grace had written down on paper a little while before, he felt they were getting on firm ground'.²⁰⁴

Lorimer has related how Sir John Stirling Maxwell - 'strongly advised me to get out an alternative design on a less ambitious scale, and to be quick about it, and added "would it not be possible - in order to placate public opinion - to retain the exterior of the old barrack building and by gutting it convert it to the purpose of the Gallery of Honour, and in place of an entirely detached Shrine, to build the Shrine up against it?" I took the menu card and made a scribble on the back of it, and asked him if that was what he meant. He answered that it was, and it flashed through my mind that what Sir John suggested was the key to the whole problem. I went straight home, shut myself up for the weekend and on Sunday night telephoned to you, Sir, [Atholl] that the sketches would be ready on the Monday morning. The building as executed is practically the development of that idea - so much for the form of the building'.²⁰⁵ However, other views were to influence Sir Robert also, and the Memorial as it came about is not merely Scottish vernacular. Indeed to judge from Galashiels Burgh Buildings it would have been stylistically purer if it had been, however not even a Scottish baronial tower would have been accepted on this site (fig.18).

Lorimer has cited David Erskine of Linlathens opinion in particular: 'He said he thought that any building on

Edinburgh Castle Rock should not be in a definite style either Gothic or Classic, but that it should be rugged, rigorous, and depending for its effect not on fine details but on mass light and shade. He strongly advised me to look again at Stirling Castle (fig.19) and this I did the next afternoon, and wandered around trying to soak in the character of the building'.²⁰⁶

Lorimer has said that he found this - 'afternoon at Stirling inspiring', yet the grafting of its influence in the Shrine, on to Billings Buildings has been found unsatisfactory to a number of people^{one} of whom, Stirling Maxwell, wrote - 'Sir Robert Lorimer's quick eye borrowed from its design, not too happily perhaps for the main block of the National Memorial'.²⁰⁷ The design for the whole building however does not represent the bringing together of a variety of effects from different places at different times. It is not eclectic, but in designing a Memorial which represents so many things to so many people, Lorimer had to bend to many cross winds of opinion. The result is a Shrine which is Gothic, as he and Lord Atholl would have liked the whole building, and which is joined to a Gallery of Honour, which began in the first design as a Gothic cloister and has ended in the final scheme, as an almost plain Scots vernacular building externally (as the Ancient Monuments Board had favoured) with a few Gothic-Renaissance niches and heraldic devices to tie it visually to the Shrine. The interior of the Gallery is Scandinavian classical,

perhaps showing the influence of Tengbom.

Somewhere Lorimer has scoffed at the idea of himself building in the Classical idiom and yet he had used it for the library at St. Andrews University in 1907, and was to do so again at Stowe in 1927. The War Memorial was a mixture of motifs which has been considered here for the quality of its details, many of which were contributed by artists only loosely under the control of Sir Robert; the medium forms like the bays, structural and decorative have been discussed; lastly, the overall image or figure has been considered.

The success of the total art work, in which the architecture shelters, and is mother to the other arts is best summed up, perhaps, in social rather than artistic terms. Tolstoy has argued on the social level, that art only becomes significant (or worthwhile) when it is perceived by the people at large. Applying this view to the Memorial design, Lorimer can be seen to have taken the greatest pains to reach the tastes of as many people as possible. The form of a building, however, is not something detached from the lives of people around it, or rather if it becomes so, it loses much of its significance. As Sir Herbert Maxwell has noted - 'The peninsular and Waterloo campaigns have not passed from living memory, but that has received little or no stimulus from the Greek Temple on the Calton Hill...Not one person in a hundred - nay in five hundred - passing along Princes Street could have answered enquiry about the meaning of that far-seeing monument'. 208

Abstract architectural or sculptural forms of themselves neither evoke nor carry sentiment, yet many examples can be cited of feelings which have come to be associated with abstract forms by usage, and for which the form has become symbolic. The Calton Memorial was never finished, nor are ceremonies held beside it. There is nothing to evoke memories. A recent London Observer even shows a photo of its pillars which it asserts - 'were built as part of a Memorial to the dead of 1914-18. But the money ran out. The dead kept quiet as usual'.²⁰⁹ The Cenotaph in London, on the other hand, is placed not only at the centre of government, but also in the middle of Whitehall amid the busy rush of everyday traffic, which is halted once a year for the service of remembrance. Thus an austere and solemn monument in this prominent position achieves its purpose by custom and usage.

There is no inherent reason why shrines and public buildings should not cater for all tastes. Large imposing forms for those who want to see a grand figure, and within these large forms, intermediate forms can be provided to give more intimate visual figures for those whose preferences lie with more particular expressions of sentiment. Finally friendly details, even amusing details may be provided for the naive or child-like level of taste. The attempt would not be to be all things to everyone but rather one of sharing the cake, and providing some things for everyone.

Popular art in its proper sense reminds people of sentiments which they already have, and by so doing, can

also uplift them to higher planes of appreciation. This, the Shrine has done and even after another cataclysmic war continues to do so up to the present, forty six years later. Indeed its success lies precisely in the way it has met certain (but not all) the - 'social and spiritual values of its time', which were cited by T.W. West. Nor were its - 'aesthetic concepts' derived solely from that narrow sense of correctness of so many modern designers, but were forged in the heat of public debate.

The Memorial's popular success was immediate. The Dispatch wrote of - 'The call of the Shrine...on the Glasgow holiday a queue over 1000 feet in length formed at the opening hour...it was not until about 5 p.m. that the queue showed any signs of diminishing...no actual check is made on the number of visitors...It is known that the queue outside the Memorial has on many occasions contained over a thousand persons',²¹⁰. The Duchess of Atholl wrote later - 'Not even Lorimer had realised what a magnet the Memorial would become. Returning to Edinburgh after a four or five weeks badly needed holiday, he came up to the Castle to find the Memorial "cramped" on what he was told was "a quiet day"'.²¹¹ General Egerton, full Colonel of the Highland Light Infantry could write to Atholl that - 'he had "not heard one single carping word regarding the Memorial. Enthusiasm about it is undoubted". And so indeed it proved...Lord Esher declared it was "the most moving and beautiful thing in the world". General Sir

Alexander Godley who had commanded the Australians and New Zealanders in Gallipoli wrote to Atholl that it was "far the finest thing of its kind. Nothing is forgotten, I went prepared to be critical, but could find nothing that I did not wholeheartedly admire".²¹²

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Chapter 81. A decade of memorials

A little more must be said of Lorimer's last decade in practice before stating the conclusions to which this study has led. His work on the war graves and on the Scottish War Memorial has been treated separately, because it would have been confusing to intermingle the story of these enterprises in which Lorimer played the different roles of Public and National Architect. Yet he did play them concurrently with each other and undertook a considerable volume of private work besides.

Lorimer was very busy indeed between 1919 and 1929, the year of his death. The end of the war had brought - 'Many enquiries re things and Matthew thinks we'll need a huge staff, costing thousands a year to overtake the work but we'll see'.¹ Two months later he wrote to tell Dods - 'We're really very busy and understaffed at present. I've been "approached" - re the Scottish National War Memorial scheme on the Castle...every day I seem to turn out about 2 war memorials'.² By late 1919 Lorimer and his staff were even busier. 'I, Matthew and 3 draughtsmen and 5 apprentices and a typist seem to be busy all the time'. After going on to tell of various improvement schemes for houses and of two alteration jobs for this university, he noted the continuing - 'endless floods of war memorials, of all shapes and sizes and costs'.³

It was a decade dominated by war memorials. Town memorials, school memorials, and private memorials, and grafted as it were on top of this, was the continuing task of the war cemeteries and the Scottish National War Memorial. The work on the war ~~cemeteries~~ was arduous but it was undertaken by Lorimer as concentrated tours of duty overseas, in between which times, drawings would regularly arrive by post from the Commission for Lorimer's scrutiny, comments and approval. Mrs. Swan recalls how, often, these drawings would be laid out everywhere in the office for checking, so many that even the floor was used. Often this checking had to take place after office hours when the private work was finished.⁴

The appointment of all the principal architects to the Commission was terminated in 1927, and Lorimer was notified that - 'At the 104th meeting of the Imperial War Graves Commission, the Vice Chairman reported the termination of your appointment as one of the Principal architects ...on the completion of your work. The members of the Commission showed a strong feeling that the severance of your long connection with this office, and the advantage they have gained from your professional standing and your ready and sympathetic interest called for formal expression: and I was instructed by resolution to convey to you their high appreciation of your eminent services to the Commission and their cordial thanks for the very valuable work that you have done on their behalf'.⁵

Thus closed ten years of joint endeavour on a huge task. This letter signed by the Principal Assistant Secretary, formalised an existing situation and in an official and slightly stilted way expressed the feelings of a public committee at the end of ten years joint work. It is surprising, perhaps, that it is not signed by Ware himself, but he may well have been abroad at the time and there may have been a more personal letter from him also. A year or so later the 10th Annual Report of the Commission placed on - 'record their indebtedness to him for the part he had taken in their work'.⁶

Lorimer had been invited to become architect for the cemeteries in Italy, Egypt and Macedonia, and later also in Germany and the United Kingdom. Robert Rowand Anderson, and not Lorimer, was the architect first asked to design the Scottish National War Memorial. He was unwell, however, and had to turn it down, whereupon a group of six architects (which included Lorimer) was asked by the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland to submit work as testimonials. Who the other five architects were is not recorded in the Ministry of Work files on the Memorial (in West Register House) and the R.I.A.S. has destroyed its past files. Lorimer seems to have been chosen from this group by the Duke of Atholl's Committee.

The course of the works on the Memorial up to the opening has been described. Lorimer had taken Matthew into partnership in 1927, thus recognising at long last the

invaluable part Matthew had played within the office for so many years.

Five days after the opening of the Memorial, a supper was held to mark the completion of the work. The invitation card reads - 'Sir Robert Lorimer and Mr. J.F. Matthew cordially invite you to attend a supper to be held in Crawford's Oak Hall, 70, Princes Street on Tuesday 19th July 1927'.⁷ The Scotsman next day remarked that the company had numbered about 200. It affords the interesting paradox of a man who struck everyone by his careful use of money, as some would have it, verging on meanness, who then entertained this huge gathering.

Another intriguing feature of this supper is the seating arrangement. 'The Duke of Atholl presided, and he was accompanied by Viscount Younger, Dr. Strachan, Mr. and Mrs. Meredith Williams, Sir D.Y. Cameron, R.S.A.... Mr. J.F. Matthew, Mr. Hew Lorimer, and Mr. John McLeod. At the table at the opposite end of the hall were Sir Robert Lorimer, Messrs. A. McKenzie, Stewart Morton, Charles Henshaw, W. Laing and other leading craftsmen'.⁸ The Duke of Atholl and Lorimer spoke on the design. Viscount Younger proposed the contractors. Sir D.Y. Cameron proposed Scottish Craftsmanship to which Mrs. Meredith Williams and Dr. Douglas Strachan replied. Captain Swinton proposed the office of works. The menu included salmon, roast lamb and old English trifle.

Lorimer was exhausted by his labours on the Shrine. Mr. Pilkington Jackson has told me - 'After the unveiling

of the War Memorial, Lorimer and I went off to Sweden for a holiday. I was dead beat. I may not have been the best sculptor but I was the busiest on the job'.⁹ The diary of this trip appears in one of Sir Robert's sketch books.¹⁰ They visited museums together and met various people including Carl Milles. But they were both dead tired, in Pilkington Jackson's own words, and the tone of the chronicle reflects this lassitude.

The completed Shrine became the centre of a series of ceremonies as the standards and colours of the regiments were lodged there. 'Sir Robert was present in order to supervise the lodging of the standard' of the Horse Guards.¹¹ Mr. Baldwin, - 'the Prime Minister was met by Mr. C. d'O Pilkington Jackson...who explained the details of the building in the absence of Sir Robert Lorimer, who is at present visiting the chief war memorials of France'.¹² The success of the Memorial was recognised generally. The designer was created 'Knight Commander of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire'. He became also the 'President of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland'.¹³ The account of how the Memorial was achieved has laid stress, in this thesis, inevitably, upon Lorimer's contribution and those closest to him in this work. One name has not received due notice, that of J.F. Matthew. Harry Hubbard who had produced the working drawings for the Memorial has summed up his great contribution: - 'He was a brilliant draughtsman and a hard worker, one whose profession

was also his hobby, and during the long period in which the practice grew and reached its eminence he was Lorimer's right hand man in close and continuous co-operation in all work. In 1927 he became a partner, but, by then, he was bearing the weight of the business side of the office and it left him little time to demonstrate his skill as a draughtsman and designer; he had a genius for organisation and the handling of all the problems that harass the architect from specifications to full accounts'.¹⁴ Mrs. Swan recalls that - 'J.F. Matthew was in charge of finance. He would take an estimated overall price, and he would work out the details, this is why he was made a partner. His estimates for the Shrine proved entirely accurate. Sir Robert couldn't do it. Sir Robert would give him a detail in the evening, and Matthew would work into the night and come in next morning with the detailed prices all worked out'.¹⁵ As office manager, Matthew had to watch all the costs. After it was completed he collapsed and had to take a rest, and the final statement of cost was prepared by Mrs. Swan from his meticulous notes'.¹⁶

What was Sir Robert's opinion of the final result? He told a Rotary Club luncheon in 1928 that - 'He had often been asked if he regretted the fact that his original design was not carried out, and he always replied in the negative; because with the sum of money available, they were able to produce a better result, working on the lines that were ultimately agreed upon. But he had one regret. He felt that the termination of the gable of the Shrine was

inadequate - he meant the lion holding up the pennon - and that among the many alternative methods of finishing the gable that were suggested, a feature like a small belfry upholding a perpetual light would have been more romantic'.¹⁷ Letters supporting the idea appeared in the press: 'The idea is a noble one';¹⁸ 'would not the erection of the Haig light to crown our National War Memorial be a beautiful symbol?';¹⁹ 'Your Castle so spectacular by day, becomes merged in the gloom of night...but here, high up above the roofs of Scotland's Capital could gleam a perpetual light'.²⁰ Atholl and the - 'committee were favourable to this idea... but as they were aware, their proceedings at the Castle were regarded with suspicion...and his committee felt that any fresh suggestion that might give rise to friction must at that late stage be avoided'.²¹ The suggestion was made that Earl Haig be laid to rest at the Memorial. After it was decided to bury him at Bemarkside, a plain commemorative panel was placed on the Memorial. 'The Memorial to Earl Haig is the only commemoration to a single individual which will find a place in the National Memorial. It is simple in character. The position and the form were suggested by the architect, Sir Robert Lorimer and the work carried out by Mr. C. d'O Pilkington Jackson'.²² This must have been the last thing Lorimer contributed to the Memorial. When - 'the colours of five regiments were received [and] there was laid a wreath against the new memorial plaque of the late Field Marshall Haig...those present on the Memorial steps included...Mr. J. Wilson Paterson, H.M. Office of

Works, who was wearing civil uniform...Sir Robert Lorimer, the architect of the Memorial, was among the spectators'.²³

The interest in the Memorial was intense. The number of visitors was so great that it was reported that the native rock emerging through the floor of the Shrine was - 'being worn to a fine, black, shiny surface'.²⁴ The struggle to reach agreement and the exaltation of so noble a purpose provided a pinnacle of achievement from which it was hard to descend to more everyday concerns. He made designs for the Women's Union in this University, and for a development plan for King's Buildings. The layout was a traditional corridor street layout. He went on to design the Department of Animal Genetics on that site, and the Department of Zoology. The buildings are solid and well built, but neither their siting nor their designs is particularly distinguished.

Universities by their diversity of interests, rarely make good clients, but it seems also that Lorimer was incapable of rising to the challenge of these problems, and they were left very largely to J.F. Matthew's attention. Yet when one looks around at the modern laboratories of other universities, it is hard to see if architects have done much better with laboratories in the forty odd years since. Just over two years after the opening of the Memorial, Sir Robert was dead. The strain had taken great toll of him. Alan Rejach his last apprentice says - 'He never seemed to me to be very vigorous while I was in the office. He was always out on social calls, and I don't

remember him designing much, but I really know nothing about the architecture before that. We all believed we were in the leading office. I remember he was keen to get the job of St. Andrews House. It has to go to a Scottish architect and he felt he was the most eminent. But it went to Thomas Tait and was not built until after Lorimer died'.²⁵

Lorimer's death was sudden and unexpected. He was tired and had his successes been mingled with fewer disappointments he might have succumbed less readily. His obituary is a long one. 'His name', it says, 'Will be mainly linked with the famous Scottish War Memorial...the Memorial, in the department of public monuments, is unique'.²⁶

2. The memory of Lorimer (1929 - 1973)

Lorimer had received the honorary degree of LL.D. from this university in June 1928, and at the presentation, the address summed up his contribution in these words: 'The praise of Sir Robert Lorimer is in the mouth of every visitor to the Castle Rock for the noble Memorial he has designed to commemorate Scotland's loyalty and sacrifice in the Great War - an inspired and inspiring masterpiece of monumental art. The Thistle Chapel and numberless examples of domestic architecture like Ardkinglas and Marchmont remind us that he is a versatile master of many styles; but perhaps his crowning merit lies in the revival of the

best traditions of Scottish building at its prime, and the stimulus he has given to the fine craftsmanship of the Edinburgh School of woodcarving, stained glass, and the other decorative arts. The university is indebted to him for a War Memorial of simple dignity, for a skilful adaptation of old buildings to new needs in the Women's Union, and for new premises for science of a more austere and reticent beauty'.²⁷

So, after 37 years in practice and only a year before his death he was credited with three main contributions: the Scottish National War Memorial, the opening of which was still fresh in everyone's mind; the revival of the Scotch tradition in building; and his stimulus to Scottish craftsmanship. Other critics have singled out different works for particular mention, and they have drawn attention to different aspects of particular works. Yet his final major work, the Scottish National War Memorial is probably his most widely known work. The Memorial and the Thistle Chapel are Lorimer's only works to receive mention in the standard history of architecture by Sir Bannister Fletcher.²⁸ The Memorial, has been acclaimed as the most successful of all the war memorials of the Great War in its expression of national sentiment. Ian Hay has written - 'Scotland is small enough to know all her sons by heart. You may live in Berwickshire, and the man who has died may have come from Skye; but his name is quite familiar to you. Big England's mourning is local; little Scotland's is national.

And that perhaps is the reason why Scotland alone among the nations has erected a National War Memorial commemorating in detail the service of every unit of her arms, and the name of every one of her hundred thousand dead'.²⁹

The rancour which surrounded the progress of this project was overcome ^{more} by the political skill of the Duke of Atholl than by Lorimer's skill in design, but the popular success of the final scheme is largely Lorimer's achievement. He was big enough in stature to carry the weight of opposition in this protracted controversy without faltering. A letter from a friend of his comments on his frankness and saying it was pleasant to find him 'taking his gruel in such good part'.³⁰ Lorimer it was, who found and assembled the heterogeneous group of artists and craftsmen who worked on the Memorial. Having done so, it was he who got them to work together in harmony. As one of them has said 'Sir Robert had the vision there's no doubt about that, I know from my own experience how difficult it is to get artists to agree'.³¹ Lorimer's own letters emphasise the extent to which the design of the Memorial depended on his earlier experience with war cemeteries. The Memorial as built, like the work for the War Graves Commission, is a story of considerable successes mingled with a few lingering regrets for lost opportunities, but such is the nature of great co-operative enterprises.

The building itself is much more than an aesthetic object, which may explain why architects, who are accustomed

to assess buildings largely in visual terms of plastic quality, or ^{of} pure utility, have found it a building difficult to judge. Wendy Wood has suggested that - 'It is difficult to speak of Scotland's Memorial at the Castle. Difficult to portray it by word or picture. I would have all the photographs and post cards of it destroyed, as they misrepresent every part of the building by reproducing only the form of the Shrine which is almost unbelievably spiritual'.³² Such a view is functional in the proper sense, and emphasises the Shrine as a rich and varied vehicle for evoking a nation's proud sorrow. Other writers have been concerned to classify this building, (and this despite the complete stylistic confusion of this century).

Ian Hannay writing some six years later and after the death of Lorimer argued that - 'The revival of Scottish Gothic has on any serious scale been attempted only once, and that with new ideas. It is, perhaps, largely because the apse or Shrine of their War Memorial, the masterpiece of Sir Robert Lorimer really does seek to reproduce the spirit of the most characteristically Scottish Mediaeval style that the building has already gained so warm a place in the hearts of the Scottish folk'.³³ George Scott Moncrieff reached a similar conclusion in 1938, and he wrote that - 'almost, perhaps, for the first time, the special forms of the peculiarly Scottish form of Gothic are made to live again in the apsidal Shrine of the War Memorial on Edinburgh Castle Rock'.³⁴

The Shrine, without doubt, touched the consciousness of the nation. Frank Deas has called it romantic rather than Gothic, when he said - 'It was no eclectic admiration for pointed arches...that filled Lorimer,[it] was the spirit of which these things chanced to be the expression...rather than Gothic with its narrow implications, I would use the word romantic as defining his temperament'.³⁵ Such an attitude to life shows clearly in a talk given by Lorimer to the Edinburgh Rotary Club: 'In order to produce any work of art, no matter what it was, You must be thrilled, you must be deeply moved, you must be carried off your feet. Now, the trouble about modern life is that it does not produce the conditions necessary. If you walk round a modern picture exhibition you feel, with the bulk of the exhibits, that far from the artist having anything he is eager to express, he has been casting round to try and find, something to paint. But go to that far too little visited place, The Imperial War Museum in South Kensington and see what modern painting could do when it really had something great to record. Look at the astonishing record of men and women and things seen by Sir William Orpen and others, but especially Orpen. These men were thrilled, agonised, stirred to boiling point, by what they were seeing around them. They were bursting to record what they saw; the result was that what they produced is "the real stuff", and just as it thrilled those men to produce the work, so the spectator is thrilled when he looks at it. At their National War Memorial they had - for once in a lifetime -

a great theme, something that tugged at the heart strings, and that was the very simple explanation of why when people went there they seemed to find some atmosphere about the place that was responsive'.³⁶

If Lorimer could see the excitement in war, this did not mean that he overlooked its attendant horror. He has described motoring across the scene of the Somme Offensive: 'Well you have read about it, you have seen endless pictures in the illustrated papers of this area - but no tongue can tell, no pen describe, no picture convey any - not the remotest - idea - of the appalling scene of desolation that extends for mile after mile after mile. Every yard churned up by shellfire, any remnants of trees, mere tortured stumps, the whole place littered by barbed wire by the million mile, corrugated iron, rifles, cartridge cases, tanks, machine guns, wheels, bosh, ^[sic] helmets indescribable - a vast undulating desert of desolation, and the only living thing an occasional hooded crow'.³⁷

If war is sordid in most of its aspects, nevertheless there remains a drama by which individuals lay down their lives, which any war memorial commemorates. Sir Herbert Baker has described how the cloister he built at Winchester is 'as in that noble work of Robert Lorimer, the War Memorial at Edinburgh, entered from a court of the Castle buildings, architect and craftsmen working together in sculpture, symbols, heraldry, and inscription expressing something of the drama of war'.³⁸ The Memorial he continued 'is more a temple of fame for the heroes of war' than a

social shrine for Scottish patriotism.³⁹

The functionalist beliefs of the architects of the Modern Movement mainly reflect a utilitarianism which has prevailed in all countries. The disagreements on the cost of the Memorial were touched on in a sour joke in the Dispatch. 'Are they making a new castle?' 'So I hear'. 'What's wrang wi' the auld yin?' 'I dinna ken, but they're a' for bein' up to date noo a days. Spick and span and new'. 'Lor!' They'll be gie'n us a new Coogate sune'. 'They nicht dae waur, but they'd think it an awfu waste o' money'.⁴⁰

Cost effectiveness has become the main measure of worth of building, which has manifested itself in recent years by demands that buildings as machines be built on the short-life, as it were, throw away principle, of built in obsolescence. The idea of permanence in building has been discredited. T.W. West writing in 1967 suggests that - 'However appealing it may be, the work of architects like Lorimer represents the end of a defunct tradition that few would wish to revive now that a more genuinely historical understanding of architecture has made it clear that each age in the past has built mainly in the style appropriate to its time as expressed by its physical needs, materials, aesthetic concepts and social and spiritual values'.⁴¹ West applies these qualities, thus imperatively categorised, to Lorimer's work, when he writes: 'Perhaps most widely known as the designer of the elaborate chapel of the Knights of the Thistle in St. Giles Cathedral and for the moving if architecturally less successful, National War Memorial in

Success is a measure for which people are the only meters. West certainly conveys the sentiments of the architects of his time, yet was their judgment sound? What of the long queues of people who queued to see the Memorial? What of the strong flow of visitors which continues to this day, more than forty years later? The conclusion that should be drawn, is that, in the Memorial in particular, Lorimer met certain transcendental needs of a wide range of people rather better than they have been met in any other comparable memorial.

3. The conclusions of this study.

Lorimer's life and his development have been assessed in this thesis, phase by phase within a chronological framework, so that it remains only to present some final conclusions. The findings of any historical thesis, in the nature of things cannot be fully predictable. Equally the direction which a study takes must respond to some degree, to the progress of the findings. This is how the study of the Scottish National War Memorial affair was not part of the original intentions. Architects like Alan Reich had even suggested it would be best forgotten. Yet in discussion with Mrs. Swan and later with Dr. Richardson, to whom she introduced me, it was borne in on me that here

was a work which could not be ignored in any overall assessment of Lorimer's achievement, because however much we may complain at some of its details, the Memorial plays too important a part in keeping the memory of Lorimer alive to be ignored. Its influence on his reputation in the years following his death was paramount.

What conclusions does it offer? It is not his best work in the sense of being his most unified, harmonious and complete design. Nevertheless it is his most important work, which he completed in front of his largest audience. It is eclectic and it offers something for the tastes of everyone but the first impression of the entrance facade is Scottish, a style of which there were many other exponents. What is that essential difference which stamps it the work of Lorimer? He had been, since the 1890s, one of many well known architects who had turned from the decorated forms of Victorian architecture to the plainness of vernacular building, to tread the well worn path of Scottish Baronialism. The tradition had been fostered by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, just as the writings and drawings of Rousseau had influenced Violet le Duc.

'Balmorality' is the name which has been applied to extravagancies in the Baronial style by architects who were too engrossed in pattern and too little interested in the plain fare of local building. The excesses of Balmoral and the like are too well known to need detailing. A contemporary comment on such design has come from James

Buckle who drew 'An Architectural Fantasy' for the Builder (fig.1.). He attempted, thereby - 'to incorporate some of the peculiarities of style advocated by several architects whose works are prompted by adoration of the romantic picturesque, and antiquated'.⁴³

The other buildings of the time were plain but lacked a certain distinction. Their proportion is less fine than in Lorimer's work and they were generally busier in effect. The question remains whether there is something else which is special to Lorimer's work? The key to what it may be is offered by some comments made by the architect J.J. Stevenson in 1880. He pointed out how - 'the old Scotch style, when such extravagancies are avoided' (as in the architectural fantasy) - 'is well fitted for modern houses. Its details and its forms are classic, its use involves no necessity of changing the existing habits of the inmates, or the workman's methods of building...In the Scotch style, mullions and narrow windows were not essential and ordinary sash windows could still be used. Crowsteps, though an addition to the expense, did not affect the internal arrangements, and projected angle turrets, adopted for the sake of appearance, could be fitted up as water closets or wardrobes. It must, however, be confessed that recent attempts to revive the old style have too often failed in reproducing its artistic character. There is no lack in them of turrets and towers and great projections of corbels but somehow these fail to reproduce the sternness of the old buildings'.⁴⁴

Lorimer when using the simplest effects was stern, yet this very sternness offered the clearest vehicle for the excellence of his proportion. It seemed likely from the start of this study that further material on the War Cemeteries by Lorimer would be forthcoming and that if it were to match the supreme quality of Cavaletto (illustrated by Hussey) it would enhance Lorimer's stature. The Commission have made every effort to assist me and have been most helpful. It only remains to say that some of Lorimer's cemeteries were adjudged supreme of their kind at the time of their opening, and nothing has happened since to change this view.

The cemeteries, set close to the battlefronts, ~~would~~ have inspired an immediacy of grief for the bereaved who visited them, and a grief less relieved by the sense of national majesty which the Shrine evoked. The audience for the cemeteries was smaller and the occasions quieter in tone. Indeed Lorimer's best cemeteries can be claimed fairly to be the smallest. Overall his great success as a principal architect was in his skill in impressing a special harmony on the necessary austerity of these cemeteries.

The third role, of Lorimer as a private domestic architect, is one on which it is most difficult to reach conclusions. The small austere cottages were highly thought of in their day but have been displaced by the memory of Lorimer's opulent Baronial Mansions so faithfully

recorded by Hussey. Since these mansions range from the Tudor Style and Renaissance, to the Cotswold Style, Dutch Jacobean, Castellated and the Scottish Vernacular, it is clear that not only was Lorimer an eclectic designer, he must have had clients of widely differing tastes.

If we go back to the early years of this century, before the rise of the modern movement in architecture and before its deadening dictum had taken force that every building must look like a machine, we find Lorimer enjoying a high reputation.

The first critic to recognise Lorimer's high ability in domestic design had been Herman Muthesius whom Lorimer had met during the years Muthesius had spent in Britain at the beginning of this century. Lorimer told one story of a dinner he had with Muthesius in 1903. Muthesius, he told Dods - 'had a huge, too unqualified admiration for your friend Macintosh of Glasgow. He lives in a delightful little Queen Anne house on the Mall at Hammersmith not far from Wm. Morris's old home. He gave me a beautiful dinner with white wine and black coffee, and after he showed me a huge collection of photos of up to date domestic work, which on the first blush looked interesting but after a good steady 2nd look - D-n - it, how little there really was that one can feel keen about. However, its always interesting to see what others are doing, and sometimes one derives a horrid

satisfaction from feeling that they're not doing anything very excruciating. I don't think in viewing the whole collection that I once said to myself, now there's a thing I must use up straight'.⁴⁵

Muthesius, in return, saw Lorimer as the only architect in Scotland practising within the Arts and Crafts tradition. In fact Lorimer and Oscar Paterson, the glass painter from Glasgow, were the only 2 members of the society in the whole of Scotland.⁴⁶

Lorimer's contribution, Muthesius wrote, was that he - 'first of all, saw the virtues of the unostentatious old Scottish buildings with their "true hearted" simplicity, and plain almost rugged moderation. For him, no longer was it a necessity to imitate the old Scottish rooms wrapped in towers with corbelled corners, he had become sufficiently imbued in the old art, to know its more intimate charms and to put them to new uses. In a word, Lorimer, has begun the same thing in Scotland, which had been done in London 35 years before by the Norman Shaw's group. Today, Lorimer's achievements in house building are the most interesting to compare to those of the Mackintosh group. He has erected a whole row of smaller houses in the Edinburgh suburb of Colinton, in the charming unostentatious old Scottish vernacular. The restoration of old manor houses, for example, Earlshall in Fife, were to him rich opportunities for remodelling. This opportunity afforded an opportunity for his sensitivity and for the distinguished

good taste of his work, and in his interior design including furniture he has given of his best. He has laid out a new garden also, in the idiom of the old Scots geometrical gardens, and generally he has given his greatest attention to the Scottish garden. A national perfection will be attained for Scotland also by Lorimer's efforts, as England has already attained, on the foundations of the Old Folk art in housebuilding and designing'.⁴⁷

Muthesius saw Lorimer primarily as a revivalist architect but his book had one important side effect, it inspired Walter Shaw Sparrow to edit a number of books on modern British architecture. They bring out the virtues of the then, recent house designs. He included many examples of Lorimer's work in these books, especially of cottages in the Colinton Manner. Different contributors wrote upon the various aspect of housing, and he chose writers from those favouring the Arts and Crafts approach.

Muthesius had pointed out already how the English architects of the movement built - 'less by understanding the forms of ancient architecture than of how it really functions'.⁴⁸ W.H. Bidlake (who had worked for Bodley in the 80s) writing upon 'the Home from the outside' believed that 'too much stress may be laid on the New Art Movement' (i.e. Art Nouveau)', for it has not taken any real hold on British Domestic Architecture which has quietly and steadily progressed, unaffected by the New Art eccentricities. It is to the work of men like Mr. Lutyens, Mr. Guy Dawber,

Mr. Lorimer, Mr. Ernest Newton, Mr. W.H. Brierley, Mr. E.S. Prior, Mr. Gerald C. Horsley, Mr. E.J. May, Mr. Herbert Baker, Mr. Arnold Mitchell, Mr. R.W. Schultz, that we must turn if we wish to realise the high achievements of the Art at the present time. And the one quality which is written upon the work of these masters - written in characters so distinct that he who runs may read - is, reticence'.⁴⁹

The divergence in opinion between the proponents of the Arts and Crafts approach to construction, (which foreshadows some aspects of constructivism), and the proponents of Art Nouveau (with its stress on pure form) had one important consequence for Lorimer. His warmest supporter in the publishing world Walter Shaw Sparrow began editing books on architecture on his own account.

He had come into close contact with the Arts and Crafts Movement when the Editor of the Studio - Charles Holmes - asked him to help prepare a special number on the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1899.⁵⁰ 'When I joined his staff' he related, - 'the Morris movement was fading away in England, but not in Germany where it was passing through many interesting transformations by which German industries were gaining a great and sinister advantage over our own. Apathy was descending once more on our country'.⁵¹ The special summer number of the Studio in 1901 was devoted to modern British Domestic Architecture and Decoration. Its emphasis is towards the Art Nouveau. Mackintosh and Voysey are well represented. Lorimer was omitted as well

as Lutyens, Baker, Dawber, May and Schultz.⁵²

Shaw Sparrow left the Studio early in 1904,⁵³ and in the same year 'The British Home of Today' was published for which he was editor.⁵⁴ It consists (like the Studio special number) of a number of articles by different writers, liberally interspersed with illustrations (including 31 of Lorimer's work). The articles on the various aspects of the home are mostly general and without specific examples. Arnold Mitchell, however, did single out the cottage 'Acharra' for special comment.

The format of 'The Modern Home' published two years later is much the same. W.H. Bidlake whose contribution on 'the home from outside' had drawn attention to the quality of reticence in the work of Lorimer and his colleagues in the arts and crafts movement paid no attention to the architects with art nouveau leanings like Voysey and Mackintosh, and the illustrations chosen by Shaw Sparrow included fifteen of Lorimer's work. Two full pages in colour of a house in Peebleshire were given as well (fig.3, Chapter 3). The emphasis was placed by Bidlake on evolution - 'We do not want a new style. We are reverent as a people, and we are not only proud of the heritage which our fathers left us, but we wish to feel that our dwelling-houses trace their lineage from those of old time'.⁵⁵

Shaw Sparrow next turned to writing a book on the English house which is an historical study of period styles. This appeared in 1908.⁵⁶ In 1909 he wrote another 2 books

which proceed from the earlier volumes which he had edited. The first of them was 'Our homes and how to make the best of them'.⁵⁷ The contents are similar to the earlier volumes but the selection offered is broader. His only remark on Lorimer, was that - 'his jolly little cottage for Major Meares, is unexpected in another fortunate way, for if we go from the vestibule into the corridor, we come suddenly on one side to a corner, around which, recessed, the stairs are put, and on the other side, as soon as we turn the corridor, we find a good bay, deep and square, and therefore very attractive in a small house. Such planning is noble and full of charm'. These remarks paraphrase those of Arnold Mitchell in the earlier volume. Seven illustrations of Lorimer's work were included, (which was only exceeded by 9 for Gimson).

The crusading spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement is well captured by Shaw Sparrow, and his second book of 1909 offered hints on house furnishing as a practical guide reviewing products, selected manufacturers, interior design and furnishing practice, as well as giving a list of designers of what we call nowadays custom built furniture. This list puts Lorimer in the company of Mervyn McCartney, Baillie Scott and Voysey as well as those with their own workshops, like Ashbee, Barnsley and Gimson.⁵⁸ Lorimer is also listed with Lutyens, Guy Dawber, Brierley, Ricardo and his old friend Schultz as - 'specialists in distinctive ways' in room decoration.⁵⁹ Five illustrations of

Lorimer's work include Burrell's dining room, Burrell's cradle, a dresser and 2 fireplaces.

One conclusion to be drawn from those books is that if Shaw Sparrow had more say in the matter (as a sub-editor on the Studio) Lorimer's work would not have received so little notice in that magazine. Shaw Sparrow has made it clear that much as he admired Charles Holmes, he was not in full agreement with him. He has written that - 'Many persons believed that Holmes was too friendly towards certain phases of Art Nouveau and also to Beardsley whose unique and unearthly genius influenced too many young designers' [including it might be said Mackintosh and the MacDonald sisters]. 'Some artists and architects talked to me angrily on these matters, contending for instance, that Voysey's cottages and country houses looked abnormal in British landscapes, and would be put rapidly out of vogue by Edwin Lutyens, R.S. Lorimer, W. H. Bidlake, E. Guy Dawber, Ernest Newton, and some other architects'.⁶⁰

Charles Holmes was unshakeable in his belief in Voysey which Shaw Sparrow appeared to share, but with reservations. After he left the Studio, Shaw Sparrow says that he had his projects for books on domestic housing - 'turned down by publisher after publisher' until he met J.E. Hodder Williams. The books went well, so well that - publisher after publisher began to copy them...by 1912, a book with domestic architecture in it had become perilous'.⁶¹ It is clear that the impetus of the Arts and Crafts Movement

was being - indeed had been - overtaken by the need for better design in industry, as was well understood in Germany. Domestic architecture was in process of further stratification by class. The cottages dealt with by Shaw Sparrow were in the main custom built for upper middle class professional people and businessmen. The Studio magazine's policy - 'to proclaim the urgent need for re-uniting the Arts and Crafts to daily life among all classes' was doomed to failure'.⁶² The Arts and Crafts Movement was highbrow and not popular, and only a pale reflection of its aims can be seen in the 1919 Housing Act. This was written in by Raymond Unwin.

Lorimer's houses after the Great War contributed nothing new, and the achievements of the Arts and Crafts movement were well on the way to being forgotten. In 1929 Lorimer died, Wall Street crashed, and years of recession followed leading ^ato further six years of war. Amid the flux of such events architectural reputations rested on the memory of buildings and even more on their mention in books and magazines. Hodder and Stoughton had brought out a new version of the Modern House in 1938 edited by Patrick Abercrombie.⁶³ One photo of Formakin by Lorimer was included (fig.2.).

The postwar years have seen in the rise of brutalism in British architecture, the conscious turning away from charm in building, and the question is whether Lorimer's work has any relevance for the future? The modern

movement is not unlike international communism (with which it had many links) in that it was forever harping on the iniquities of the past, decrying the present and raising impossible hopes for the future. Both depend on beliefs rather than objective reasoning, and the effect of the simplistic propaganda of both has been insidiously unbalancing in discussions. To take an example: Douglas Bliss asserts that Mackintosh, was - 'unlike other contemporaries who were influenced by the Gothic or early Scots Renaissance style, he did not imitate their features. He was no historicist. Compared with Lorimer and the other disciples of Howard Anderson, he was a pioneer of modernism...even more than his closest English counterpart C.F.A. Voysey, he steadily pointed to the future'.⁶⁴

Lorimer's general direction in design is less clear. John Brandon Jones thinks - 'with Lorimer's work one can say the earlier the better',⁶⁵ or as David Walker has observed 'in the 90s, Lorimer was, if anything ahead of Mackintosh, but afterwards he seems to have petered out'.⁶⁶ The battle if it can be called such, was between the modernists and their worship of abstract form and the machine, and the evolutionaries who put man first, and believed he should dominate the machine. The consequences of this clash have been that under the influence of the modernists there has been a successive abandonment of the traditional values of scale, proportion, sciagraphy and massing. All these were values by which buildings formerly were related to the perceptions of human beings. The further consequence

is that towns have become jazzy cacophonies of hard-edged shapes to which the public shows little but dislike.

Contrasting this with the scale proportion and massing of all Lorimer's buildings, which reflect the needs of the people who use them, and the care ^{with} which, with few exceptions he fitted his buildings to their locations, taking all things into consideration, it may be claimed with justice, that of his generation of Scottish architects, he was closest to the angels.

1. LORIMER, R.S. Letter to R.S. Dods 14.2.1919. p.2.
2. " " " " " 27.4.1919. p.6.
3. " " " " " 11.12.1919. p.2.
4. SWAN, Mrs. M. Conversation Mar.20 1973 with P. Savage.
5. BROWNE, Arthur. Letter to R.S. Lorimer 8.2.1928.
6. I.W.G. COMMISSION. 10th annual report. London 1929.
7. INVITATION CARD. p.77. Mrs. Swan's Scrapbook.
8. THE SCOTSMAN. Article on workers celebration 20.7.1927.
9. JACKSON, C. d'O. Pilkington. Interview in Edinburgh. 28.6.69.
10. LORIMER, R.S. Book 75.
11. THE SCOTSMAN. Report on the War Memorial ceremony 30.8.1927.
12. " " prime minister's visit 14.11.1927.
13. " Article on noted Scots architect 14.9.1929.
14. HUBBARD, Harry. Appreciation of J.F.M. Journal of R.I.A.S.
Edinburgh. May 1955.
15. SWAN, Mrs. M. Interview in Edinburgh 2.7.1969.
16. IBID., 5.2.1971.
17. THE SCOTSMAN. Article on the Arts and Crafts 27.1.1928.
18. COOPER, G.W. Letter dated 30.1.1928 to the Dispatch.
19. BEACON, " " 9.2.1928 to the Daily Record.
20. LEIGH, Dell. " " 10.5.1928 to the Scotsman.
21. THE GLASGOW HERALD. Article on Lorimer's reflections 27.1.28.
22. THE SCOTSMAN. Article on the new additions 21.7.1928.
23. " " the Earl Haig Panel 23.7.1928.
24. OP CIT., (22).
25. REIACH, Alan. Interview in Edinburgh 23.9.1969.

26. THE SCOTSMAN, Obituary of Sir Robert Lorimer 14.9.1929.
27. R.I.B.A. JOURNAL. Note 14.7.1928. p.614.
28. BANNISTER, Fletcher, Sir. Aro.
29. HAY, Ian. 'Their Name Liveth, the book of the S.N.W. Memorial'. Bodley Head. London. 1931. p.6.
30. WARRACK, John. Letter dated 26.12.22 to the Scotsman.
31. JOHNSON, W. Myles. Interview at Kirkcudbright 12.8.69.
32. WOOD, Wendy. Letter to Weekly Scotsman Nov. 1928.
33. HANNAY, Ian C. 'Story of Scotland in stone'. Oliver and Boyd. Edinburgh. 1934. p.316.
34. SCOTT MONCRIEFF, George. 'The Stones of Scotland'. Batsford. London. 1938. p.127.
35. DEAS, Frank. 'The work of Sir Robert Lorimer'. Transactions of Edinburgh Architectural Association. Vol.X. Fillans and Wilson, Edinburgh. 1933. p.114.
36. LORIMER, R.S. Report of talk to Edinburgh Rotary Club. Scotsman. 27.1.28. (also in Glasgow Herald).
37. LORIMER, R.S. Letter to R.S. Dods dated 14.10.18. pp.18-20.
38. BAKER, Herbert. 'Architecture and personalities'. Country Life. London. 1944. p.163.
39. IBID., p.200.
40. THE DISPATCH, Edinburgh. undated cutting c.1922 in Mrs. Swan's Scrapbook.
41. WEST, T.W. 'A History of Architecture in Scotland'. University of London Press. 1967. p.181.
42. IBID., p.178.
43. BUCKLE, James, The Builder. Vol.34. pp.261-2.
44. STEVENSON, J.J. House Architecture. London. 1880.
45. LORIMER, R.S. Letter to R.S. Dods 9.1.1903. pp.1-2.
46. THE STUDIO, London. Note in Vol.18, 1900, p.272.
47. MUTHESIUS, H. Op cit., (reference 59, chap. 1) p.209.
48. IBID.

49. SHAW SPARROW, W. The Modern Home. Hodder and Stoughton. London. 1906. p.27.
50. SHAW SPARROW, W. Memories of Life and Art through sixty years. John Lane. The Bodley Head. London. 1925. p.232.
51. IBID., p.239.
52. HOLMES, Chas. Editor, Modern British Domestic Architecture and Decoration. Summer Special Number. Studio. London. 1901.
53. SHAW SPARROW, W. Op cit., (50). p.259.
54. " " Editor. op cit., (reference 2, preface).
55. OP CIT., (49). p.23.
56. SHAW SPARROW, W. The English House. Eveleigh Nash, London, 1908.
57. SHAW SPARROW, W. Our Homes and How to Make the Best of Them. Hodder and Stoughton. London. 1909. p.78.
58. SHAW SPARROW, W. Hints on House Furnisbing. Eveleigh Nash. London. 1909. p.33.
59. IBID., p.147.
60. OP CIT., (50) p.250.
61. OP CIT., (50) p.259.
62. OP CIT., (50) p.239.
63. ABERCROMBIE, P. The Modern House. Hodder and Stoughton. London. 1939.
64. BLISS, D. Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Glasgow College of Art. 1967.
65. BRANDON-JONES, J. Conversation with P. Savage 11.9.71.
66. WALKER, D. Conversation with P. Savage 7.9.71.

Chapter 8 : List of figures

1. An architectural fantasy, by James Buckle.
2. Formakin, Renfrewshire. Country house by R.S. Lorimer.

APPENDIXSources of Information on Lorimer

The main sources of information on Lorimer which are dealt with here are: 1. the business papers of the office; 2. the various sources of existing letters; 3. the office drawings; 4. Lorimer's sketch books; 5. catalogues; 6. secondary sources, including magazines and books on Lorimer.

Lists have been made as follows:-

- No. 1: Bound office records (inc. diaries)
- 2: Miscellaneous bound papers
- 3: Lorimer's sketch books
- 4: RSA catalogues
- 5: Items in The Builder
- 6: Items in The Architectural Review
- 7: Items in the Country Life.

1. Business papers of the office [lists 1 and 2]

The account books, letter and certificate books of the office have been assembled by Stuart Matthew, in whose possession they are, from a number of places, while this study has been in progress. The haphazard sequence in the numbering of books 1 to 19 reflects this. Indeed, the first certificate book of all, covering the period 10.6.1892 to 11.12.1894 was found after this thesis had been typed. It

shows that the first job on which payments were made was Aberlour House in Banff (from 10.6.1892); 7, Albyn Place, Edinburgh, was the second (29.10.92); The Grange, North Berwick, was the third (10.9.93) and Westbrook, Balerno, the fourth for which payments started on 10.7.1893. The second certificate book closed on the 29th July 1896 (Book 13) without any payments on Earlshall, Fife, having been made. The entries in these two books, are all in Lorimer's hand.

The office diaries numbered between 31 and 45 were lent to me as a group by Stuart Matthew and gaps in the numbers were left for further diaries which were thought to be around. They have not been found and the gaps remain.

LIST NO. I. BOUND OFFICE RECORDS, ETC.

Bound volumes of papers in possession of Stuart Matthew, Esq., of 14 Lyndoch Place, Edinburgh.

Book no.	1	Estimates 1901-07
	2	Letter copy book 1897-1906
	3	Certificates 1905-11
	4	" 1909-22
	5	" 1901-07
	6	Expenses 1903-10
	7	Certificates 1922-28
	8	" 1923-29
	9	" 1912
	10	" 1921
	11	" 1920
	12	" 1910

Book no.	13	Certificates	1894-6
	14	"	1928
	15	"	1892-4
	16	"	1910-11
	17	"	1927-28
	18	"	1922
	19	"	1911

Book no.	31	Office Diary	1905
	32		1907
	33		1908
	34		
	35		1910
	36		1911
	37		
	38		1915
	39		1918
	40		1919
	41		
	42		
	43		1926
	44		1927
	45		1928

LIST NO. 2. MISCELLANEOUS BOUND PAPERS.

One bound volume is in the possession of Hew Lorimer, Esq., of Kellie Castle, Fife.

Book No. 48 accounts 1896-1906 onion skin copies of accounts in long hand.

One bound volume is in the possession of Mrs. M. Swan, 63, Falcon Avenue, Edinburgh, 10;

Book No. 49 Scrap book, 1917-28, news cuttings, sketches and office memoranda for the Scottish National War Memorial.

2. Letters

Four main sources of letters have been drawn upon.

i) Mrs. Farfan (c/o Sir Lorimer Dods, 8 Albert Street, Edge Cliff, New South Wales, Australia), lent me 64 personal letters which passed from Lorimer to R.^S. Dods between 1896 and 1920, and which remain in her possession. When Mrs. Farfan decided to return to Australia, I xeroxed the entire series of letters but unfortunately the dates on several letters did not print for one reason or another. I had given each letter a serial number based on the year, and position in sequence of the letters. Thus between July and September 1899, (99/3), for example, indicates the third letter of 1899 and July and September the dates of the 2nd and 4th letter. A few undated fragments are included with the letters. These have been dated within a year by their subject matter. Thus (01/A2) indicates its probable date as 1901; that it is additional to the regularly numbered letters, and that it is the second such fragment for 1901.

ii) Christopher Lorimer has permitted me to quote from several letters which passed between Lorimer and his mother.

iii) Stuart Matthew has permitted me to use the incoming office letters (reputed 600) which remain in his possession. They have been used for Chapter Six mainly.

iv) Book No. 2 contains 894 onion skin copies of letters going out from the office between June 1897 and November 1906. They are in the hand of the various members of the office staff until the last letter but one dated 5 November 1906 which is typed. One further letter in longhand was sent out on the 19th November 1906, thereafter the final 105 pages of the book are blank!

3. Office drawings

A large number of drawings, 'The Lorimer Collection' have been deposited by Stuart Matthew with the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments in Melville Street in Edinburgh. Some hundreds of these drawings have been catalogued, and these numbers marked on the drawings. Some reference has been made to the numbers in the text. The greater number of these drawings have still to be catalogued. The presentation drawings prepared for the Royal Scottish Academy exhibitions and illustrated in the magazines, have passed, almost without exception, into private hands. None have turned up during the preparation of this thesis, except for a few still in Stuart Matthew's possession.

4. Lorimer's sketchbooks [list 3]

A number of books of details carefully drawn by Lorimer for use in the office vanished shortly after the Great War and at about the time a member of staff emigrated to Canada. Leslie Graham MacDougall has refused, however, to say who it was, or might have been. Lorimer's own sketch books - 28 of them - are in Christopher Lorimer's possession, and I am indebted to him for their loan - en bloc. This has allowed me to number them in sequence chronologically from 51 to 77. No obvious gaps occur.

What do these sketch books reveal? The first is dated 1887 when he was under Articles, and the last 1927 which was within 2 years of his death. This sequence of books covers his working life and provides a record of some of his interests, and of the things which he chose to draw when he had only himself to please.

The books are filled with a mixture of Gothic buildings and their details, and details of antique furniture, as well as sketches from nature of plants and birds. He sketched also decorative motives of all kinds, including stained glass windows, sculpture, woodwork, tiling, woven and embroidered fabrics. Most sketches are in pencil, a few in pen and ink and a few in colour.

The intention in sketching, which he shared with most architects of his day, was thereby to enrich and extend his own vocabulary of design. The draughtsmanship is clear, accurate even sensitive but there is no attempt to woo the

eye by the quality of the drawing itself. The sketches remain cool, detached, dimensioned and functional.

The first sketch book (dated June 1887), bears the address 22 Brompton Square, London, S.W. However this was crossed out, and Bruntsfield Crescent, Edinburgh, and Kellie Castle, Pittenweem put at the foot of the page. Since Lorimer was still under articles in Edinburgh the book must have been started on a visit to London - it was bought from Parkins & Gotto in Oxford Street - and filled up subsequently. Several pages traced from "Heraldisches Musterbuck", a followed by ironwork details of a gate to a 'Gothic house' in Cheyne Walk.

After his return to Edinburgh he sketched an iron handrail at Holyrood Palace, a church doorway, four gate pillars, from Caroline Park (Grantont), Balcaskie (Fife), Airdrie, and St. Cuthberts (Edinburgh). Four decorated tombstones follow, and more gate pillars at Carnbee (Fife) and Kellie (Fife). Three pages of flowers from nature follow, part of Kellie Castle, details of a Persian brocade, sheeps heads sketched from nature, a pen and ink sketch of Kellie, and of a Venetian hanging lamp. Most of the sketches however are in pencil. A corinthian capital follows, a tomb, deer and horses sketched at Biel (East Lothian), 2 weathercocks, elevations and details to the stables at Donybristle (Fife), and the Drum (Liberton).

The sketch of the Drum, as of Kellie, is a fragment showing the junction of the wings of an 'L' shaped house,

and is centred upon the roof. The effect shown in each case is picturesque, but the emphasis in the drawing suggests that it is the plastic qualities in three dimensions which is Lorimer's prime concern.

Another sketch of Caroline Park is exceptional in that the pattern of light and shade is shaded in. This and the following sketch show Lorimer's early interest in the curved roof planes which were to feature so much in his later work. In August he went to Iona where he sketched traceried windows with mouldings and their profiles. In October he was back in London sketching furniture in the South Kensington Museum. The rest of this sketch book is largely devoted to details, of wooden bosses and alcoves. This first sketch book shows a man of wide catholic tastes but whose main interest was in the decorative details of Gothic or early Renaissance buildings and then furnishings. The second sketch book (Book 52) bought in London and addressed Bruntsfield Crescent (his aunt's house) is dated August 1888. Its contents reveal much the same mixture. Three pages of details of St. Saviours, Southwark, St. Peters in the East, Oxford, Christ Church, Magdalen College and Westminster Hall are titled 'From Pugin', and accompanied by a whole page explaining the setting out of vaults, ending 'Scotts lectures 11-XV'. Wrought iron details from Cambridge follow in profusion and a gable detail of St. John's College in the Dutch manner which was to be used by Lorimer later on the house 'Sheildaig' in Morningside. Interspersed are sketches of angels, cherubs, and symbolic animals.

The first 4 sketchbooks were devoted entirely to sketching. Book 55, dated Jan. 30 1890, and addressed 44 Pembroke Sq., Kensington, dates from the time when Lorimer was working for Bodley in London, and the contents show the gradual change towards the executive architect, foreseeing problems, noting down possible answers, and taking and recording information and decisions. Six pages of notes on the characters of the Christian Saints is followed by an itinerary of a railway journey to Hemwell Grange, 4 pages of general memoranda and a list of hours worked by Maclaren; and by George Scott (probably Lorimer's first site agent since the first account books record salary payments to him).

Book 56, dated 22 June 1890, and addressed 23 Edward Sq., Kensington W, is unusual in that it contains a lot of sketches in colour of windows and tiles and a Persian coverlet from the South Kensington Museum which has much in common with Lorimer's later designs for embroideries. Book 57, is dated June 1890, and addressed 44 Pembroke Square, Kensington, and is filled with sketches of old buildings and details. Book 58, dated 15.11.90, and from 23 Edward Square, shows some sketches of contemporary work, - "Val princess ho by Philip Webb", pp.10-11. "Fortingall Cottages" on pp.34-5 shows a pair of detached cottages similar to those attributed to James Maclaren 1891-2 by Robert Macleod in his book on Charles Rennie Mackintosh published by Country Life in 1968 (pp.18-19). Lorimer's sketch is dated 2.7.91. Page 40 shows a gate lodge by

the American architect Richardson. Lorimer sketched very little contemporary work indeed, but this gate lodge and house with their simple plain surfaces, picturesque grouping, round towers and conical roofs, have a close affinity to Lorimer's 'Colinton manner', although they are on a larger scale. The rest of the book is filled with notes of London jobs.

Book 59, is dated Paris May 30 1894, and contains mostly sketches of a tour in France including some 20 pages of garden details of trellis, arbours, benches, etc. Book 60 contains sketches of further trips to France and working notes, The costs of Ellarey 24.11.94, Plans for Ormelie and for Pentland Cottage and for 'The Ideal gate lodge Plan'.

Book 61, with the address of his first office 49 Queen Street, was started in Oxford in 1896, and contains sketches of church towers and colleges. Also a series of Scottish Castles. On the last page is noted - 'Philip Webb's London work Lincoln Inn, Palace Gardens, Chelsea - Glebe Place, Val Princeps house'. Book 62, dated 23 xii 96, is a small pocket book with a mixture of new cuttings and quotations, the apparently random selection of which, suggests that Lorimer was still struggling to find himself. Book 63, is dated 6 IV 98, from 49 Queen Street, and is a jumble of working notes and lists, sketches and photos of a visit to Holland and list of purchases. Two illustrations of Art Nouveau panels are included taken from magazines.

Book 64, is dated 21 Dec. 99 from Queen Street, and it

is also a complete jumble of material and dates. Sketches are dated 1902 and 1903 in France and 3 pages are devoted to a list of Tapestries for sale. An illustration of a sketch of Ernest George's 'Yellow house' Bayswater Road has been gummed in, and also a photo of Sir Arthur Blomfield's Barclays Bank in Fleet Street. Both Books 63 and 64 contain sketches, which seem to be for new buildings but always very loosely drawn and slight. They must have been worked up elsewhere.

Book 65 from 49 Queen Street starts with notes on Brackenbrough dated 10 iii 1902. This was a busy period for Lorimer and the whole book is filled with scrappy notes of many jobs - "Tods house St. Andrews 25 ii 1903 rain coming in several places". The few rough sketches are of decorative details so characteristic of him. Book 66, dated 14 vii 1903, is also filled with working notes and has even more pages than Book 65 cut out. Perhaps these were instructions handed out on site. Book 67 dated 17.xi.1905, Book 68 dated 11.ix.06 and Book 69 of Sept. 1907 are similarly filled and only serve to show how rushed Lorimer must have been. Book 70, however, is filled with details of his visits to Italy in October of 1909. Book 71 dated 14.ix.11 bears the address of his Edinburgh town house, 54 Melville Street, and contains details drawn during his visit to Germany in 1913 and a diary of his visit to Italy in 1926.

Book 72 is rubber stamped Sir Robert Lorimer ARSA etc., and is filled with memoranda and working notes. Page 7

notes - "City surveyor, Town Hall Oxford 5 xi 13 re tin church". Lorimer was in Oxford again in 1914 but the notes about stonework do not say for what building. Page 63 is headed - 'Memorials 10 x 15', a foretaste of the work which was to provide most of the work for the next decade.

Book 73, dated 12 xii 16, is addressed 17 Gt. Stuart Street, Sir Robert's second office in Edinburgh. It is filled with notes and long lists of furniture and fittings. Perhaps with building being so much reduced by the war, he had more time for these things. His draughtsmanship which hitherto had been light and precise was becoming heavier and coarser. Book 74 of the same date and address as Book 73 is filled with notes and details of memorials, and so is Book 76, dated 17 xi 19.

Book 77 of 14 viii 25, 5 years later is largely filled with details of memorials, but building had recommenced and several pages of memoranda are on Stowe Chapel. The last sketch book No. 78, is dated 23 vii 1928, 17 Gt Stuart Street. It starts with 8 pages describing his tour of Sweden. Despite his exhaustion following the hard years of toil on The Scottish National War Memorial, as soon as he was released from the distractions of work on site, his draughtsmanship regained its delicacy and precision.

Taken as a whole, these sketch books show a busy person making time to note a constant succession of things which interested him taken down as memoranda rather than for their own aesthetic pleasure. His main interest was

in the Gothic style down to its last details. Yet amid this preoccupation he cast some glances on more contemporary and plain work. In all these books reflect clearly the practising architect.

LIST NO. 3. LORIMER'S SKETCHBOOKS

Twenty-eight sketchbooks in the possession of
Christopher Lorimer, Esq., Gibliston, Fife.

Book no.	51	sketch	notes	1897
	52	"	"	1888
	53	"	"	1888
	54	"	"	1889
	55	"	"	1890
	56	"	"	1890
	57	"	"	1890
	58	"	"	1890
	59	"	"	1894
	60	"	"	1895
	61	"	"	1896
	62	"	"	1896
	63	"	"	1898
	64	"	"	1899
	65	"	"	1902
	66	"	"	1903
	67	"	"	1905
	68	"	"	1906
	69	"	"	1907
	70	"	"	1909
	71	"	"	1911
	72	"	"	1913
	73	"	"	1916
	74	"	"	1917
	75	"	"	1919
	76	"	"	1925
	77	"	"	1927

5. Catalogues

Lorimer and Lutyens contributed designs for cottages to a catalogue for Messrs. Hopes Steel Windows. It is undated but from around 1920. Messrs Shanks (of Barrhead) Catalogue, list 385, of June 1949 shows the Remirol W.C. set on p.146.

An almost complete range of R.S.A. Catalogues is to be found at the Central Library Fine Art department Edinburgh. A list of his 57 exhibits follows as well as the 23 exhibits for his memorial exhibition of work at the 1930 R.S.A. Exhibition.

LIST NO. 4. R.S.A. CATALOGUES

- 1893 Lorimer, R.S. ARIBA. 42 Queen St.
 492 Church of St. Anne, Dunbar, proposed reredos
 506 Gate house and stables, Earlshall
 509 Gateway to garden in Banffshire
- 1894 Lorimer, R.S. ARIBA. 1 Bruntisfield Crescent.
 516 A house at North Berwick
 528 New Manse, West Wemyss
- 1895 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
 461 Ellary, Argyllshire, restoration after fire
 462 Stronachullin, Argyllshire
- 1896 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
 462 St. Marnocks, County Dublin, for Jas. Jameson, Esq.,
 489 3 small houses at Colinton D.L.
 502 Earlshall Fife. The house and garden as restored.

- 1897 Lorimer R.S. 49 Queen Street.
497 Mounie Aberdeenshire
502 Balcarres, New gate house
533 3 Cottages at Colinton
- 1898 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
554 Brigland Kinrossshire
- 1899 Lorimer R.S. 49 Queen Street
570 Houses at North Berwick and Colinton and
gate lodge at Briglands.
662 Pulpit for new church of the Good Shepherd
Murrayfield
- 1900 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
557 Hallyards Peebles
- 1901 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
637 Foxcovert, part of additions and new gate house
Earlshall
- 1902 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street
650 St. Andrews Helsingfors, Finland
- 1903 Lorimer, R.S. 49 Queen Street.
425 Church of Good Shepherd and Briglands
- 1904 no entry, but Robt. S. Lorimer listed with associates.
- 1905 Lorimer, R.S. (Associate) 49 Queen Street.
427 High Barn, Surrey.
433 Pitkerro, Forfarshire.
- 1906 Lorimer, R.S. (A) 49, Queen Street.
314 Hallyburton, Coupar Angus, Alterations
- 1907 Catalogue not available.
- 1908 Lorimer, Robert Stodart (A) 49 Queen St.
396 Barton Hartshorn, Bucks
405 Formakin, Bishopton
409 Skirling, Peebleshire.
- 1909 Lorimer, R.S. (A) 49 Queen Street.
358 Wemyss Hall, Cupar, Fife.
- 1910 Lorimer, Robert Stodart (A) 49 Queen Street.
368 Ardkinglas, Argyllshire
- 1911 Lorimer, R.S. (A) 49 Queen Street.
416 Rowallan, Ayr.
427 Brackenbrough
472 Memo. panel to Miss Fairweather, Carnbee
- 1912 Lorimer, Sir Robt. (A) 49 Queen Street
469 Pittencrieff house restoration

- 1913 Lorimer, Sir Robt. (A) 49 Queen Street
441 New Club, Edinburgh, Coffee Room.
468 Monzie Castle
- 1914 Lorimer, Sir Robt (A) 17 Great Stuart Street.
533 Proposed Cross, Paisley
534 Cottage at Colinton for J.A. Will
- 1915 Lorimer Sir R. (A) 17 Great Stuart Street
580 Dunblane Castle, choir stalls organ case and
screen
- 1916 Lorimer Sir R. (A) 17 Great Stuart Street
572 Kinellan, Murrayfield
- 1917 Lorimer Sir R (A) 17 Great Stuart Street
514 Chapel of the Order of the Thistle, St. Giles
- 1918 Lorimer Sir R (A) 17 Great Stuart Street
659 Whitekirk Parish Church
- 1919 No entry by R.S.L.
- 1920 Lorimer Sir Robt. (A) 17 Great Stuart Street
706 Merton College Chapel, proposed memorial screen
and organ
708 Westminster School, revised design for War Memorial
- 1921 Lorimer, Sir Robt. ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart Street
558 Selkirk War Memorial
570 St. John's Latting Town
573 Kelso War Memorial
- 1922 Lorimer Sir Robert, ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart Street
582 Naval War Memorial
594 War Memorial for Queenstown, South Africa
598 Paisley War Memorial
- 1923 Lorimer Sir Robt. ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart Street
523 Eton College, East end of chapel.
- 1924 No entry for RSL
- 1925 Lorimer, Sir Robt. ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart Street
689 Paisley War Memorial
712 St. Johns Lattingtown
722 Marchmont, Berwick
- 1926 Catalogue not available
- 1927 Lorimer Sir Robt. ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart Street
590 Castle Fraser, Aberdeenshire

- 1928 Lorimer, Sir Robt. KBE, ARA, RSA, 17 Great Stuart St.
 592 Chapel for Stowe, Bucks.
 555 Douglas Strachan. 7 cartoons for Scottish National War Memorial
- 1929 Lorimer, Sir Robt. KBE, ARA, RSA (Lorimer & Matthew)
 17, Great Stuart Street.
 638 University of Edinburgh, New Dept. of Zoology
 639 University of Edinburgh, Animal Breeding research dept.
- 1930 Lorimer, the late Sir Robt. KBE, RSA, ARA,
 588 Earlshall, Fife, and Foxcovert, Corstorphine
 589 Thistle Chapel
 590 St. Johns Lattingtown
 591 Craigmyle, Torphin
 592 Scottish National War Memorial
 593 Balcarres & Fettercairn
 594 Memorials in Oak
 595 Thistle Chapel
 596 Paisley War Memorial
 597 Scottish Nat. War Memorial
 598 Scottish Nat. War Memorial
 599 St. Peters R.C. Church
 600 Scottish Nat. War Memorial
 601 Barton Hartshorn
 602 Dunblane Cathedral
 603 Thistle Chapel
 604 8 Great Western Terrace
 605 Whitekirk Church
 606 St. Johns Church, Perth
 607 Midfield & Westerlea
 608 Rowallan Ayrshire
 609 Paisley Abbey
 610 St. Andrews, Helsingfors

6. Secondary Sources

The Builder was the first magazine to publish Lorimer's work, and it continued to do so throughout his working life. The list of important mentions is as follows:

LIST NO. 5. THE BUILDER MAGAZINE

- Vol. 69 13.7.1895, p.31. Earlshall stable (drawings)
 69 28.9.1895, p.228. Manse, West Wemyss
 71 17.10.1896, pp.304-5. Furniture exhibit no. 328
 73 25.9.1897
 74 12.2.1898. Mounie, Aberdeenshire (drawings)
 75 11.7.1898
 76 13.3.1899
 77 30.12.1899. Playfair Memo'l. (description & plate)
 79 22.11.1900. Balcarres, Ellary. (Drawings, Notes p.568)
 86 9.1.1904, p.37. Hallyards (note)
 89 21.10.1905, p.420 & 432. Pitkerro (sketches)
 101 21.7.1911, pp.62-4. Thistle Chapel (description 46 whole plates)
 103 July 1912, p.12. Notice of Knighthood
 114 1918, p.9. Iympne ($\frac{1}{2}$ plate), p.10, plan + 2 full plates
 119 1920, pp.448-9. Glenelg War Memol. also p.450 (description and 2 photos)
 121 1921, p.670 & 4. Screen, Westminster Hall, stained glass by Strachan, (photo & notes)
 122 1922. p.187. Paisley War Memol. maquette (photo)
 126 1924, pp.446-7. Lattintown Chapel. (2 photos)
 127 1924, pp.158-9. Paisley War Memo (2 photos)
 133 1927, pp.42,3,5,6,7,50,1,80,3,8,9,118-9,122-3. The Scottish N.W. Memo.
 136 1929, p.982, p.6. 2 memorials
 1929, pp.4,5,8,13. Paisley Abbey
 1929, pp.48-9,50,61,67-71. St. Johns Perth

The Architectural Review which was ultimately to supplant the Builder as the most important channel for architectural reportage began to publish Lorimer's work in 1899 and continued throughout his career. A list of the more important mentions follows:

LIST NO. 6. THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW MAGAZINE (LONDON)

- Vol. Nov. 1899 Article by Lorimer 'On Scottish Gardens' pp.4-15.

- Vol. 27 Feb. 1910. Number largely devoted to Lorimer's work, lymgne, Glen, St. Peters, Wemyss Hall, Ardkinglas, Barton Hartshorn.
- 28 1910 pp.225-6. Library. St. Andrews Univ.
- 33 Feb. 1913. $\frac{3}{4}$ plate Dressing glass.
- 45 1919. pp.111-4. Earlshall by Nathaniel Lloyd
- 46 1920. pp.14-18. Earlshall Pt.ii.
- 53 1923. p.68. Review of 'Details of Scottish Domestic Archre' by Ross and Lorimer
- 54 1923. pp.12-16. leaves from a sketch book
- 55 1924. p.155. Review of Lorimer's exhibit at the Arch. Club by Darcy Braddell (Exhibits Nos.305-310).
- 59 1926. p.165. Rowallan, Ellary, Ardkinglas
170. St. Baldreds
175. Marblefont
270. Article by Lorimer on Lazaro's bank.

Lorimer's early architectural work did not reach the pages of 'The Studio' Magazine. His furniture earned an occasional mention - "the furniture designed by R.S. Lorimer at the last exhibition was so good that this time one refers to his contributions with some degree of certainty that they will be admirable" (Vol. 9, pp.196-7). His embroidery designs also caught its notice. A bedspread was described - "as garden-like in colour as it is quaintly conventional in design" (Vol. 21, p.126-8). Volume 18 had remarked on page 272 that - "Mr. Lorimer, Architect of Edinburgh, and Mr Oscar Paterson, Glasspainter of Glasgow, are the only Scottish members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society".

Similarly, little of Lorimer's work reached the pages of the annual year book of decorative art produced by the Studio. The 1905 year book illustrated three fire places by Lorimer (on p.94 and 101) with short descriptive notes, and finally in 1907 for the first (and last) time the year

book illustrated on page 31, one of Lorimer's houses - Weaponess House, Scarborough.

Shaw Sparrow's coverage of Lorimer's work has been dealt with already. His imitators in the main catered for more popular levels of taste, often carrying a lot of thinly veiled advertising for particular merchants. J.H. Elder Duncan was one such editor of 'The House Beautiful and Useful', published in 1907 by Cassell in London. Two half plate illustrations of Hallyburton, Forfarshire, were given on page 202 with the comment that - "The furniture and tapestry etc., were all selected by the Architect". The following year, 1908, saw the publication in Aberdeen of a book 'Domestic Architecture in Scotland' (Daily Journal). Pages 34 to 40 describe Ardkinglas, Wemyss Hall and Pitkerro.

Lorimer's first meeting with Weaver is difficult to pin down. The Country Life in November 1910 carried an article on Lympne signed 'W', and the introductory article in the whole number of the Country Life devoted to Lorimer's work (September 17, 1913) was contributed by Weaver. A list of the main articles on Lorimer's work contributed to the Country Life follows:

LIST NO. 7. COUNTRY LIFE MAGAZINE (LONDON)

- 1. 7.1905. Earlshall
- 12.11.1910. pp.682-9. Lympne Castle
- 15. 7.1911. pp.81-5. Thistle Chapel

27. 9.1913. A full number on the work of Sir Robert Lorimer
 9. 5.1914. pp.672-5. The Fairy Fountain, Berlin.
 Article by RSL.
 17. 8.1918. pp.132-8. Gretna, an article by RSL.
 16. 7.1927. pp.1-20. Scottish National War Memorial
 20. 7.1929. pp.95-6. Stowe Chapel

Some of Weaver's books have been cited already but mention should be made of others not previously discussed which refer to Lorimer. They were all published by Country Life in the years around the Great War. 'The House and its Equipment' illustrates built-in furniture at Lympe (p.17), the attic plan room of 2 Laverockdale (p.52), a piano designed by Lorimer and decorated by Mrs. Traquair (p.63), a shower bath at Ardkinglas (p.100) also the dam and salmon ladder (p.114) two light fittings (pp.122-3).

'The Country Life Book of Cottages' of 1913 illustrates a gardener's cottage at Hill of Tarvit, Fife (pp.60-62), as well as the lodge and gates for Balcarres, Fife (pp.161-2), and for Pitkerro (p.162).

'Small Country Houses, their repair and enlargement' of 1914 devoted chapter 25 (pp.142-9) to Briglands, Kinrossshire, and Pittencrieff house Dunfermline. Chapter 20 (pp.121-125) describes Barton Hartshorn, Buckinghamshire. Lorimer in turn looked at Weaver's work and in 1912 the R.I.B.A. Journal (11.1.1913, Vol.20, pp.142-6) carried Lorimer's review of the 'Gardens for small country houses' by Weaver and Gertrude Jekyll (Country Life, London).

Weaver's generous coverage of Lorimer's work in the 'Memorials and Monuments' published in 1915 has been

mentioned. The 'Small country houses of today' published in 1919 contains a chapter (no.11, pp.64-70) on Laverockdale, the most baronial of all the houses in Colinton.

The way in which public opinion had been focussed on Lorimer as a Scottish Lutyens (by Weaver and before Hussey came on the scene) is reflected by the following entry from p.189 'Who's who in architecture' (Architectural Press, London, 1926).

'Lorimer, Sir Robert Stodart, ARA., RSA., FRIBA., FSA., b 1864, address 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh. Tel. Edinburgh 725.

Appt: Principal Architect to the Imperial War Graves Commission in Great Britain, Italy, Egypt, Macedonia and Germany.

Arch. Educ.: Entered the office of Sir Rowand Anderson, Ll.D., in Edinburgh as a pupil (1885); and served $4\frac{1}{2}$ years; after travelling in England, entered office in London of G.F. Bodley, R.A., and remained there 18 months. Commenced practice in Edinburgh 1893.

Works: New chapel for Knights of the Thistle, St. Giles's Cathedral Edinburgh, 1909; Ardkinglas and Dunderave Castle, Argyllshire for Sir Andrew Noble, Bart.; Marchmont House, Berwickshire for F.M. McEwan, Esq.; Lympne Castle, Kent, for Frank Tennant, Esq.; Rowallan, Ayrshire for J. Cameron Corbett, Esq.; Restorations (after fire) of:- Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, for his Grace the Duke of Sutherland; Balmano Castle, Perthshire for W.S. Miller, Esq.;

Monzie Castle, Crieff, for Macgill Crichton, Esq.; and the Glen, Innerleithen for Sir Charles Tennant; Architect for the Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh Castle; restoration of choir, Paisley Abbey Church; restoration of St. John's Church Perth.' Lorimer's telegraphic address might be added to this. It was 'Rampart' until it was changed in 1901 to 'Plinth'.

The first review of Lorimer's work after his death was made by his student Leslie Graham Thomson (later McDougal). It appeared in the Quarterly of the Incorporation of Architects in Scotland in 1929 not long after Lorimer's death. Much was compressed into eight pages but the illuminating thought was that - 'In Modern Swedish Architecture is to be found a certain traditional feeling combined with a modernity of outlook, which is almost entirely free from the crudities of archaism on the one hand and ultra modernism on the other. It was in his purely Scottish work, conceived in a similar vein, that Sir Robert Lorimer was at his happiest'. (p.65).

The next review to be made was one for a southern audience by his longstanding friend Frank Deas, in a paper given before the R.I.B.A. in London in February 1931. It appeared in the Journal on 21.2.1931 (p.239) and 7.3.1931 (p.292). An edited edition was printed in the E.A.A. transactions (Vol. X, Pillans and Wilson, Edinburgh 1933 pp.113-126). He spoke of Lorimer's many qualities - 'In themselves no one of them may have been very remarkable,

but I think you will agree that such a total incombination is distinctly rare'. The interpretation he gave of Lorimer's work was prosaic and it reveals none of the flashes of insight which might have been expected from one of Lorimer's closer and longest confidants. So it was that the critical appreciations of Weaver, Thomson and Deas passed to Hussey to be woven into the only full length book to appear on Lorimer's work.

The values for which Lorimer stood have been further eroded as the date of his death has receded further into the past. Stirling Maxwell, in his 'Shrines and Homes of Scotland' (Maclehose, London, 1937), pp.206-9) gives a short appreciation of Lorimer in which he suggests that Lorimer's strength as a designer was that - 'he recognised that the character of a building is not determined by form alone, that it ties even more, though less obviously, in texture, scale and silhouette, in the relation of part to part, the pitch of roof, the subtle battering of walls, the pleasant irregularity which enlivens work done by hand and eye without mechanical guides' (p.207).

If such was the strength of Lorimer, Stirling Maxwell tells also of a story which points a weakness - 'Once, when designing a small house, it was suggested that the housewife might find single sheets of plate glass easier to clean than sashes divided by astragals into several small panes. "I realise that", said he, "but I don't see how any character can be put into a little house like this without astragals".' (p.207)

The advances of technology bring mixed blessings but the advantages can not be ignored. It is this conservatism, in Lorimer's work, perhaps, which has led Patrick Nutgens to express the view that Lorimer's major contribution was a - 'Masterly manipulation of the forms of Scottish Baronial' (Reginald Fairlie, A Scottish Architect, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1959, p.9). Nutgens is not alone in this view, but that Lorimer had higher capabilities, has become more evident as the sources on Lorimer have been explored.

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LIST OF WORKS

The preface has given reasons why a catalogue raisonné was abandoned as the main aim of this thesis. Nevertheless, information has come to light during this study which allows some additions to be made to Christopher Hussey's list. The notes which follow consist of works not mentioned by Hussey (and given here in Capitals) as well as information additional to Hussey's entries, or corrective of them (and given in lower case).

The dates given by Hussey refer usually to the year of each commission. The only final dates arrived at in this study, are the years in which particular buildings came on to the valuation roll. The dates for other buildings are those of the earliest mention found in the account books. Such dates are marked with asterisks.

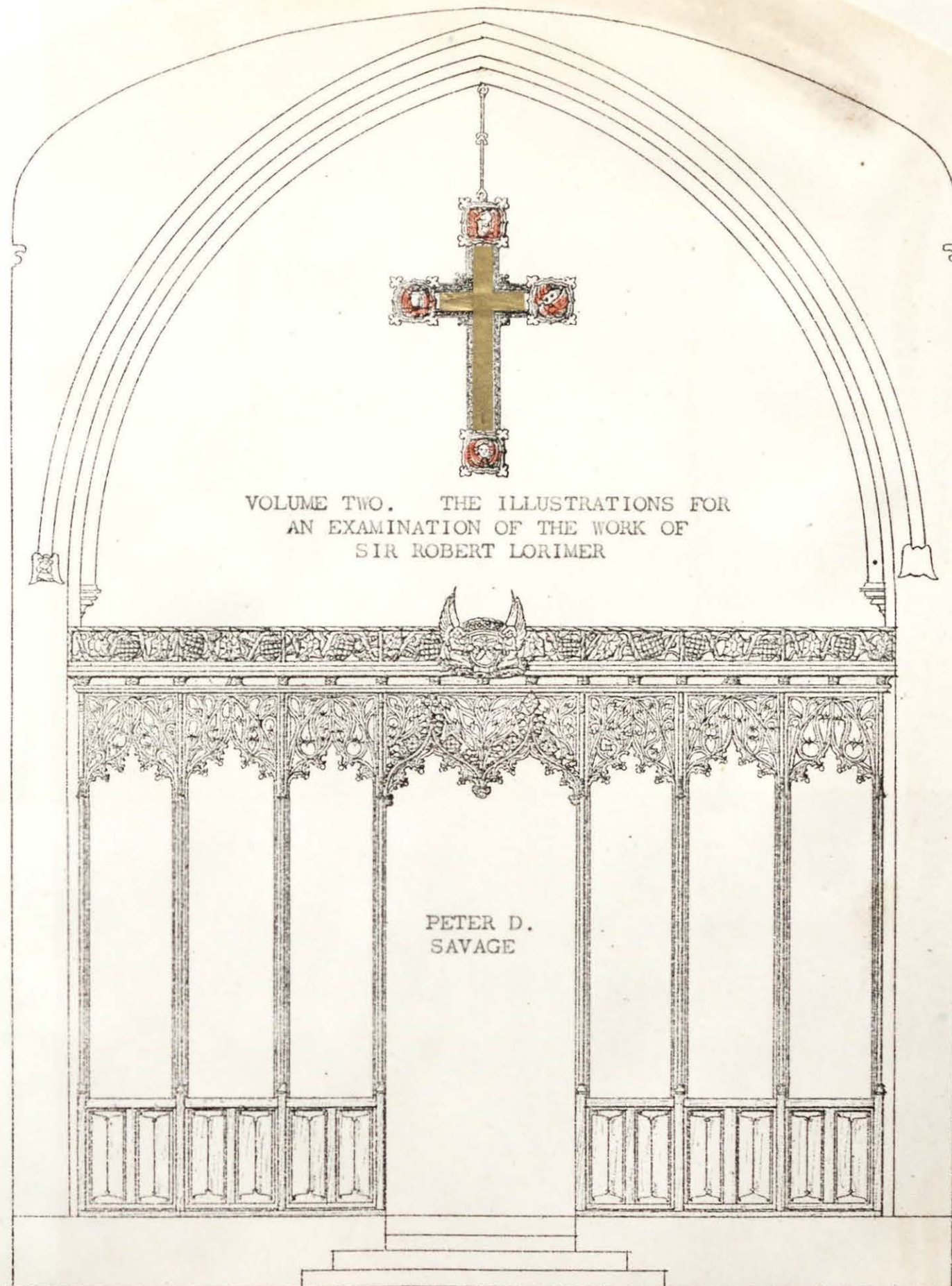
NOTES, supplementary to the chronological list of works by Christopher Hussey.

- 1890 ARTHUR R D., Wimbledon, London. House probably demolished.
- 1891 ABELLOUR HO., Banff. Gateway and alterations*.
- 1893 Colinton Cottage, 23, Pentland Avenue, Colinton. Cottage for Miss Guthrie Wright.
- 1895 Clousta Hotel, Shetland. Pre-fabricated wood building, since burnt-out.
- Roxobel, 14, Gillespie Road, Colinton. Cottage for Ronay Dougal.
- 1897 Cottages at Colinton. This entry by Hussey refers to:-
BINLEY COTTAGE, 42, Pentland Avenue, Colinton, for Lord Pearson.
WESTFIELD, 40, Pentland Avenue, Colinton, for Miss Guthrie Wright.
PENTLAND COTTAGE, 21, Gillespie Road, Colinton, for Dr. Downie.
- 1898 Teviotdale, Abbotsford Road, is the house at North Berwick for Mr. Stewart.
- 1899 St. Andrews, 13, Elizabetsgaten is the house at Helsingfors, Finland, for Ossian Donner.
- THE HERMITAGE, 26, Gillespie Road, Colinton. Cottage for C. Sarolea.
- ACHARRA, 3, Spylaw Avenue, Colinton. Cottage for Maj. Meares.
- AIMORA, 49, Spylaw Bank Road, Colinton. Cottage for P. Guthrie.
- TORDUFF, Lanark Road, Juniper Green. Cottage for Miss Bruce.
- MOUNIE, Aberdeenshire. Alterations for Maj. Seton.
- ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, Dunbar. Alterations.
- WHINFOLD, Hascombe, Surrey. Cottage for Mr. Benson.
- FURSEFIELD, Winkworth Hill, for E. Pinks.
- INVERALMOND, Perthshire. Project for 4 cottages not built.
- CORNER COTTAGE designed for Stuart Silver for 4, Spylaw Park. Not built.

- 1901 HUNTLEY, 32, Gillespie Road, Colinton. Cottage for Miss Paterson.
THE ROWANS, 21, Pentland Avenue, Colinton. Cottage.
DILKUSHA, 10, Spylaw Park, Colinton. Cottage for Mr. Walker.
RUSTIC COTTAGES, 1-3, Colinton Road, for Mr. Galletly.
CHURCH OF ST. MARY, North Berwick. Alterations.*
GLENLYON, 47, Spylaw Bank Road, Colinton.
- 1902 RUSTIC COTTAGES, 4-7, Colinton Road, for Mr. Galletly.
Weaponess Park, Scarborough. House for A. Ackland.
LUNDIE, Arncroach, Fife. Cottage remodelled for Mr. Bennet.*
GLENCRAIG PUBLIC HOUSE, Lochgelly.*
- 1903 DUNDERACH, 1, Craiglockhart Park, Edinburgh. House for Walter M. Murray.
Wayside, house in North St. Andrews for C.E. Todd.
- 1904 Risobank, Mandal Norway. Wooden house for Lord Salvesen.
HYNDFORD, North Berwick. Alterations.*
LOGIE, Dunfermline. Alterations for Col. Hunt.*
- 1905 CARMICHAEL BURIAL GROUND, Thankerton.
- 1906 Hartfell, for Mr. Drysdale on Hussey's list is DILKUSHA for Mr. Walker (1901) with extensions for Mr. Drysdale (1906).
SHEILDRAIG, 24, Hermitage Drive, Edinburgh. House for E.C. Jack.
SKIRLING HOUSE, Peebles, for Sir T. Gibson Carmichael. Not built.*
- 1907 THE KNOLL, North Berwick. Alterations for Dr. G.A. Berry.*
HALL AND COTTAGES, Linlithgow Bridge for C. Chalmers.*
BALGILLO, Broughty Ferry. Garden for J.C. Buist. Since destroyed.*
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, Plumpton, Cumberland. For J. Harris.*
- 1908 ESSENDY HO, Perthshire. Alterations for Rev. W. Fraser.*
ST. MARK'S CHURCH, Glasgow. For Rev. Knox.*
- 1909 DAWICK, Peebles. Extension for Mrs. Balfour.*
- 1910 CARBERRY TOWER, Midlothian. Alterations for Lord Elphinstone.*
SKINBURNESS TOWER, Sillioth, Cumberland. Alterations for J.E. Carter.*
- 1911 39, LEXHAM GARDENS, London. Alterations for Sir E. Im Thurn*.
- 1912 BELHAVEN HO, Dunbar. Alterations for K.R. Maitland.*
54, MELVILLE STREET, Edinburgh. Alterations for R.E. Lorimer.*
BALCASKIE, Fife. Entrance Gates.*
ST. MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Broughty Ferry. Alterations.*
- 1913 GLENMAYNE, Galashiels, Selkirk. Entrance Gateway and Library for H.S. Murray.*
- 1914 Stonehouse, 1, Pentland Road, Colinton. House for J.F. Will.
4, DOUGLAS CRESCENT, Edinburgh. Alterations for D. Strachan.*
ST. JOHNS, Alloa. Alterations for Mrs. Younger.*
ST. ANDREWS, Aberdeen. Alterations.*
GRANGE PARK, Dick Place, Edinburgh. Alterations for C.M. Pelham Brown.*

- 1918 WALKER MEMORIA, St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh.*
1921 DUNGALLAN, Oban. Alterations for W.P. Bruce.*
1924 Hurworth Hall, Darlington. Alterations consisted
of a W.C. Since removed.
1928 The Old Farm, is on the corniche du Paradis terrestre,
Cannes. A house in the local manner for Mr.
Playfair.

NOTE. Only alterations costing over £1,000 have been
included in this list. A full list of the War Cemeteries
for which Lorimer was consulted is given on pp.255-264 of
this thesis.



VOLUME TWO. THE ILLUSTRATIONS FOR
AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORK OF
SIR ROBERT LORIMER

PETER D.
SAVAGE

presented for the degree of Ph.D.
in the University of Edinburgh
September 1973

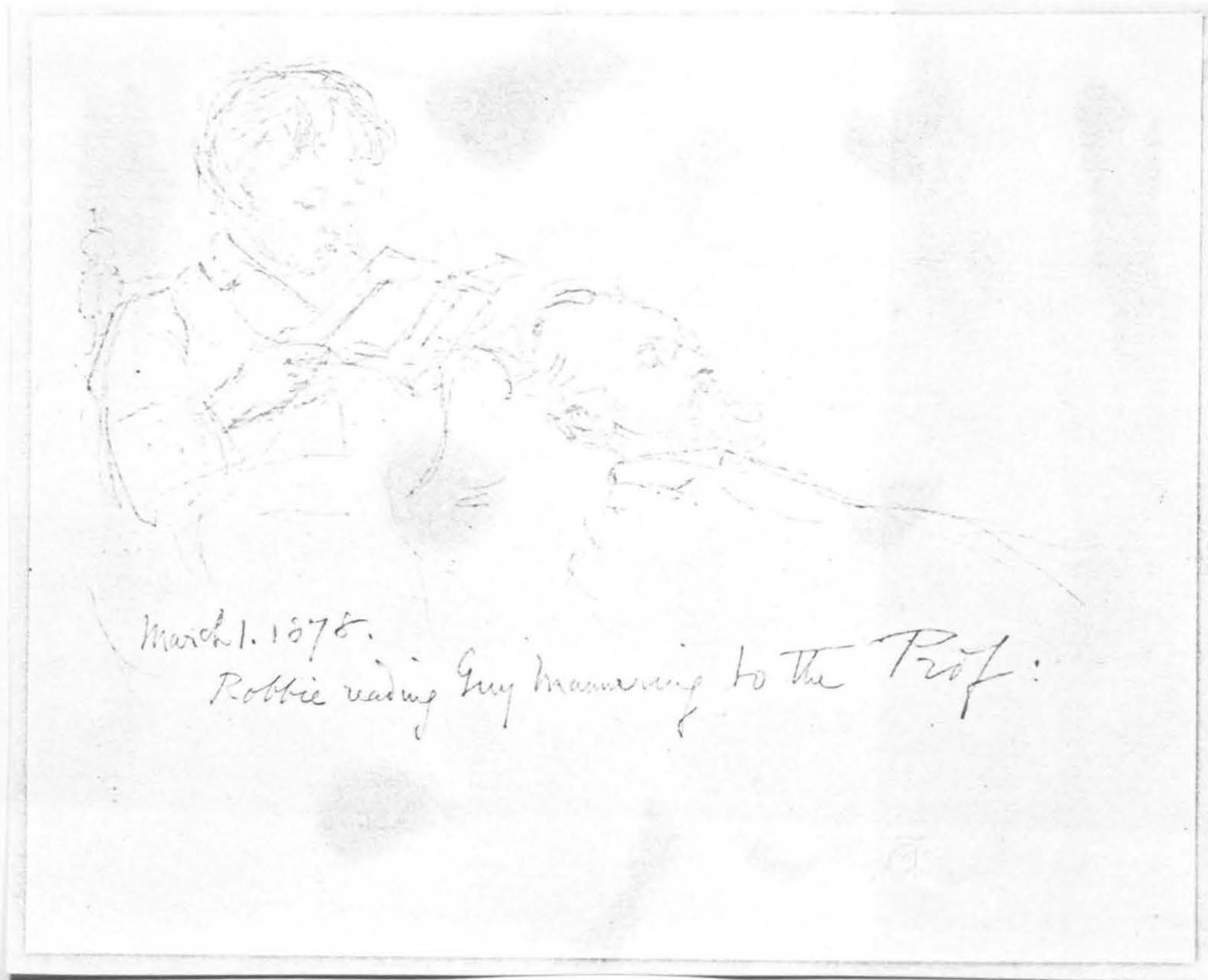
(Chancel screen and rood, St. Andrews, Aberdeen)



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NOTE

The numbering of the figures is by chapters, and a list of the figures for each chapter is given after it (in Vol 1).



Page 1 left. Robert Lorimer reading to his father. Sketch by John Lorimer in Mrs. Swan's possession.

Right. Sir Robert Lorimer c.1925.



FIG. 97.—AT HURTWOOD, SURREY: A STEEP ASCENT.

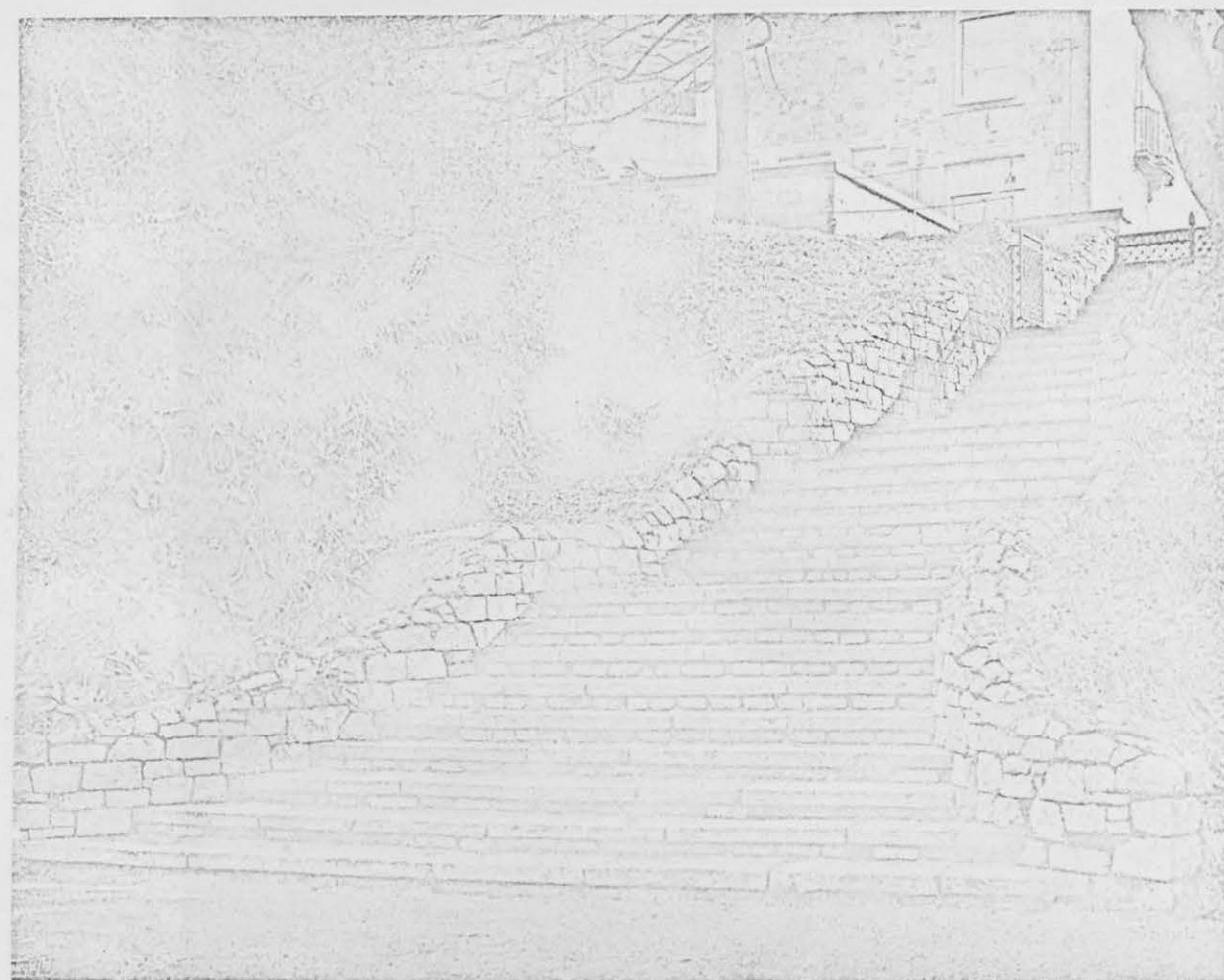
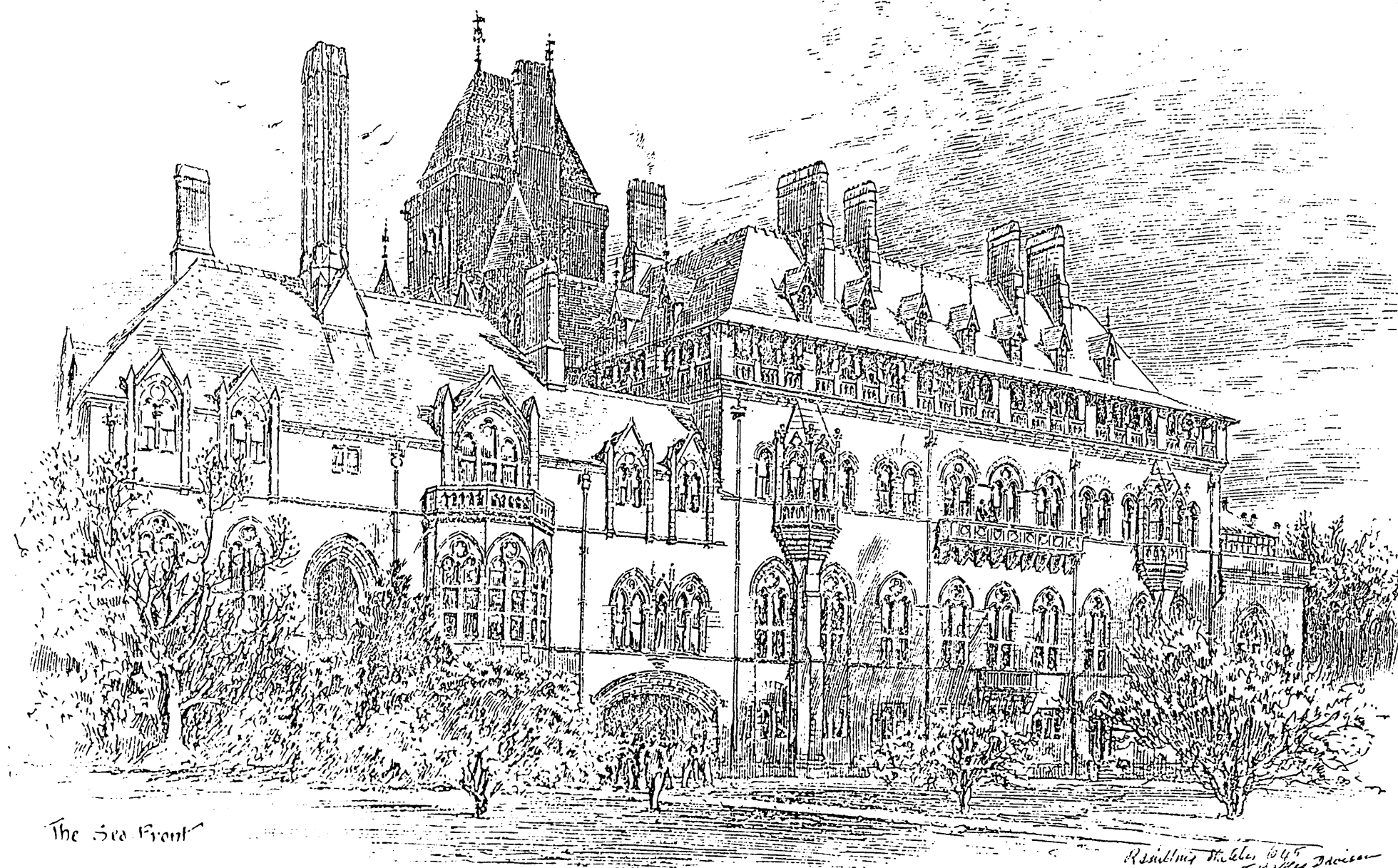


FIG. 112.—WIDENING STAIRWAY AT ARDKINGLAS.

NOTE

Cover sheets have had to be inserted between the pages because some of the photographs from the National Library have proved not to be fast. This necessity was not foreseen and one consequence is that some of the captions have become separated from the illustration to which they refer, by a cover sheet.

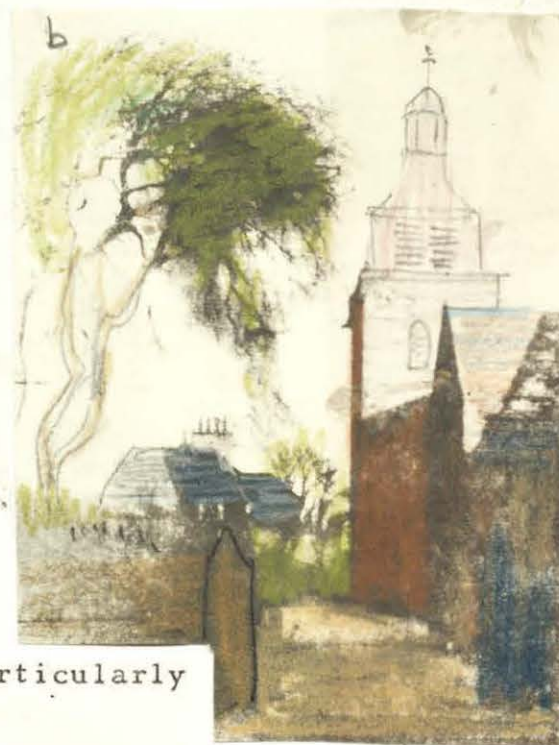
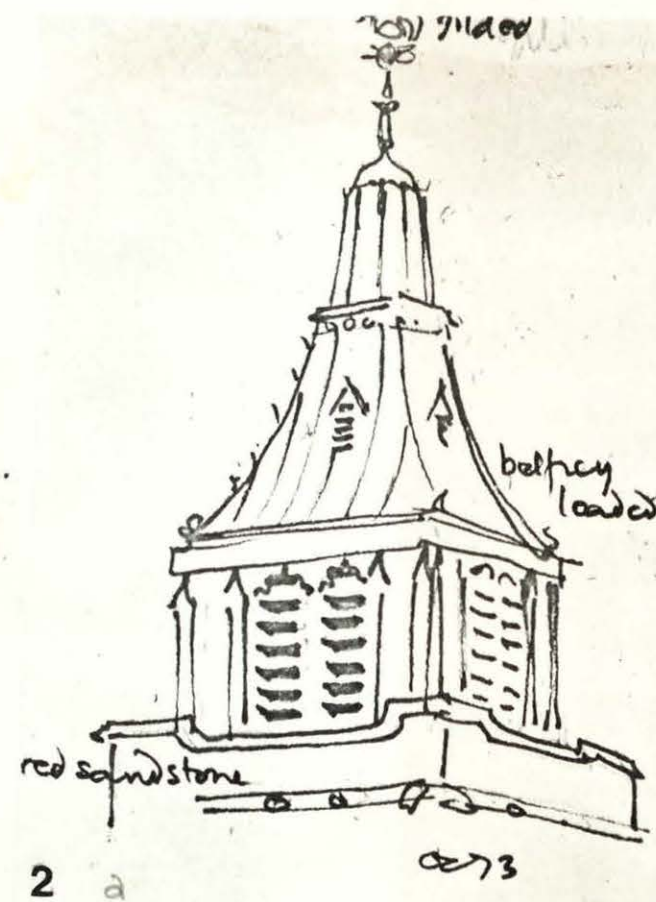
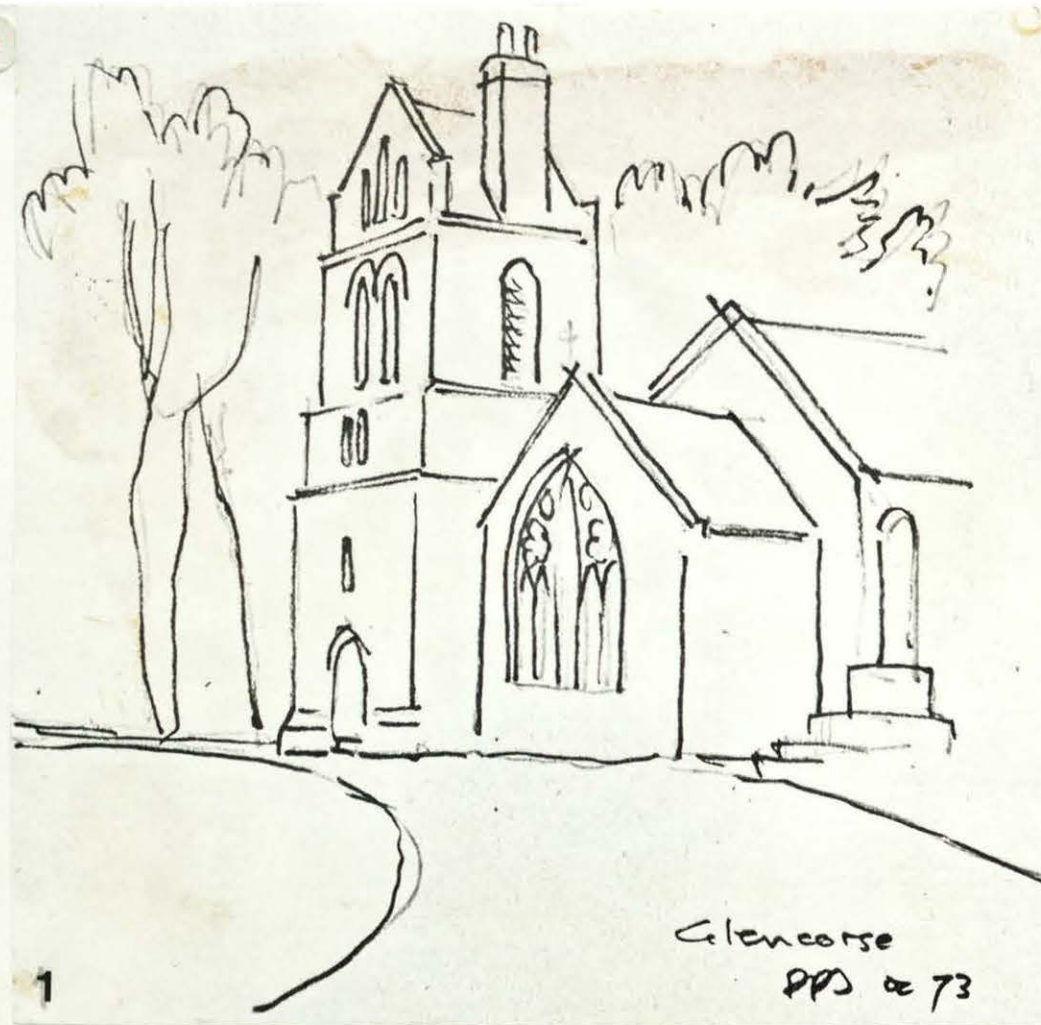


"MOUNT STUART," BUTE.

R. ROWAND ANDERSON, LL.D., ARCHITECT.

BY PERMISSION OF THE MARQUIS OF BUTE.

Figures 1, 2 and 3: 3 works by R.R. Anderson. Works displaying a quality as high as that achieved later by Lorimer, but less restrained and consistent in approach.



Chap.1 Figure 1: Glencourse Church. A dull not particularly well massed building.

Figure 2: St. Cuthbert's Church, Colinton. A building with great charm of detail. Rustic Cottages by Lorimer lie beyond it.

Figure 3: Cottages in Barnshott Road, Colinton - Rowand Anderson in a 'Norman Shaw' mood.

OLD CABINET. EDINBURGH.

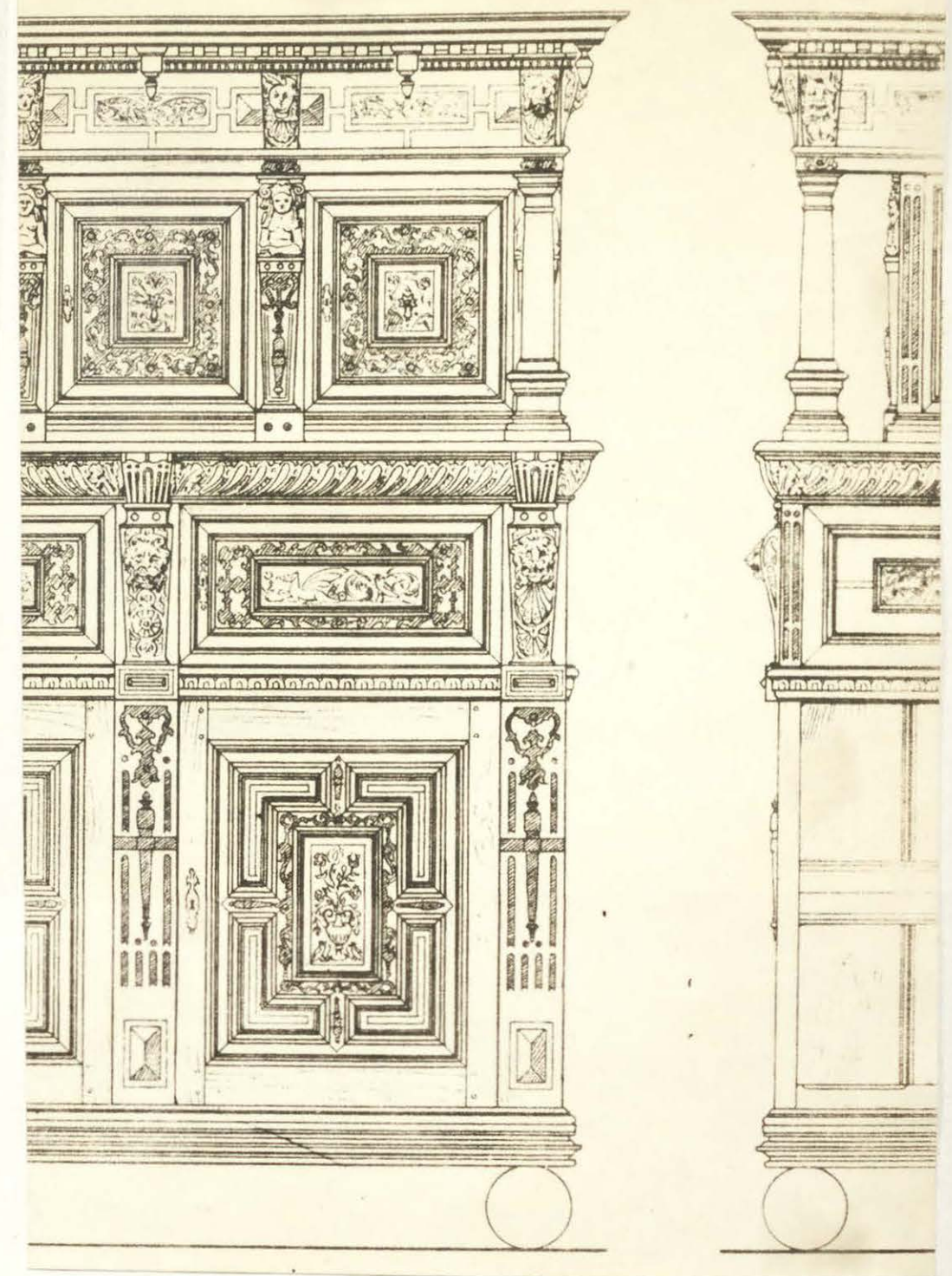
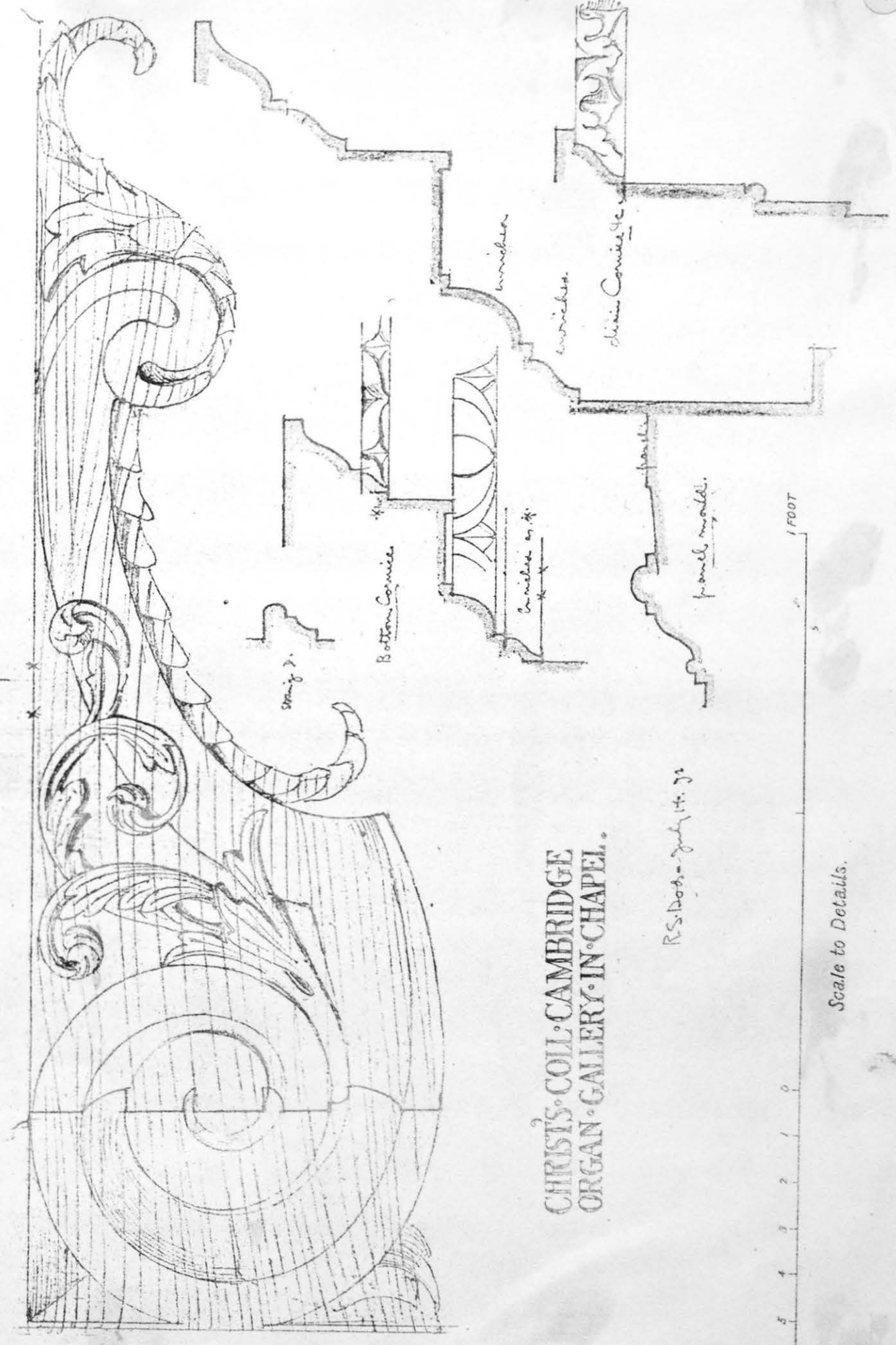
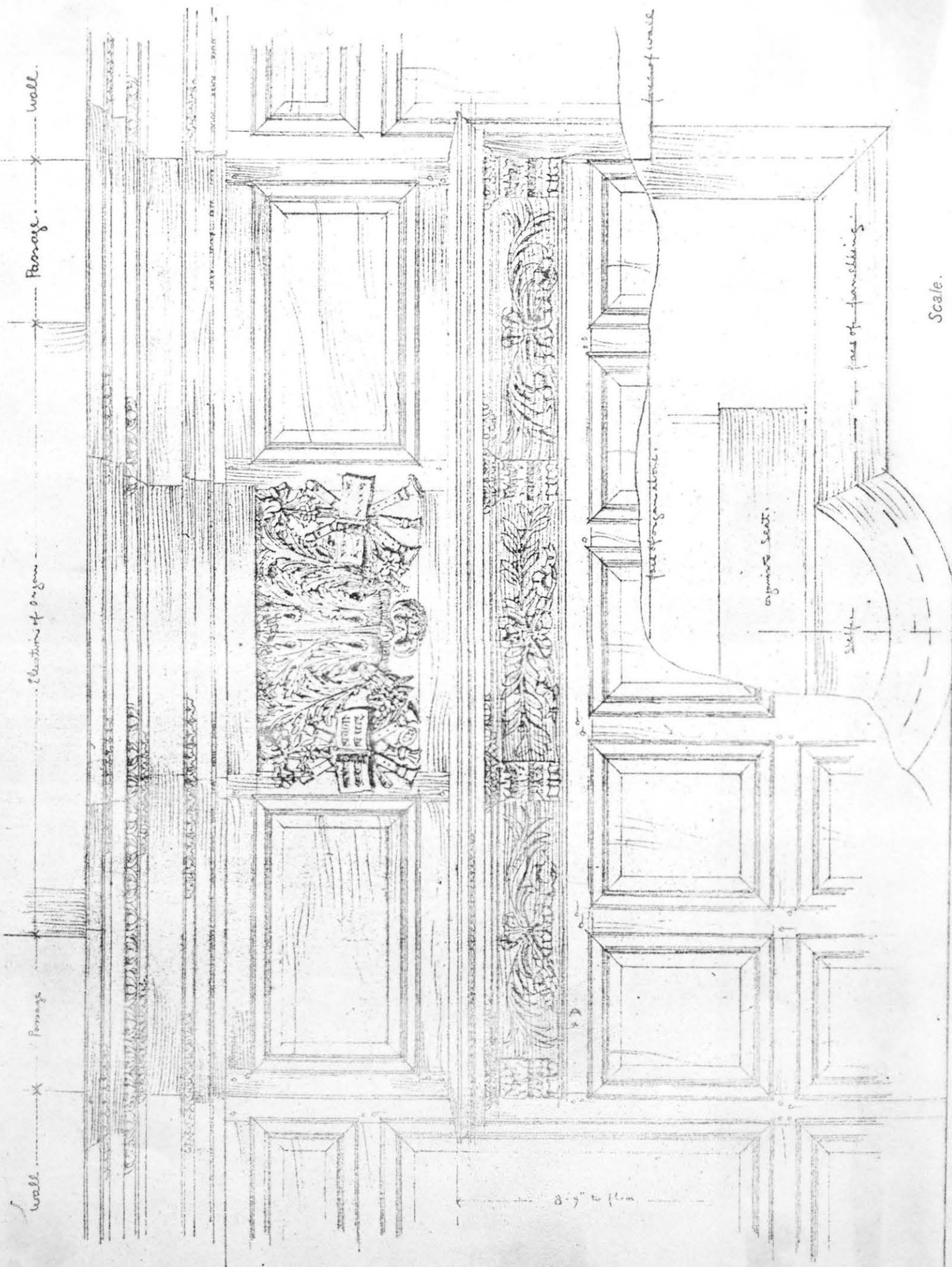


Figure 4: A drawing by a draughtsman who was subsequently used by Lorimer to make many presentation drawings of his work for the R.S.A.

Figure 5: A drawing by Lorimer's closest friend. He contributed quite a number of sheets to the A.A. sketchbooks of the nineties.



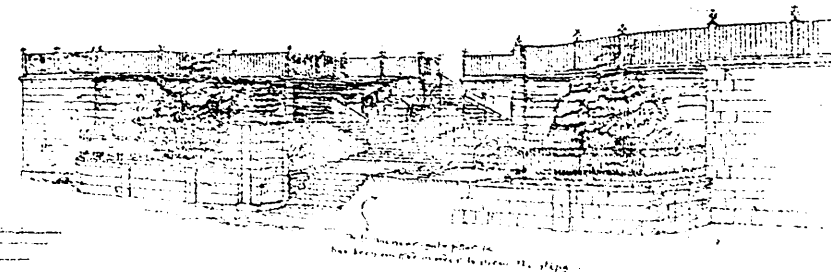
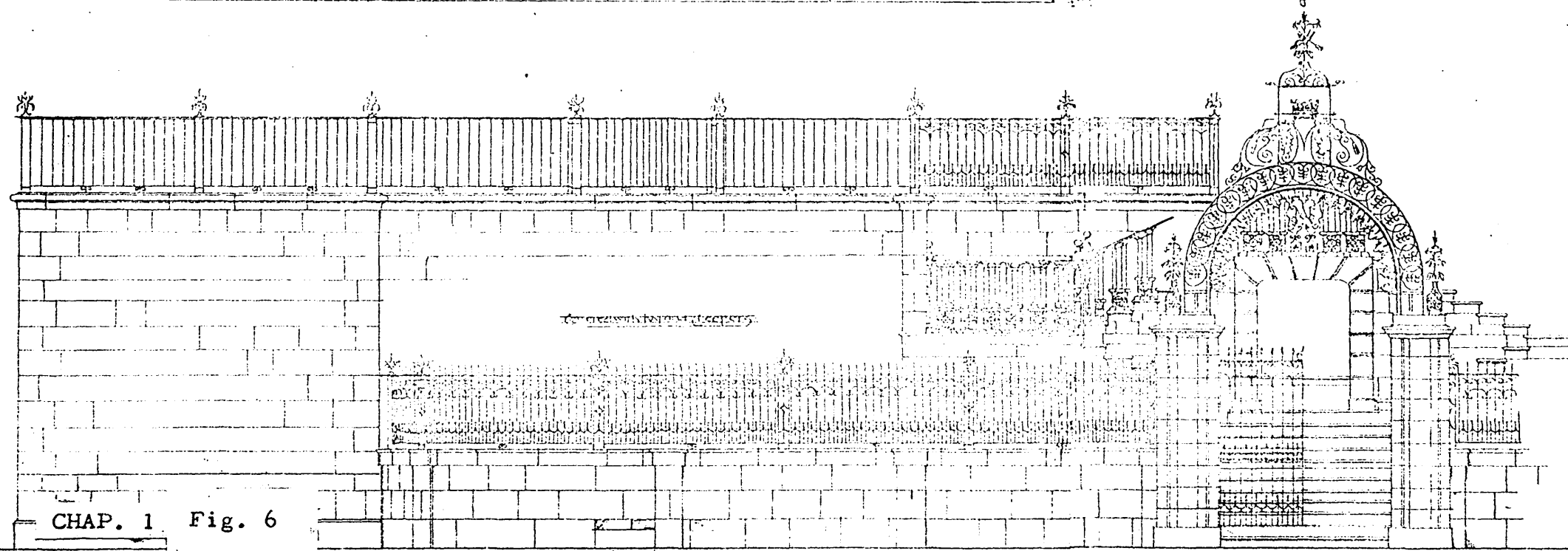
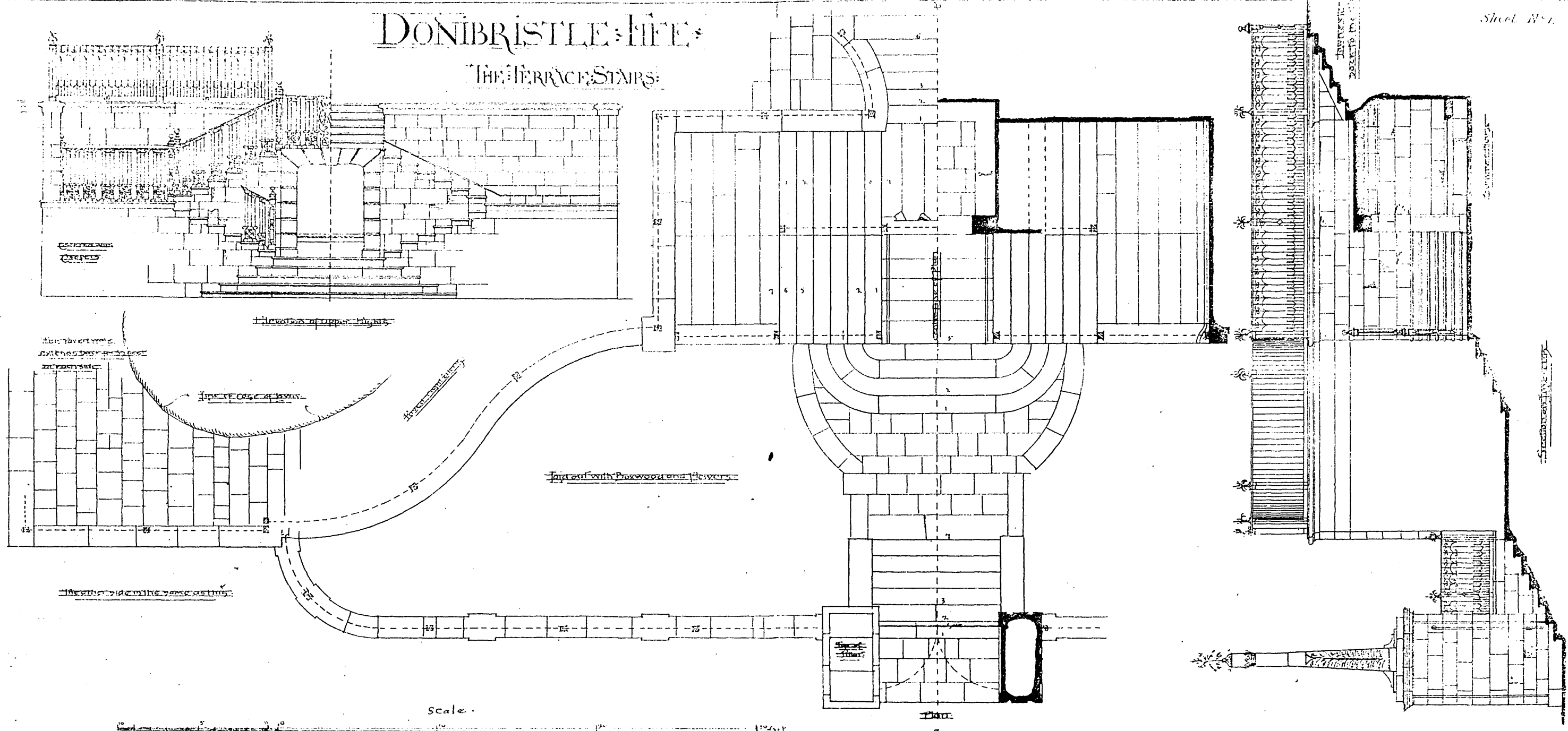
CHRIST'S COIL • CAMBRIDGE
ORGAN • GALLERY • IN • CHAPEL.

R.S. Dods - July 14, 1910

Scale to Details.

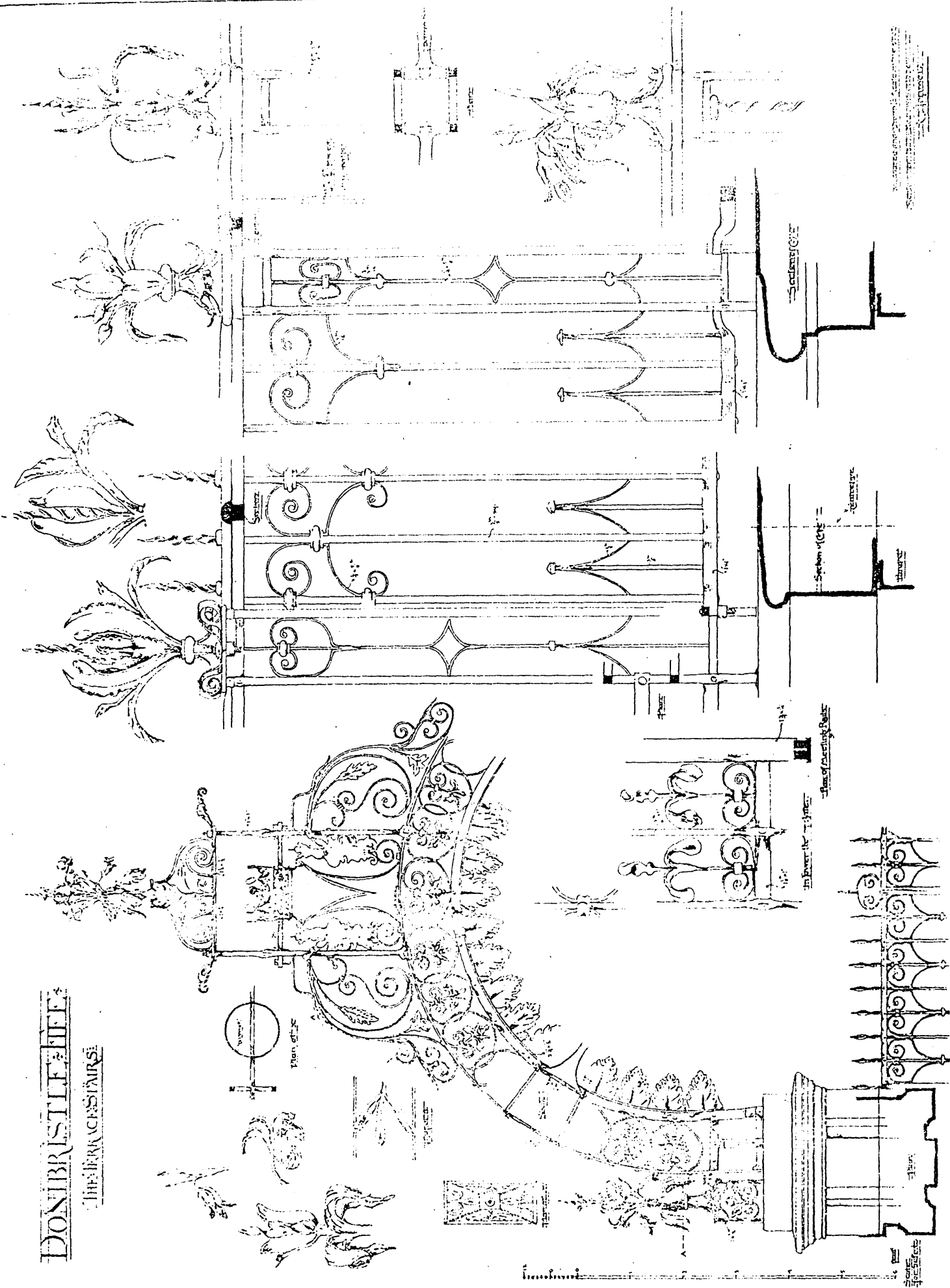
DONIBRISTLE HILL

THE TERRACE STAIRS



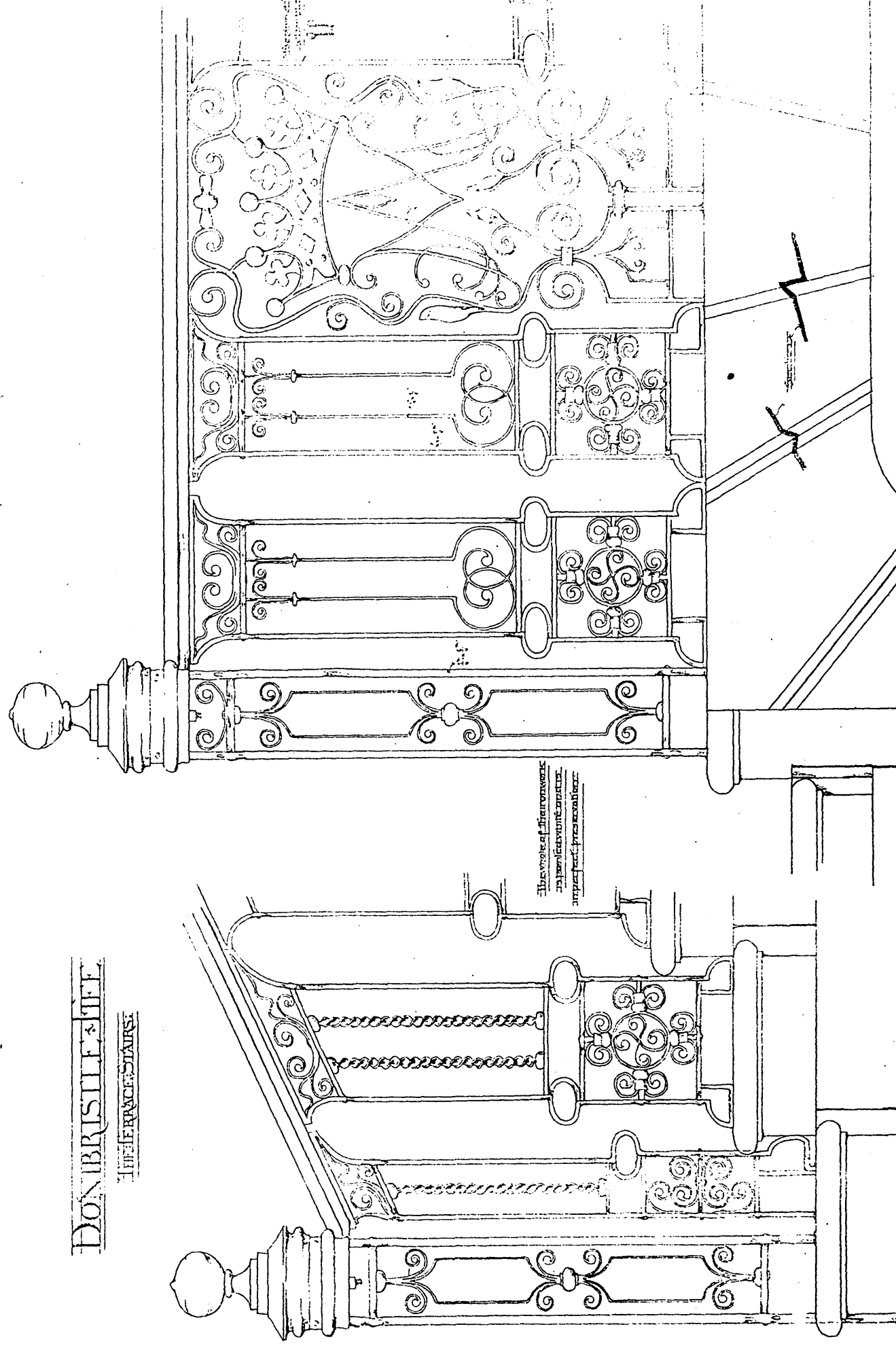
DONBRISTLE & CO.

THE FERRACED STAIRS

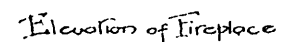


DONBRISTLE & CO.

THE FERRACED STAIRS



Figures 6 and 7: Measured drawings made by Lorimer while an apprentice, showing an early interest in garden architecture.

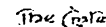


There are really two panels.
between the fireplace and Door.

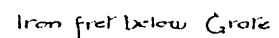
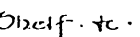
Dear



Fig. 8



End



R S Loring
Feb 1888



Figures 8 and 9: 2 more drawings done as a student. The Kellie Castle drawings were published by the Architectural Association of London. John Begg, Lorimer's friend and colleague, edited some of their sketchbooks.



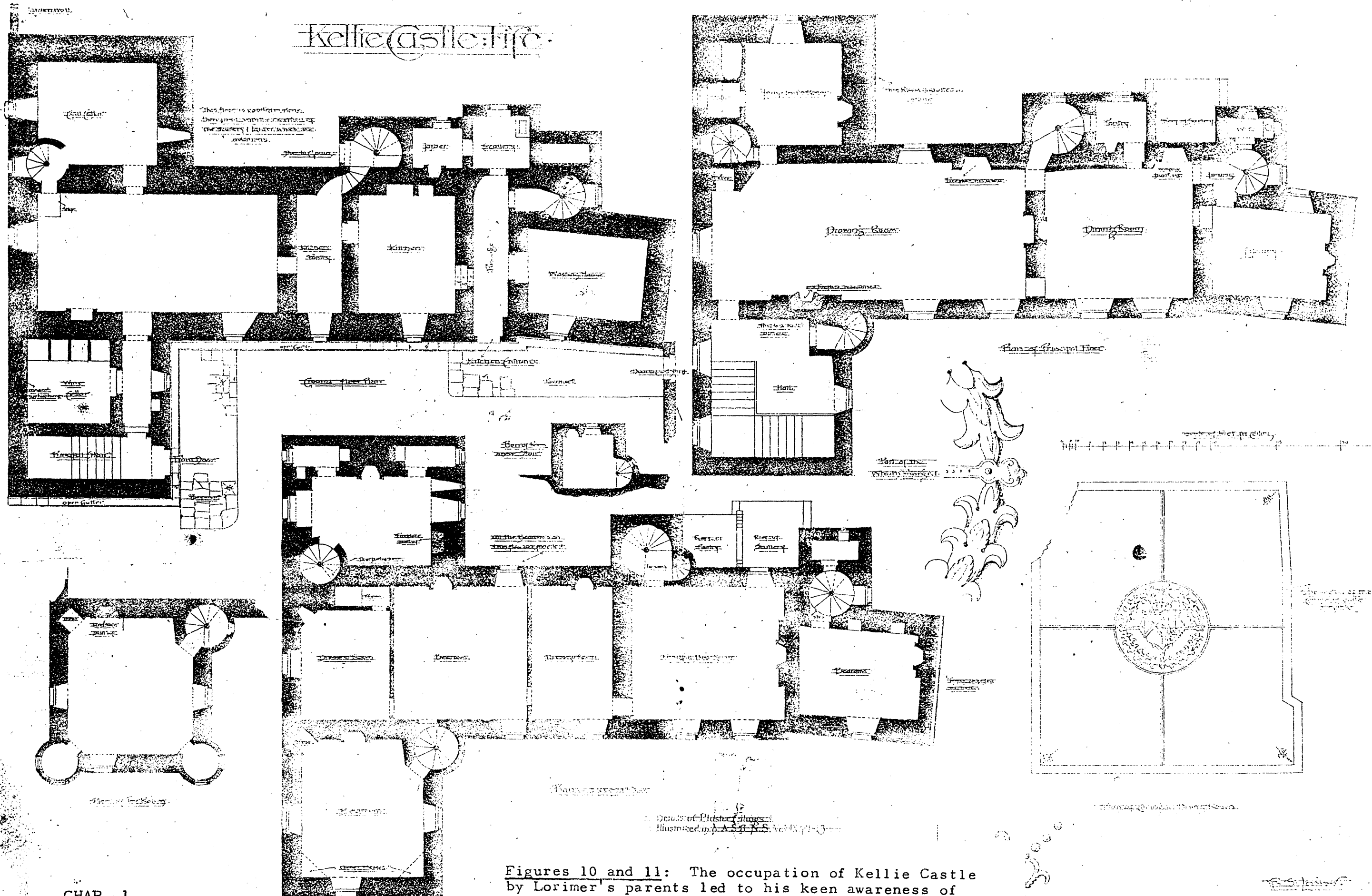
KELLIE CASTLE TYPE

FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

Figs. 9 and 9A

FROM THE GARDEN

Kellie Castle: life.

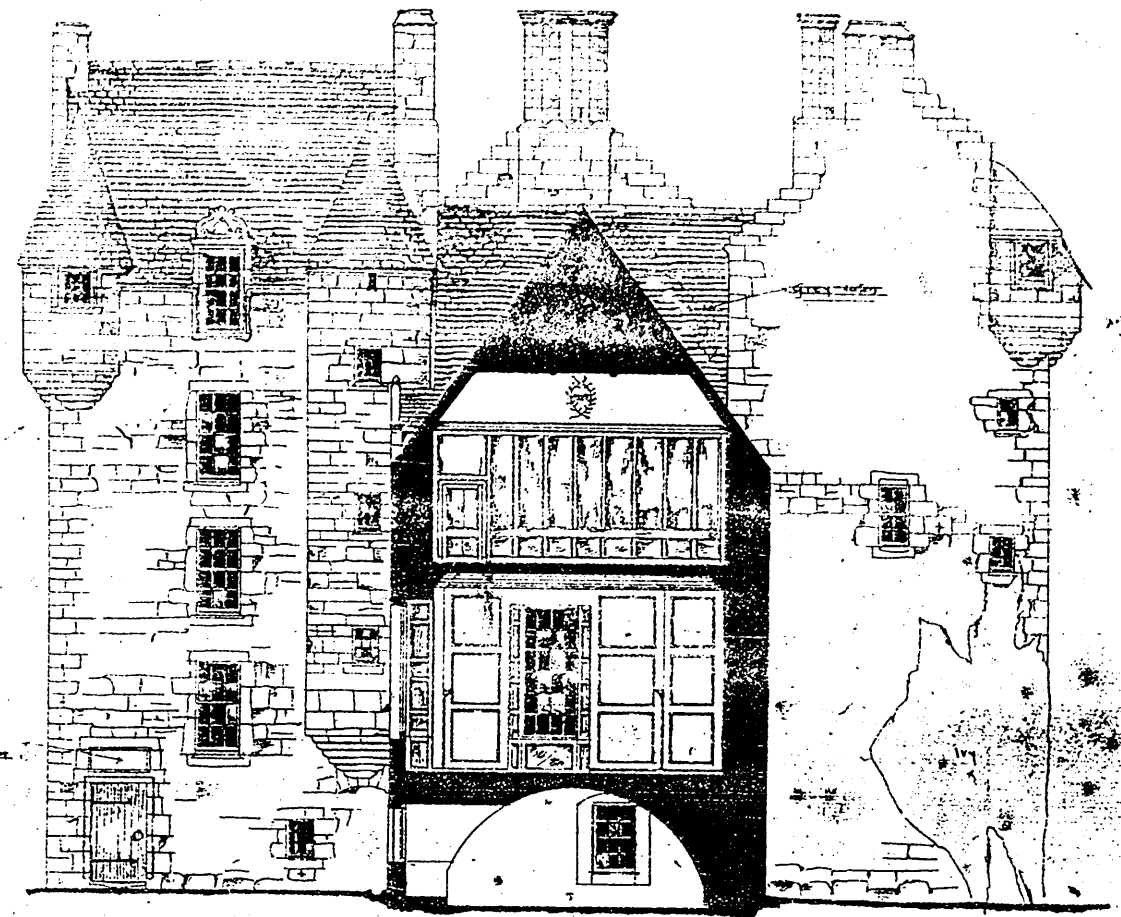


Figures 10 and 11: The occupation of Kellie Castle by Lorimer's parents led to his keen awareness of the vernacular. These drawings show him putting this experience to active use.

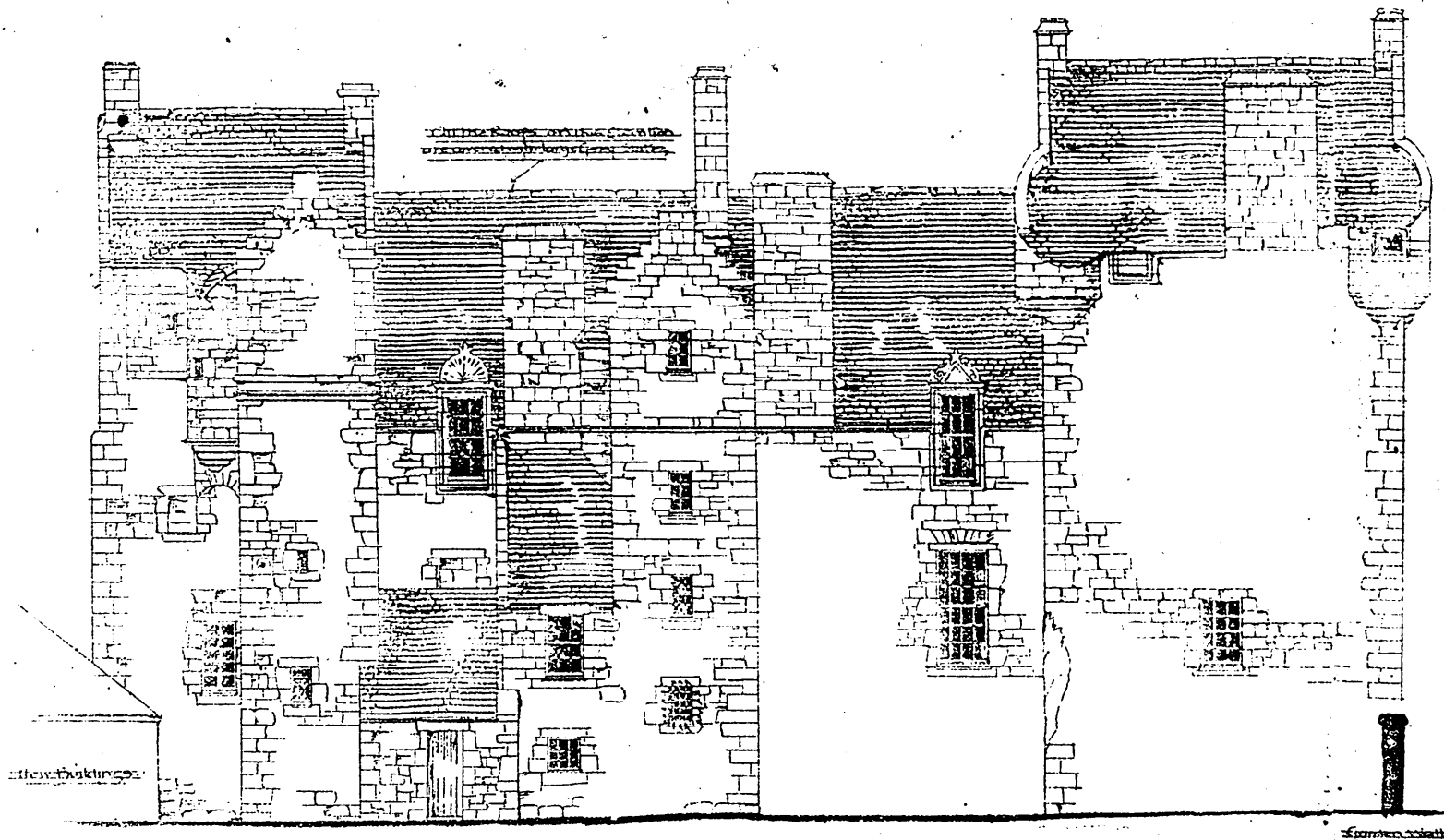
Kellie Castle: life.



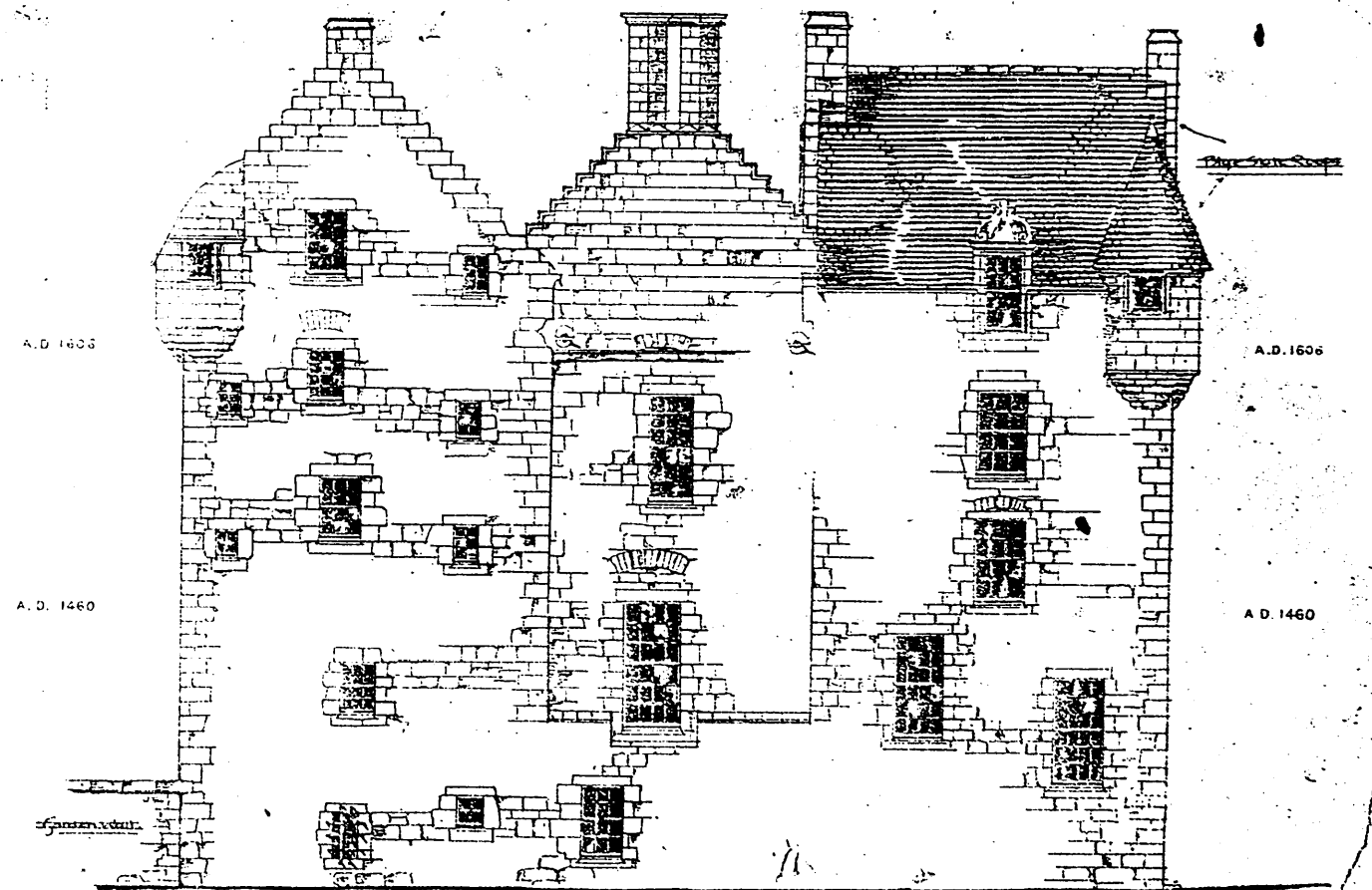
Front elevation



Section through Drawing Room

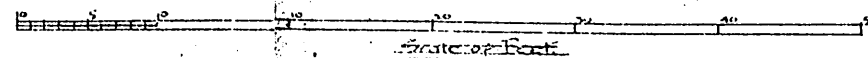


North elevation



West elevation

Fig. 11



Scale of Feet



CHAP. 1

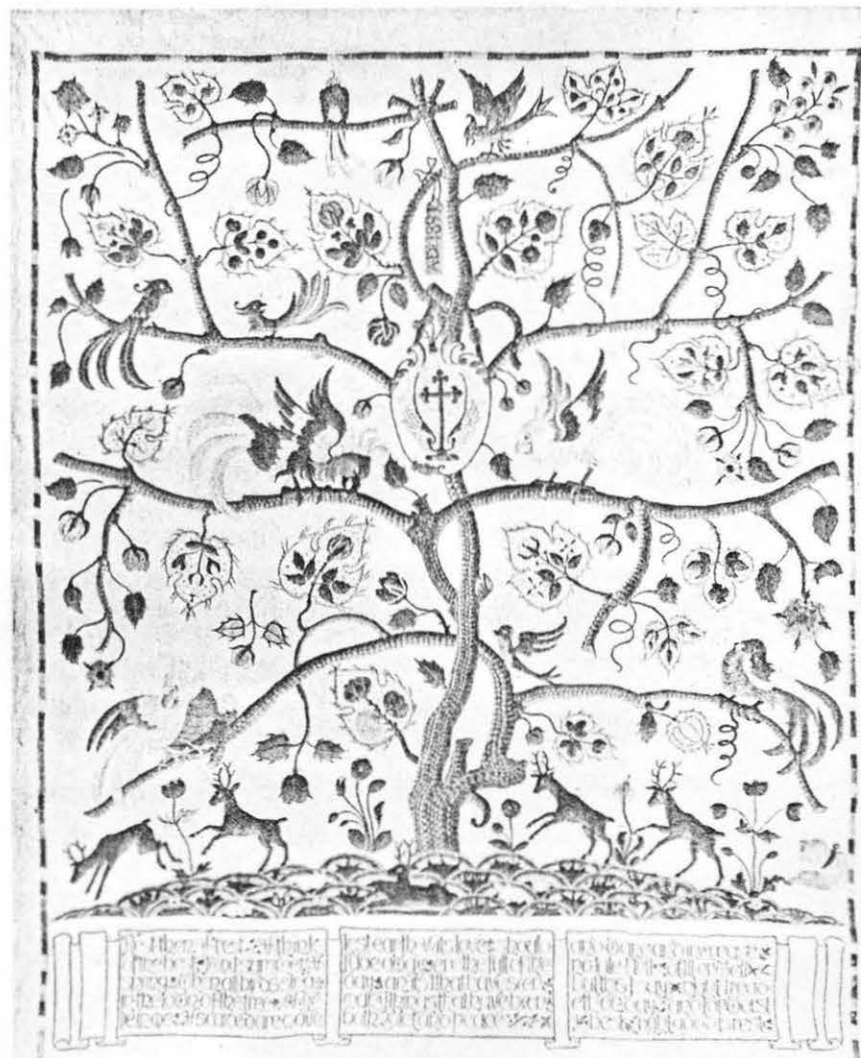
Figure 12: A group of cottages showing the strong impress of Lorimer upon a simple utilitarian subject. He was to become disenchanted with the economic stringencies of such simple buildings.

SOME DECORATIVE ESSENTIALS

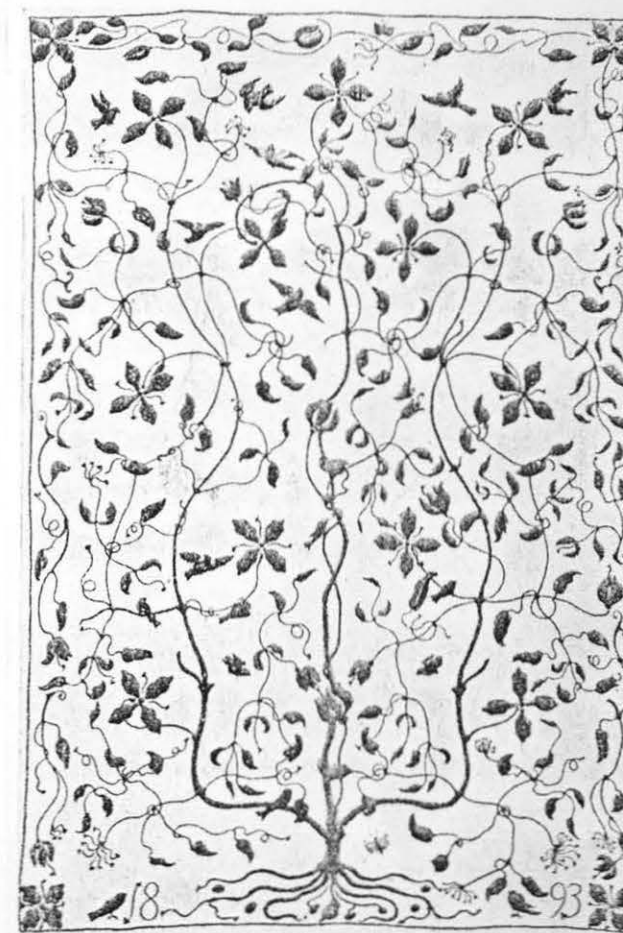


BEDCOVER EMBROIDERED IN COLOURED WOOLS AND SILKS BY MISS LORIMER

Designed by
R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect



BEDCOVER RICHLY EMBROIDERED IN COLOURED WOOLS BY MRS. SKINNER



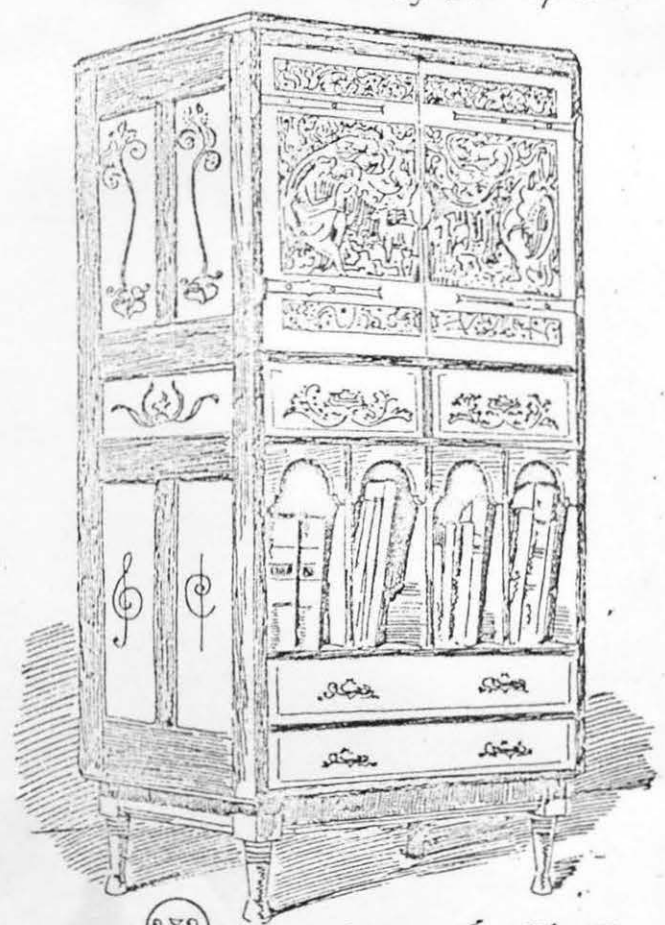
COVER EMBROIDERED IN COLOURED WOOLS BY MRS. SKINNER

Designed by
R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect

Figure 12B: Lorimer does not appear to have commissioned any tapestries, old examples of which, he liked very much. He did design many embroidered coverlets and panels, some of which he exhibited (and were illustrated in the Studio magazine).

Sketches of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition

52 Wrought-iron Sign by Shirley & Co.

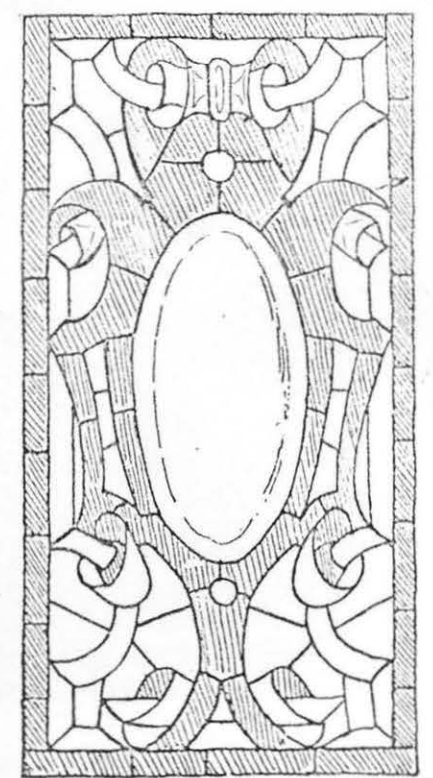


282 Music Cabinet - by W.A.S. Benson.

A Vase - Doullon-ware, salt-glazed



64 Copper Repousse Plate - by John Pearson.



610 Leaded Shield - in Venetian & bevelled Plate glass.



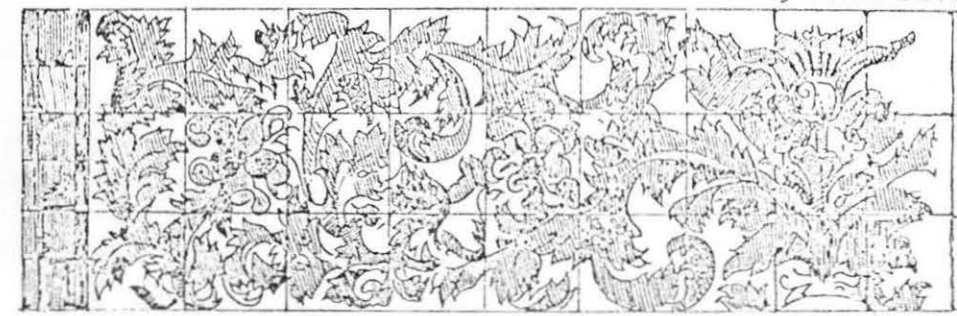
325 Lustre Tile panel. Figure panels by Walter Crane. - Border by Lewis F. Day.



55 Design for Cretonne. by Lewis F. Day.



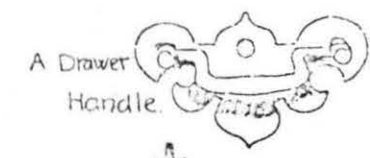
84 Cartoon for stained glass panel for a Door. by Walter Crane.



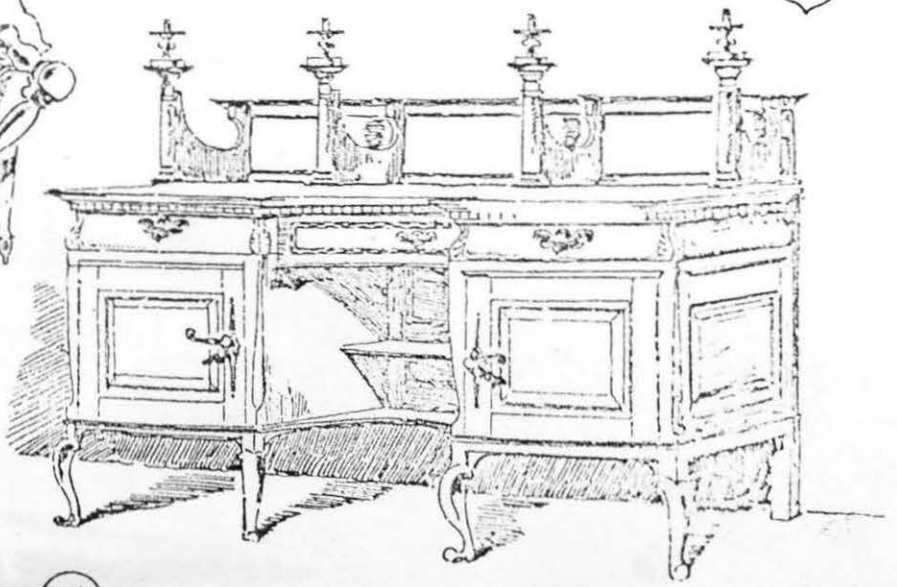
326 Portion of a Frieze in Lustre Tiles by Lewis F. Day.



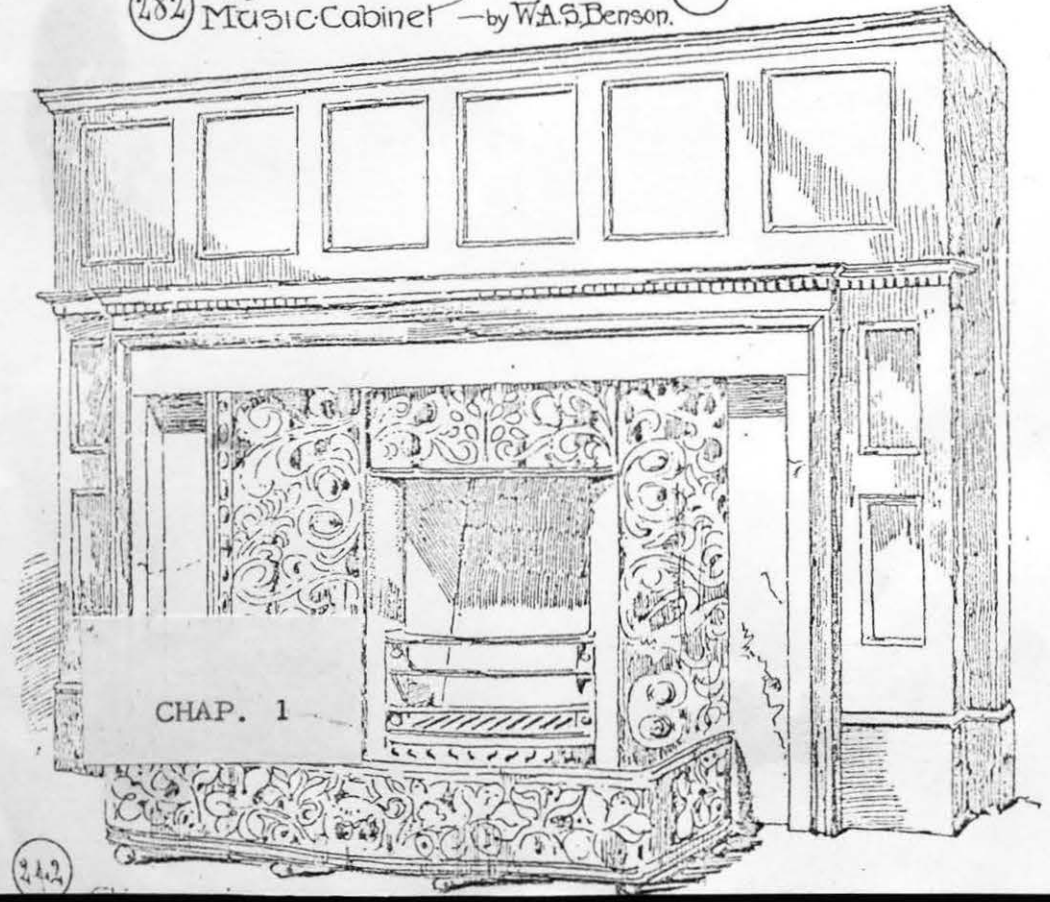
A Cupboard Handle.



A Drawer Handle.



174 A Sideboard in Mahogany and gun-metal. By Reginald T. Blomfield.



CHAP. 1



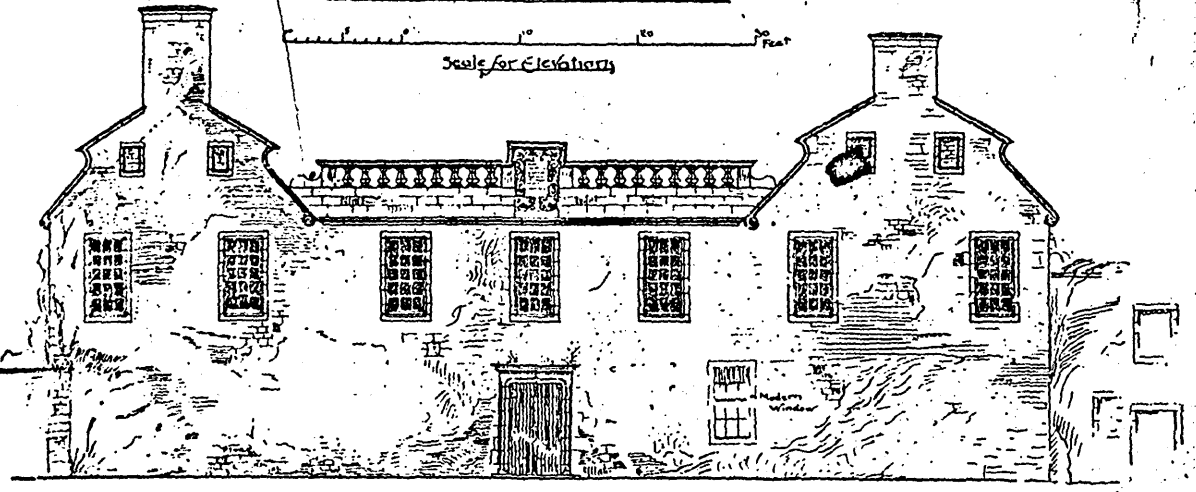
DESIGN FOR BILLIARD-ROOM.—MR. W. J. TAPPER, A.R.I.B.A., ARCHITECT.

1/4 PHOTO. SHAW & CO. 48 EAST HARGRAVE STREET, FETTER LANE, E.C.

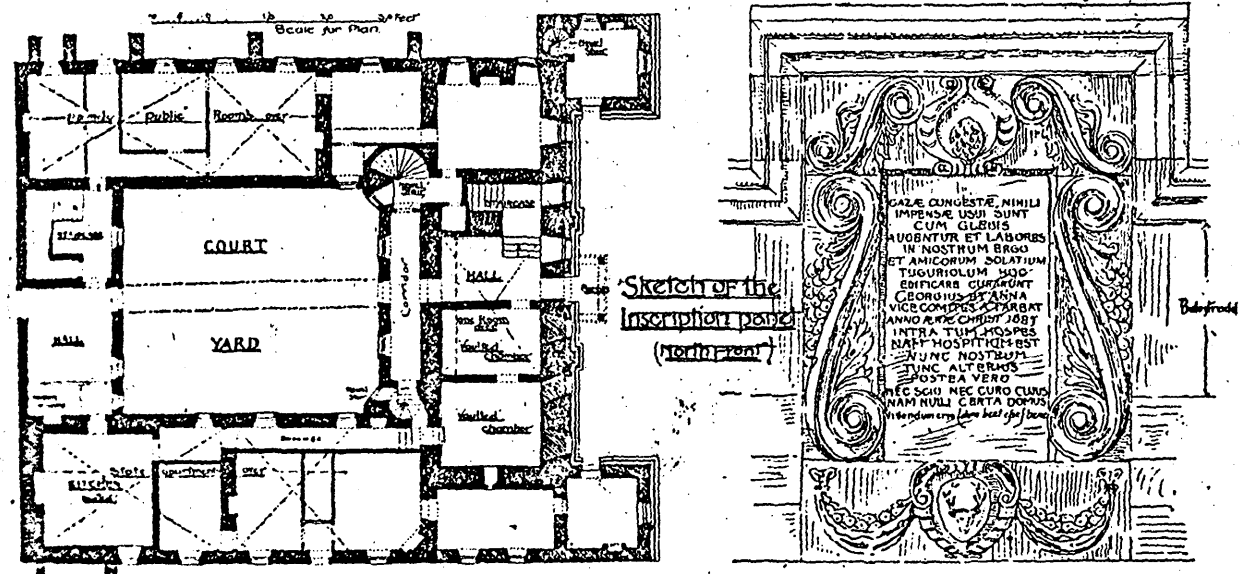
Figure 14: Interior design by a former colleague of Lorimer's in Bodley's London office, showing the ornate quality of much arts and crafts design.

Figure 12A: The arts and crafts movement provided only a partial purge for decorative excesses which had preceded it (unlike the later modern movement).

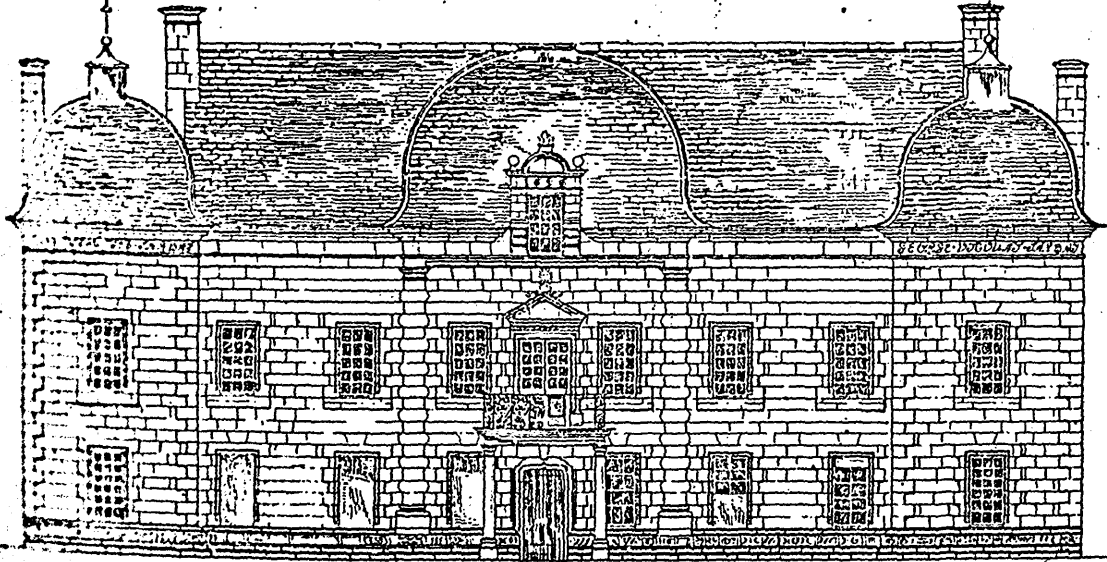
"CAROLINE PARK" FORMERLY ROYSTON HOUSE
GRANTON - Edinburgh



THE NORTH ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN



THE SOUTH ELEVATION

T. Ryne Kitchell
1885-6

CHAP. 1. Figure 13: Drawings by a London acquaintance of Lorimer's, who was in lodging with Dods and Begg.

EARLSHALL FIFE
VIEW OF ELEVATION OF EARLSHALL HOUSE

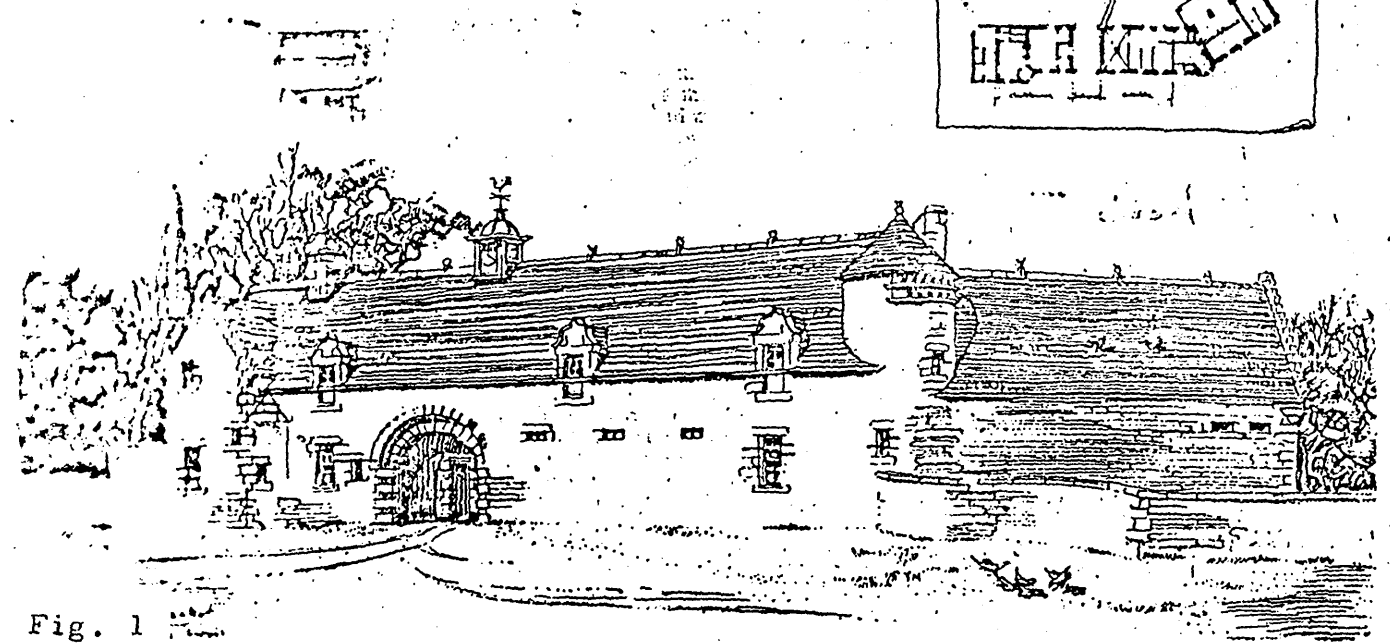


Fig. 1

EARLSHALL FIFE PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

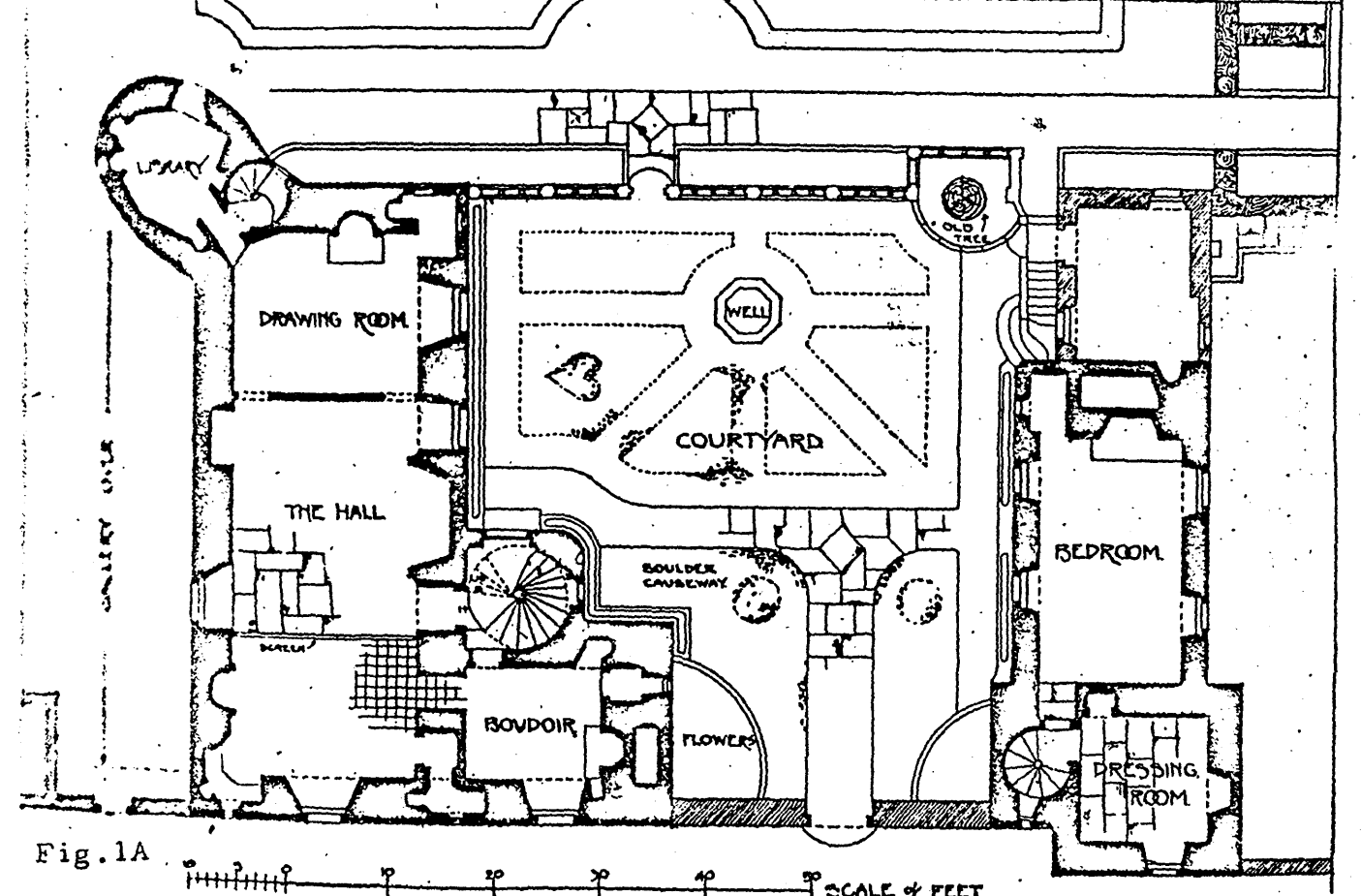


Fig. 1A

Chap. 2

Figure 1: An early unrealised design drawn by R.S. Lorimer himself.

Figure 2: The layout for the policies of Earls Hall were developed over some 8 to 10 years. This drawing by J. Begg was made for Exhibition c.1896, and shows a parterre treatment, subsequently discarded in favour of a lawn studded with clipped yew bushes.

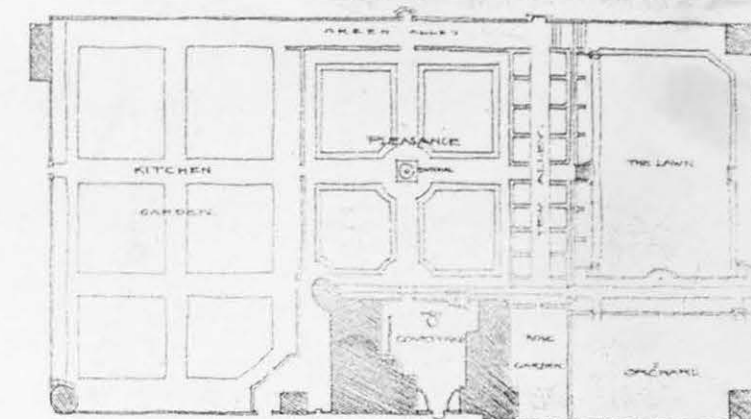
EARLSHALL FIFE

THE HOUSE AND GARDEN
AS RESTORED 1890-1894

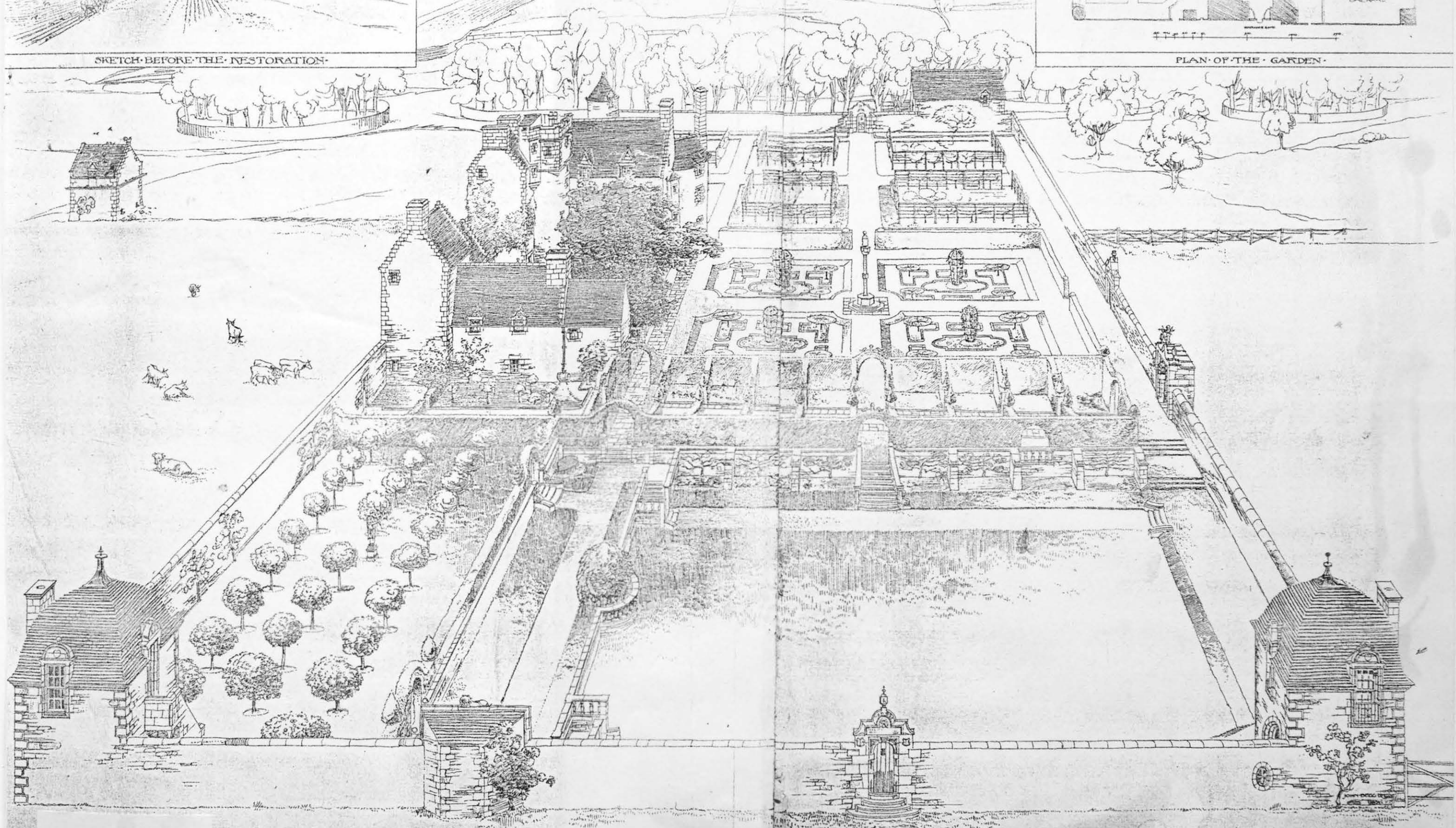
FOR R. W. MACKENZIE ESQ. OF EARLSHALL R. S. LORIMER ARCHITECT
49 QUEEN ST. EDINBURGH.

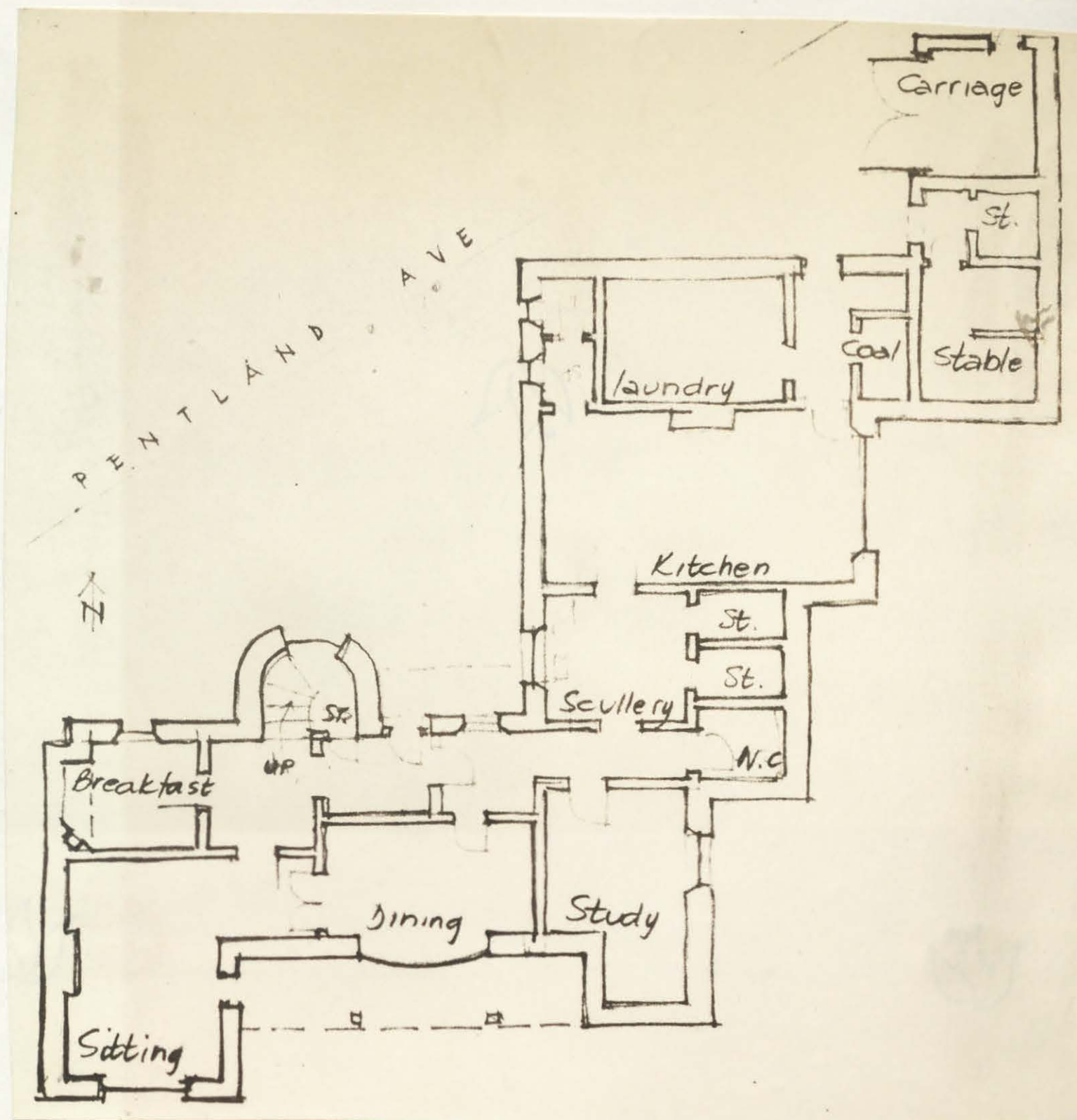
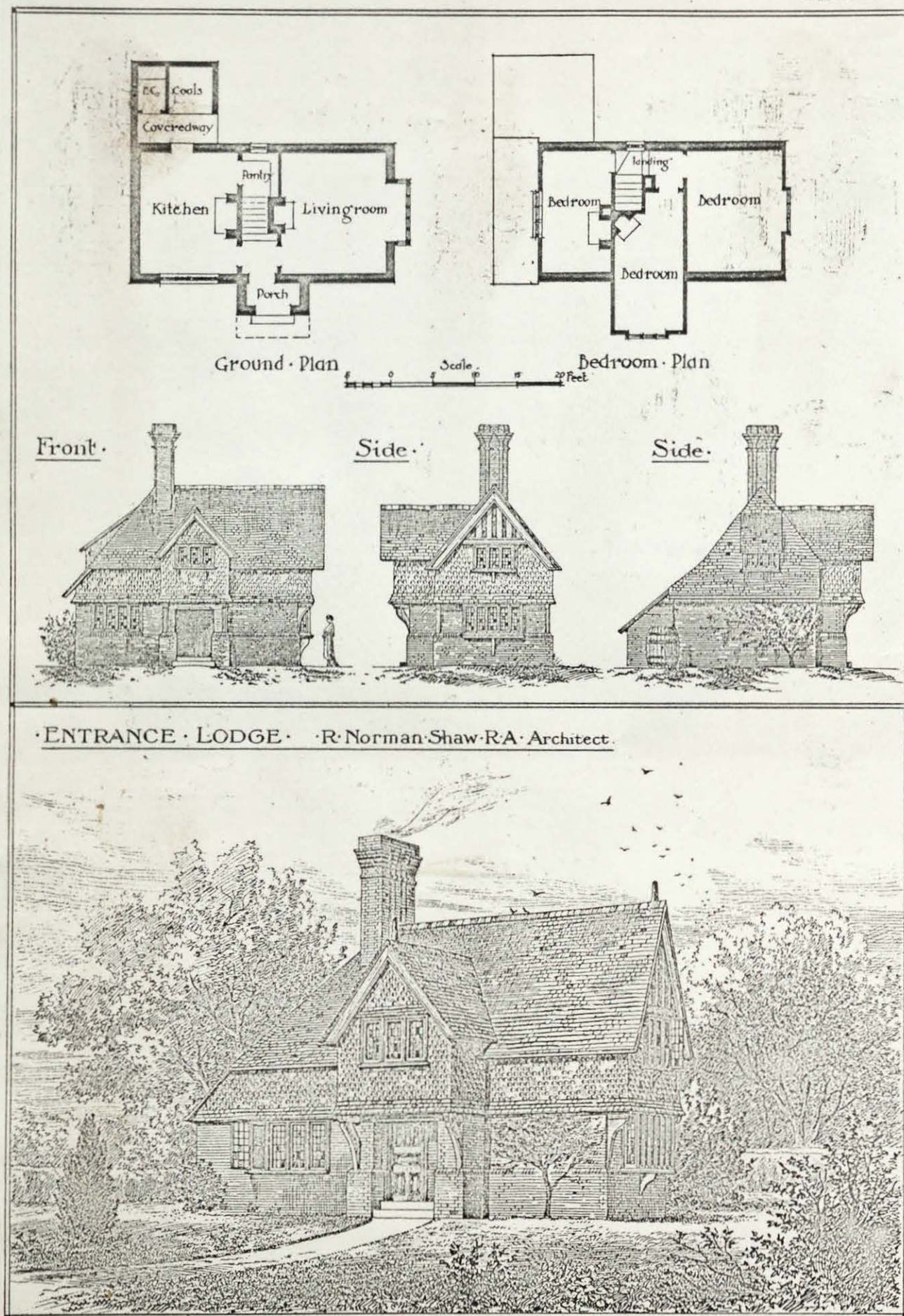


SKETCH BEFORE THE RESTORATION



PLAN OF THE GARDEN





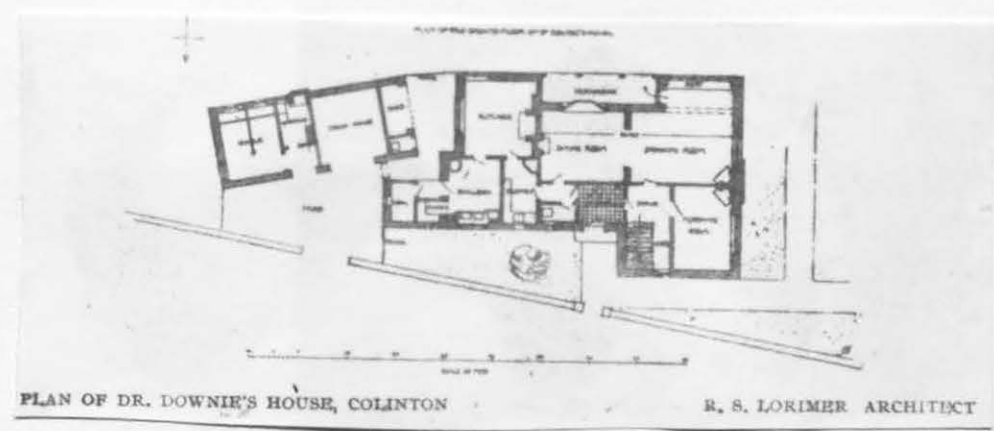
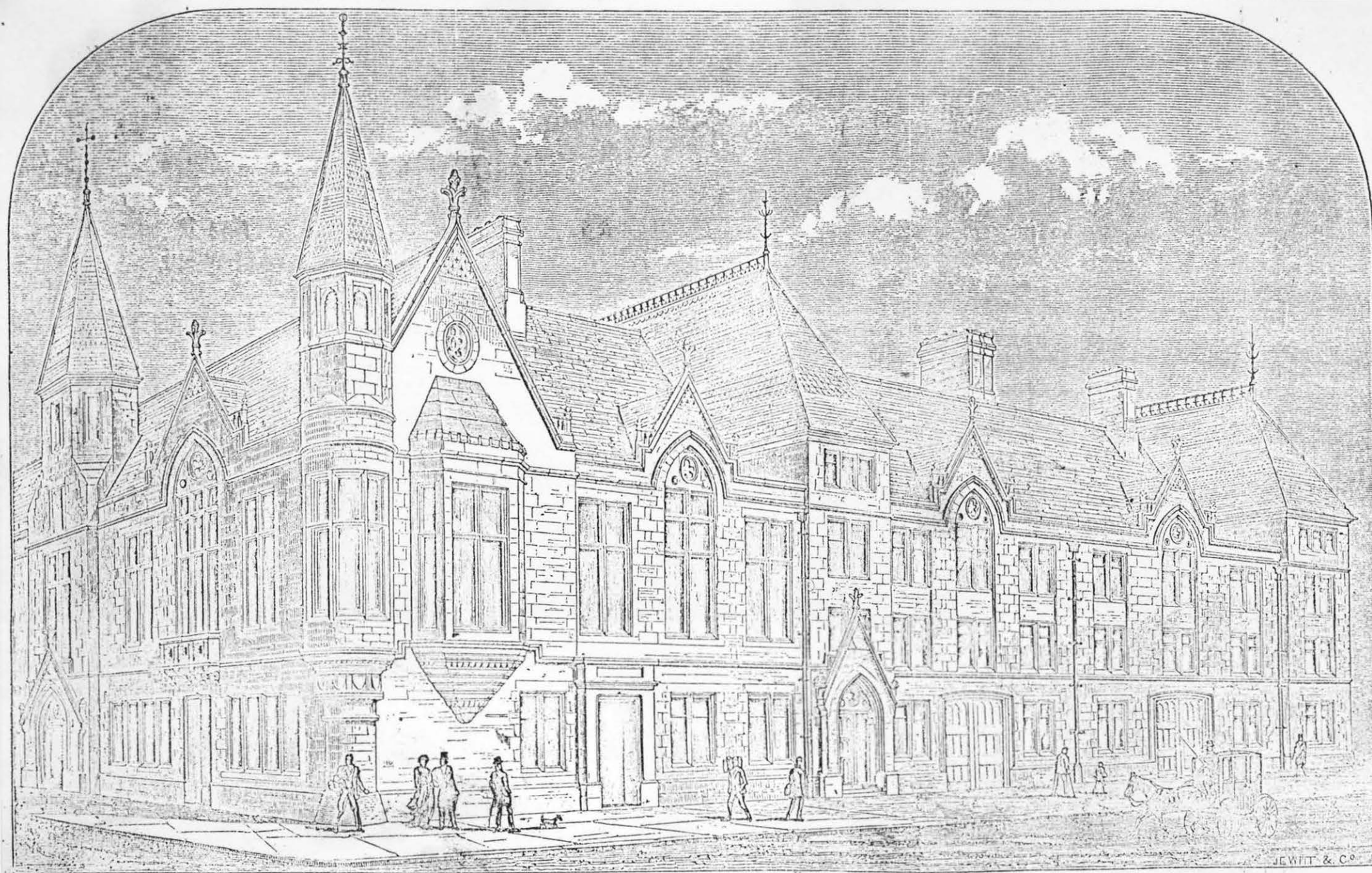


Figure 5: An example of the frequent illustration of old cottages which appeared in the magazines in the 80s and 90s. The arts and crafts movement regarded them as function prototypes.

← on p. 12 Figure 3: The plan for Colinton Cottage shows charm and ingenuity but little hint of the free-planning which central heating allowed.

Figure 4: A presentation sketch of Colinton Cottage. The first cottage in the 'Colinton Manner'.



NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, PERTH.—MESSRS. A. & A. HEITON, ARCHITECTS.

Figure 6: An example of Victorian Municipal Architecture.
Eclectic and lacking any sense of belonging to its location.

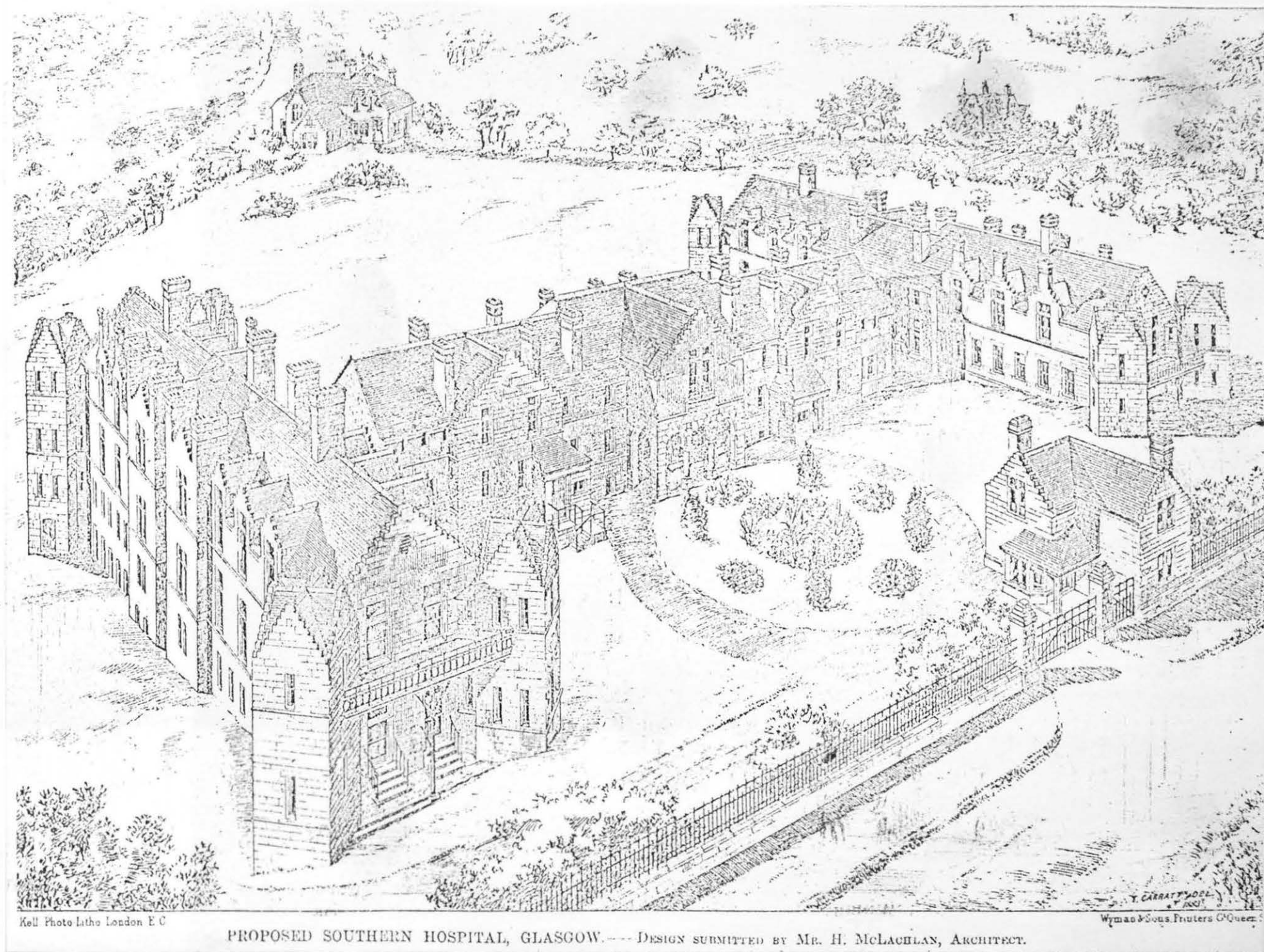
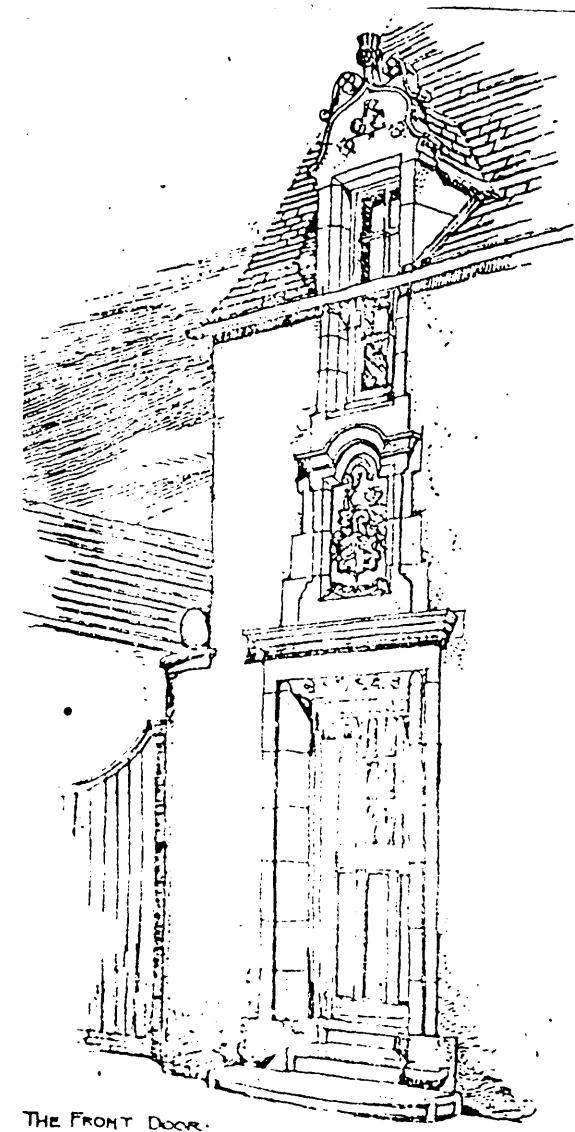
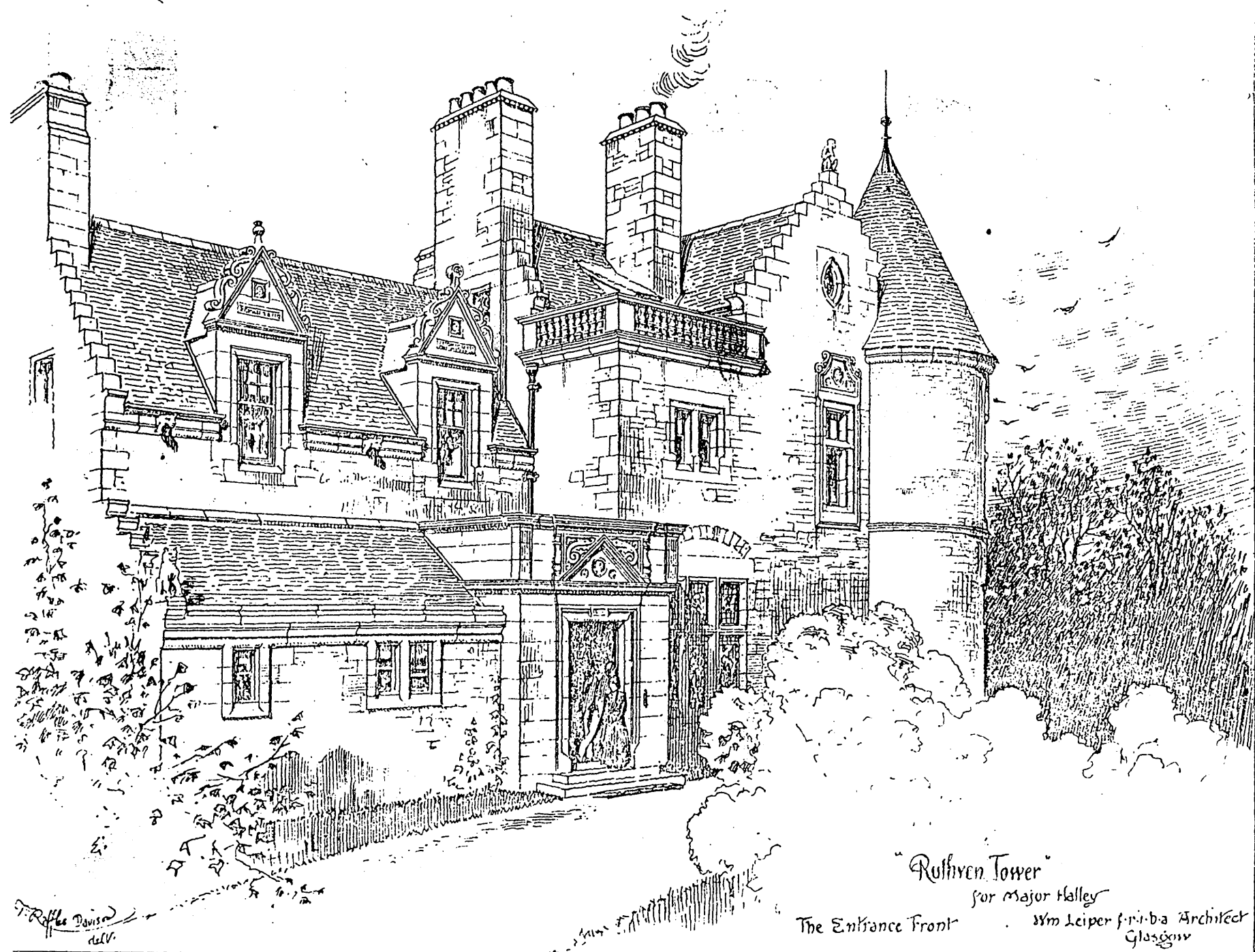
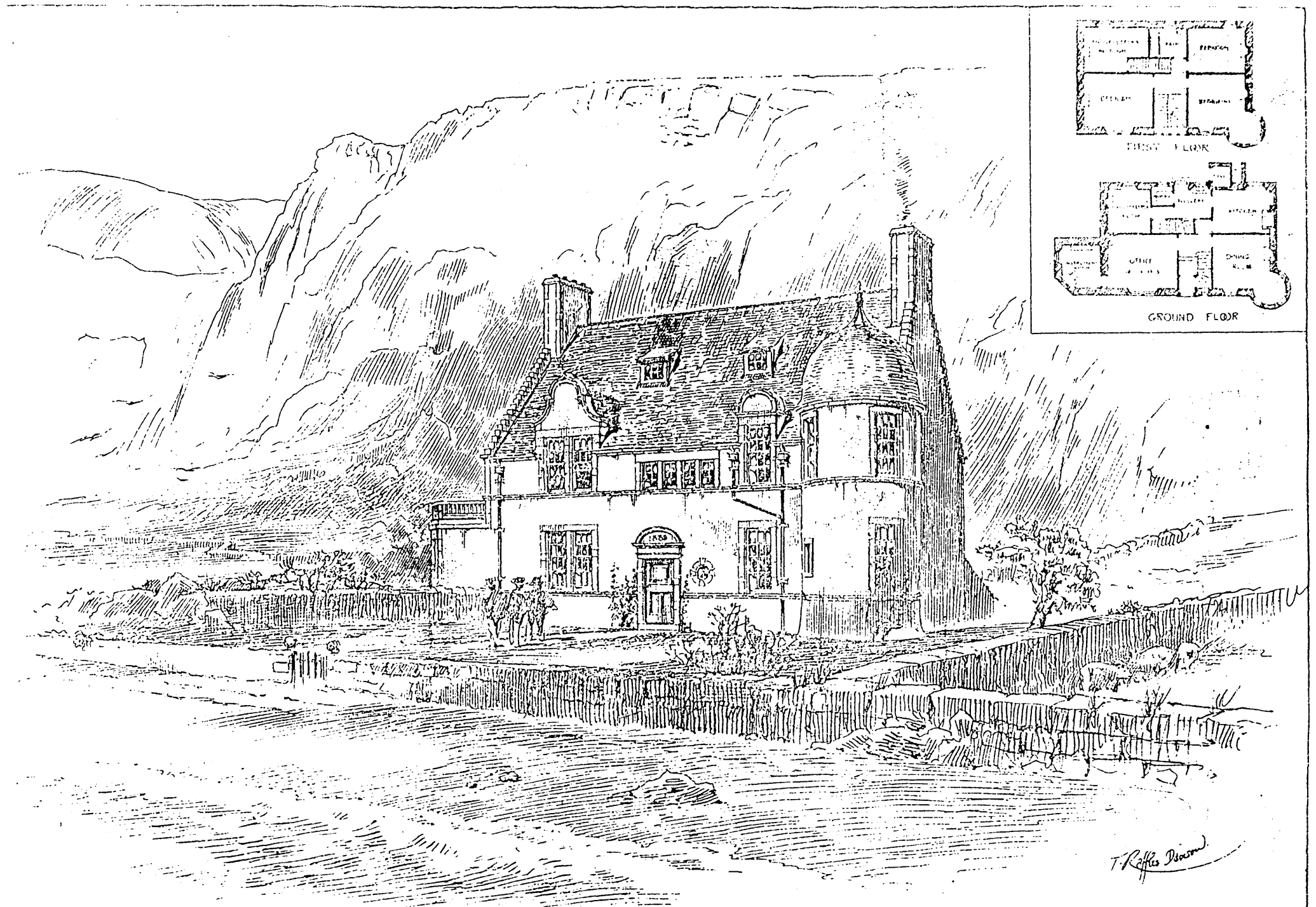


Figure 7: An example of the revival of Scottish vernacular forms.





BEN NEVIS OBSERVATORY. LOW LEVEL STATION.
MITCHELL & WILSON, ARCHITECTS.

Figure 9: Scottish vernacular design in the 1880s, of a high quality, but overall less well controlled than Lorimer's best work.



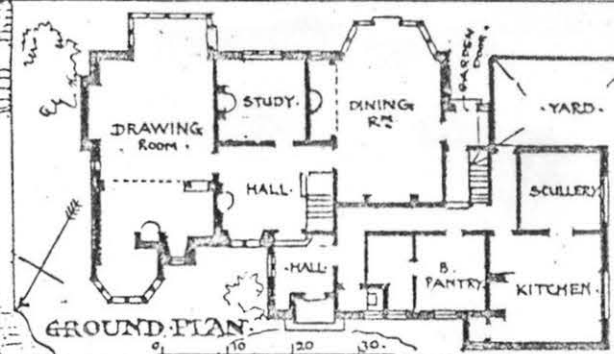
BONALY TOWER, COLINTON, MIDLOTHIAN, FOR MRS. HODGSON.
NEW LIBRARY WING.

Figure 11: Scottish Baronial building using vernacular forms with a tendency towards fussiness.

THE BUILDER, AUGUST 20, 1885.

A HOUSE AT WITABLEDON COMMON.

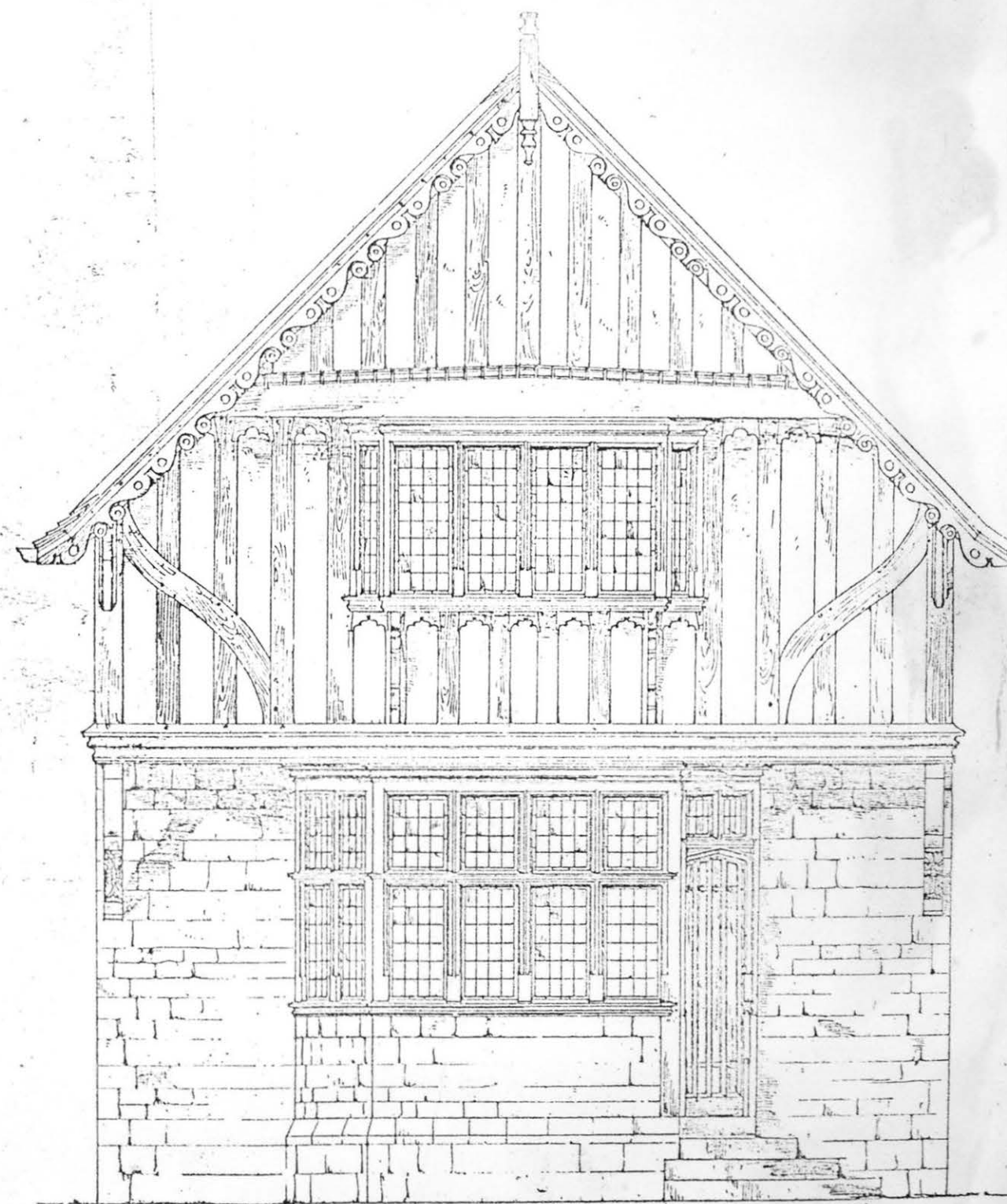
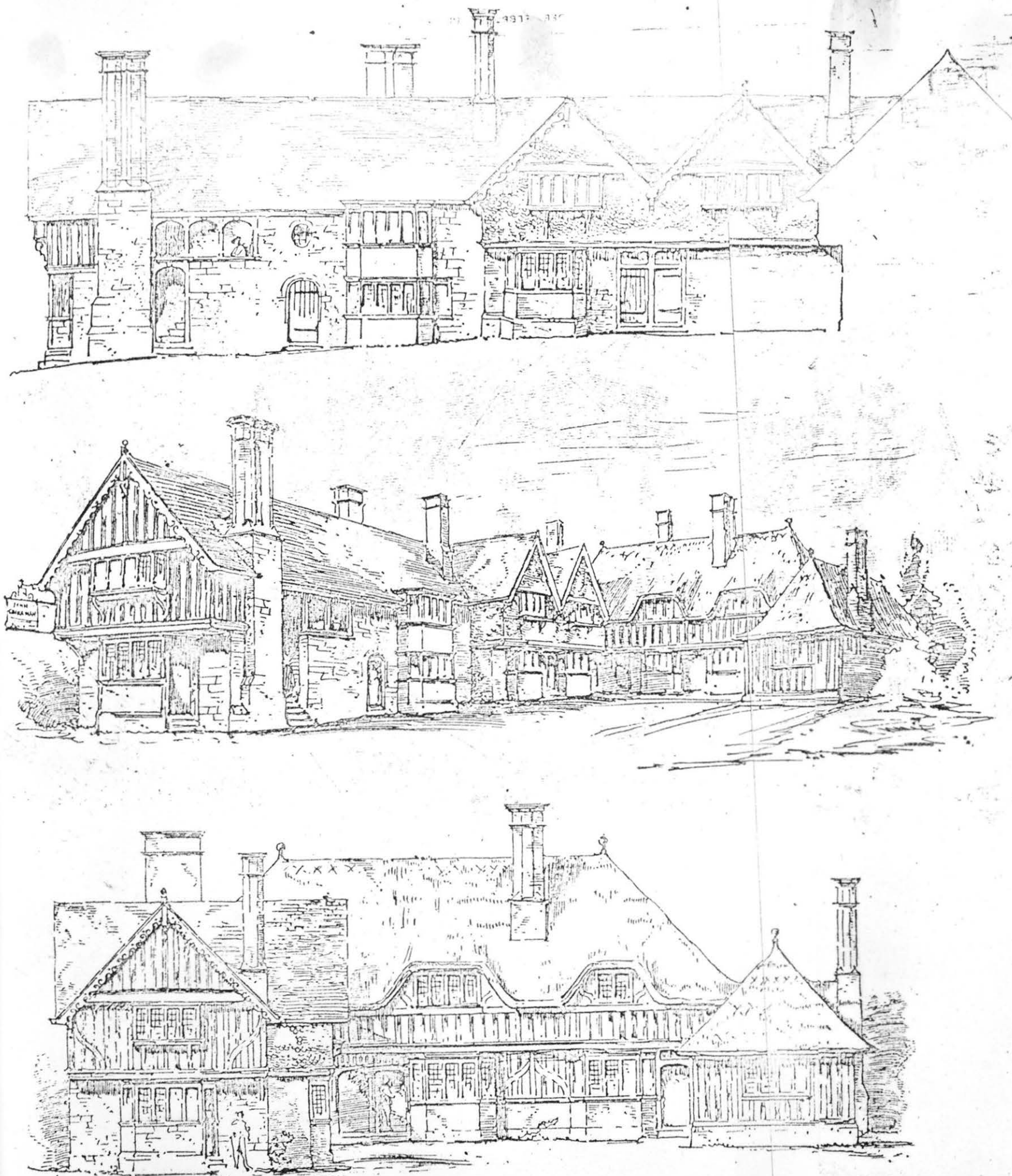
E. J. MAY ARCHT. ECT.



Chap. 2
contd.

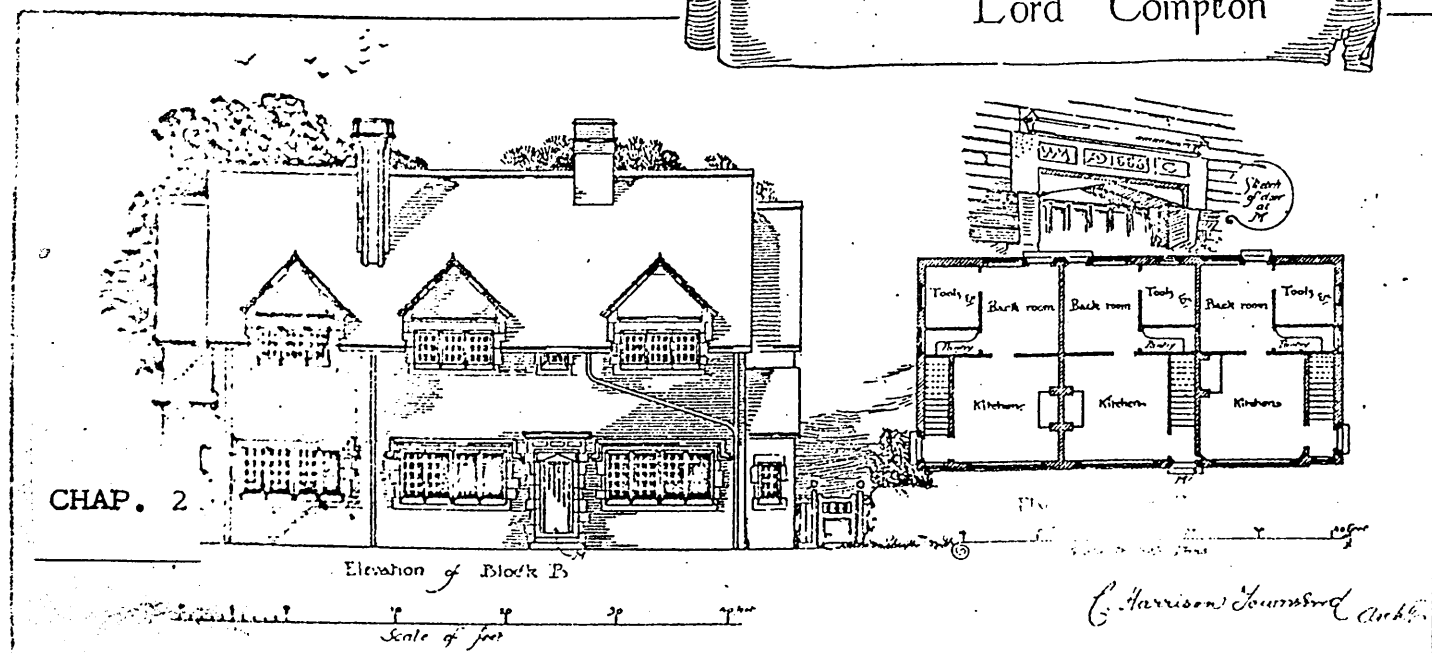
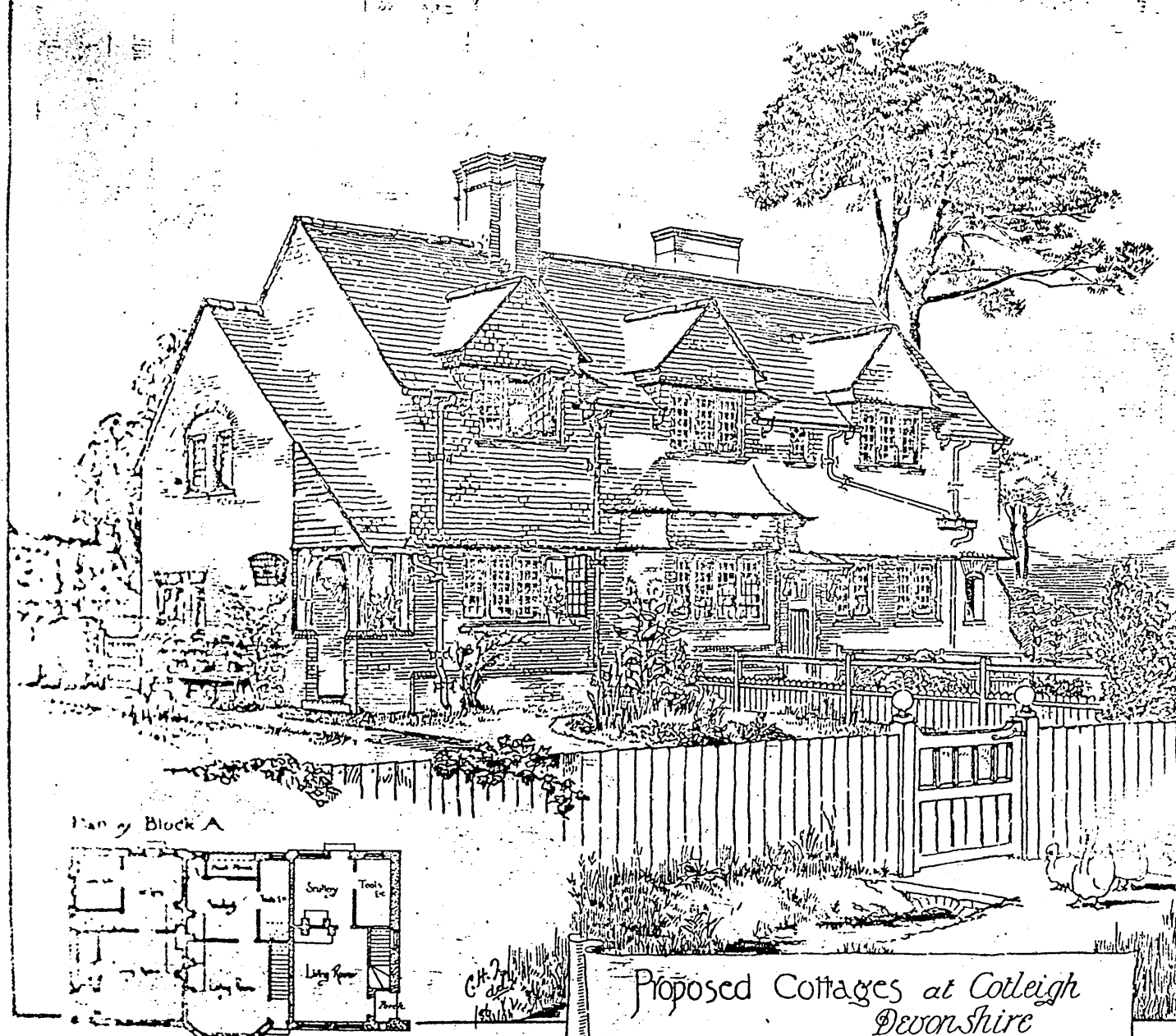
Figures 12 and 13: Two English houses in the style of Norman Shaw, showing the picturesque grouping surmounted by high roofs, the walls clothed with tile hanging, lath and plaster (or in some cases of genuine half timbering).

The use of tile hanging and other vernacular forms derives also from the example of George Devey.



SCALE OF FEET
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Figure 13: Cottage by E. George and Peto.



Figures 14 and 15: Examples of cottage style houses. They are plainer than those of Norman Shaw but of the same lineage.



Figure 15: Cottage by E. Newton.

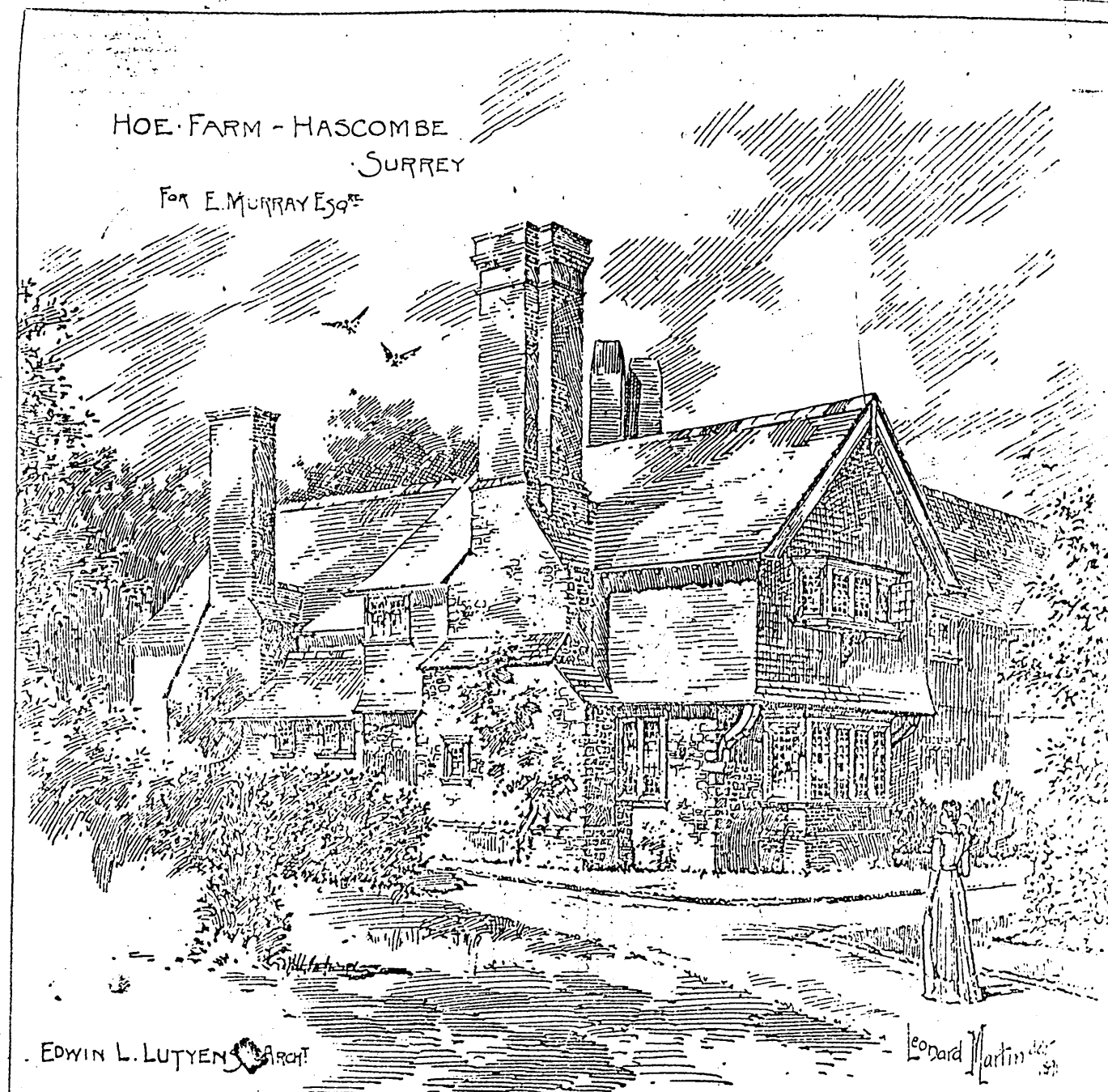


Figure 16: An early Lutyen's design. An example of the paramount influence of Norman Shaw on the generation of architects following him.

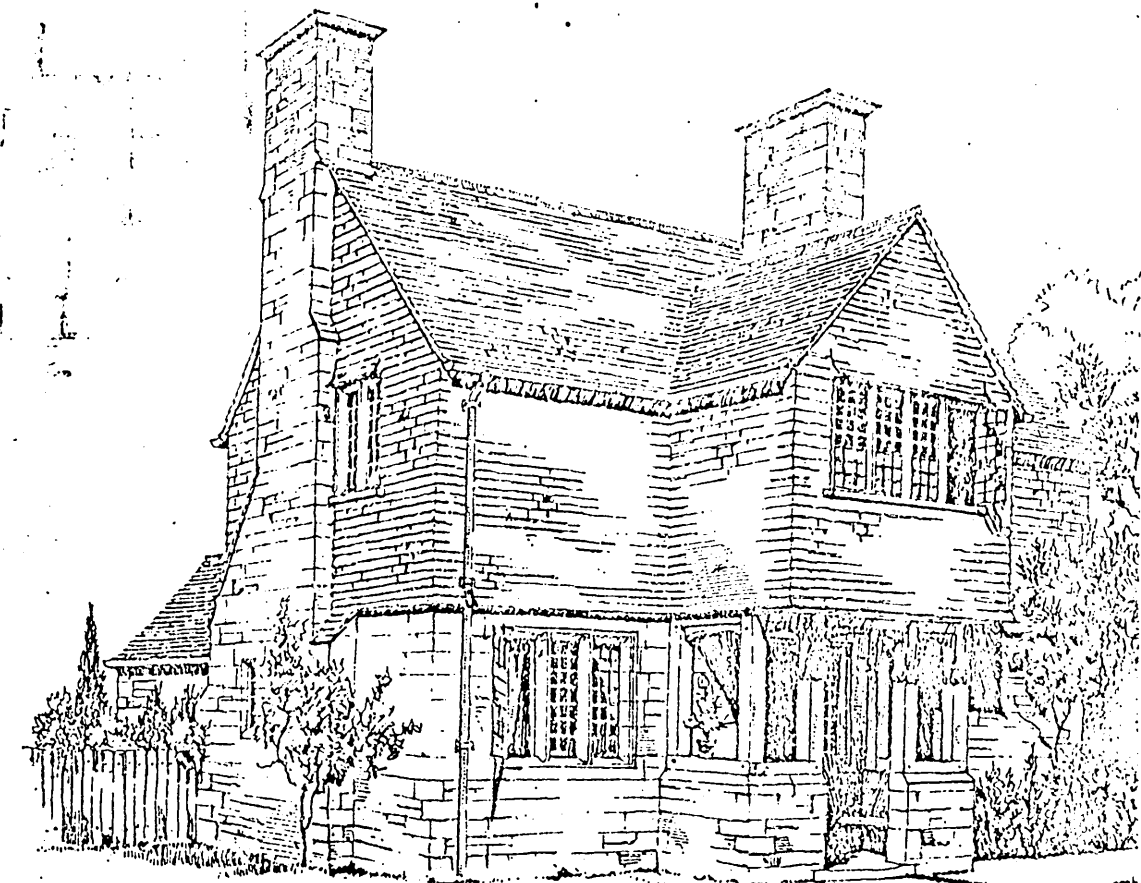
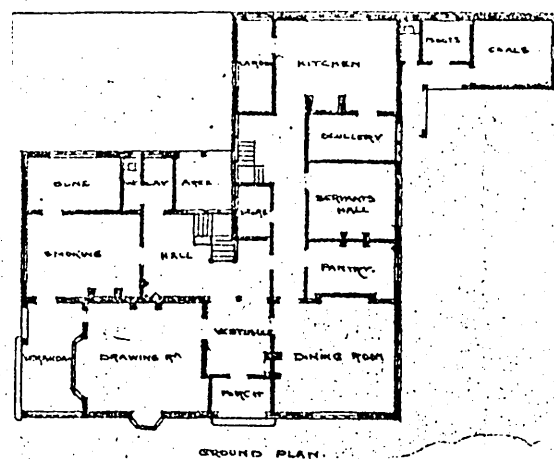
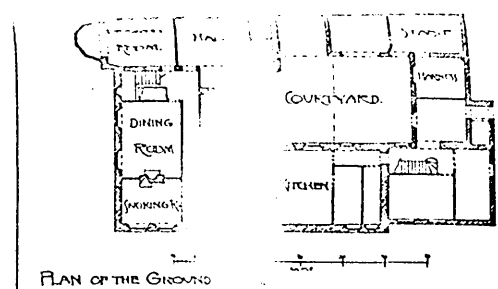


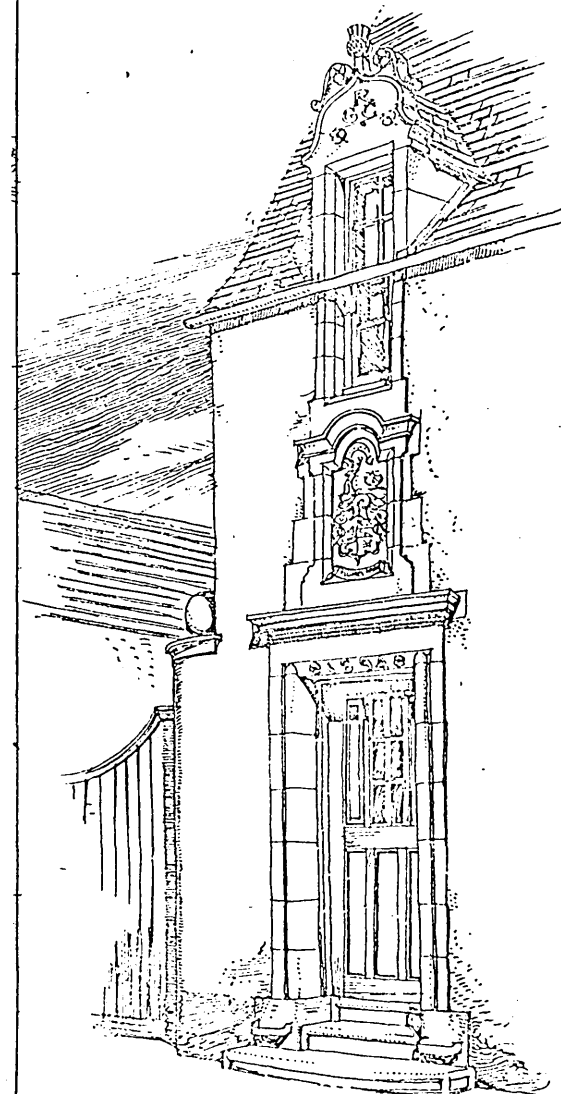
Figure 18: An early design of bawber of the Norman Shaw school. Higher ceilings and larger windows, together with a simpler plan form and massing, fore-shadow the garden city cottages of a decade later.



THE BUILDER, JANUARY 23, 1892.



MUNTEAD CORNER
GORALMING
C.T. HEATLEY ESQ
EDWIN L. LUTYENS, ARCHT
16, OMBLOW SQUARE, W
MARCH 1891.



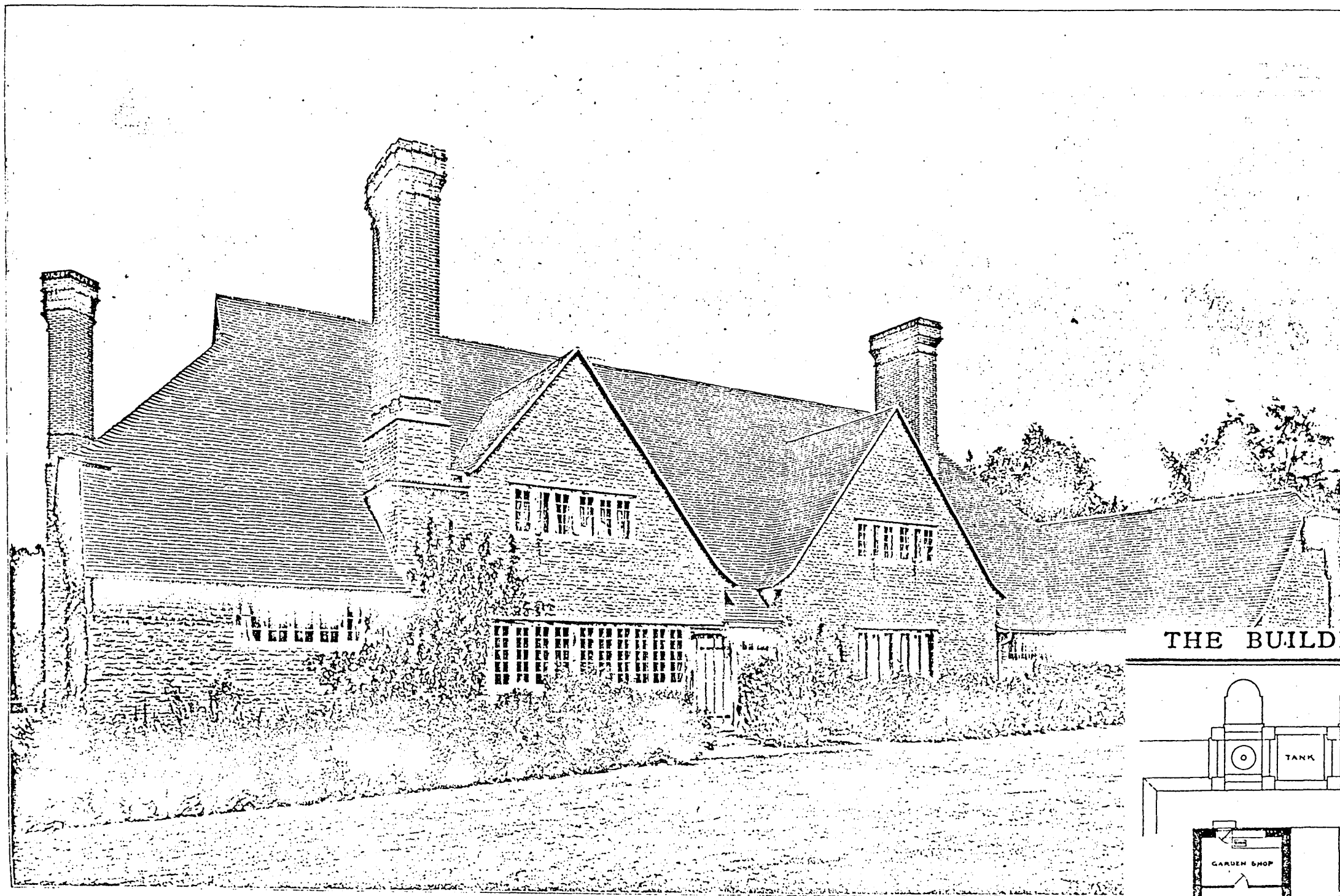
17c



Figure 17: Another early design of Lutyens, in which he shows a less obvious influence of Norman Shaw, in his use of vernacular forms.



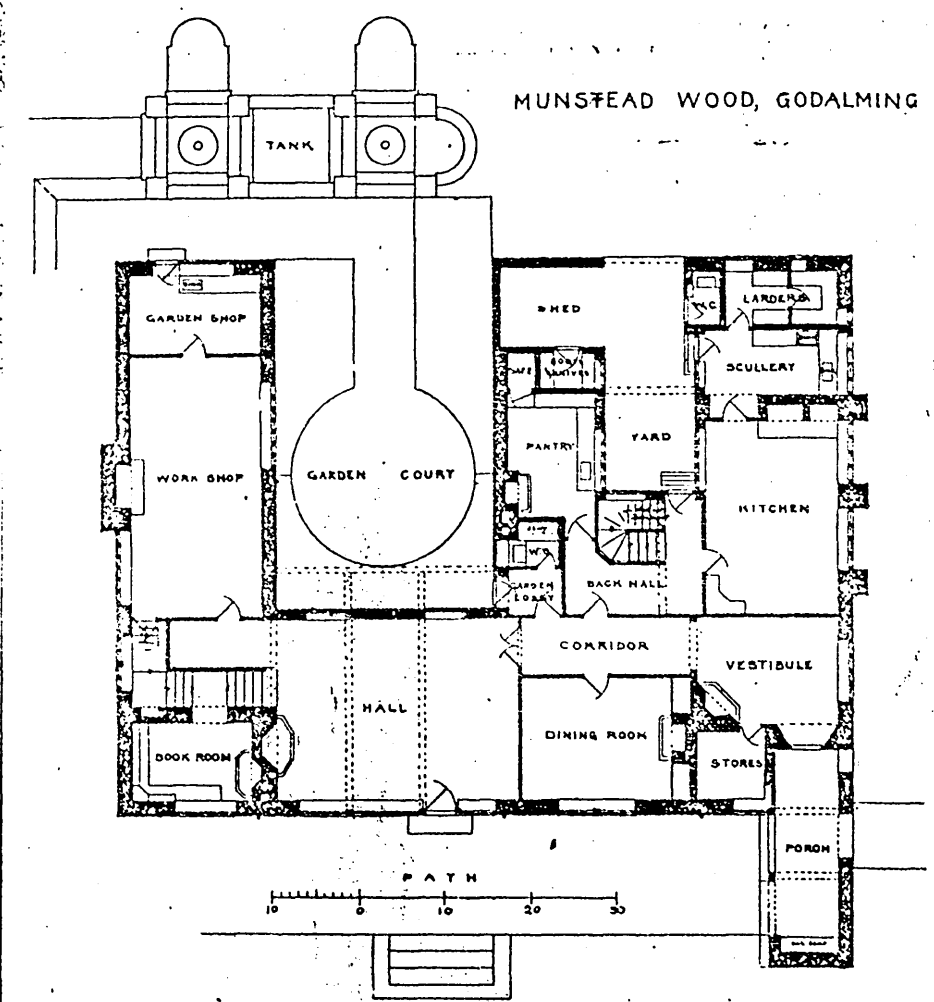
17b



"MUNSTEAD WOOD," NEAR GODALMING.—MR. E. L. LUTYENS, ARCHITECT.

THE BUILDER.

[SEPT. 7, 1901]



Chap. 2

Figures 16A and 16B. Munstead Wood, a 'cottage' for Gertrude Jekyll by the young Mr. Lutyens. Lorimer was highly impressed with it.



100 100 73

Sheildaig, Edinburgh 1906. The cottage informality of Wayside St. Andrews, is here replaced by stressed horizontals as a background for the ornate gable of the staircase well and the arched porch.

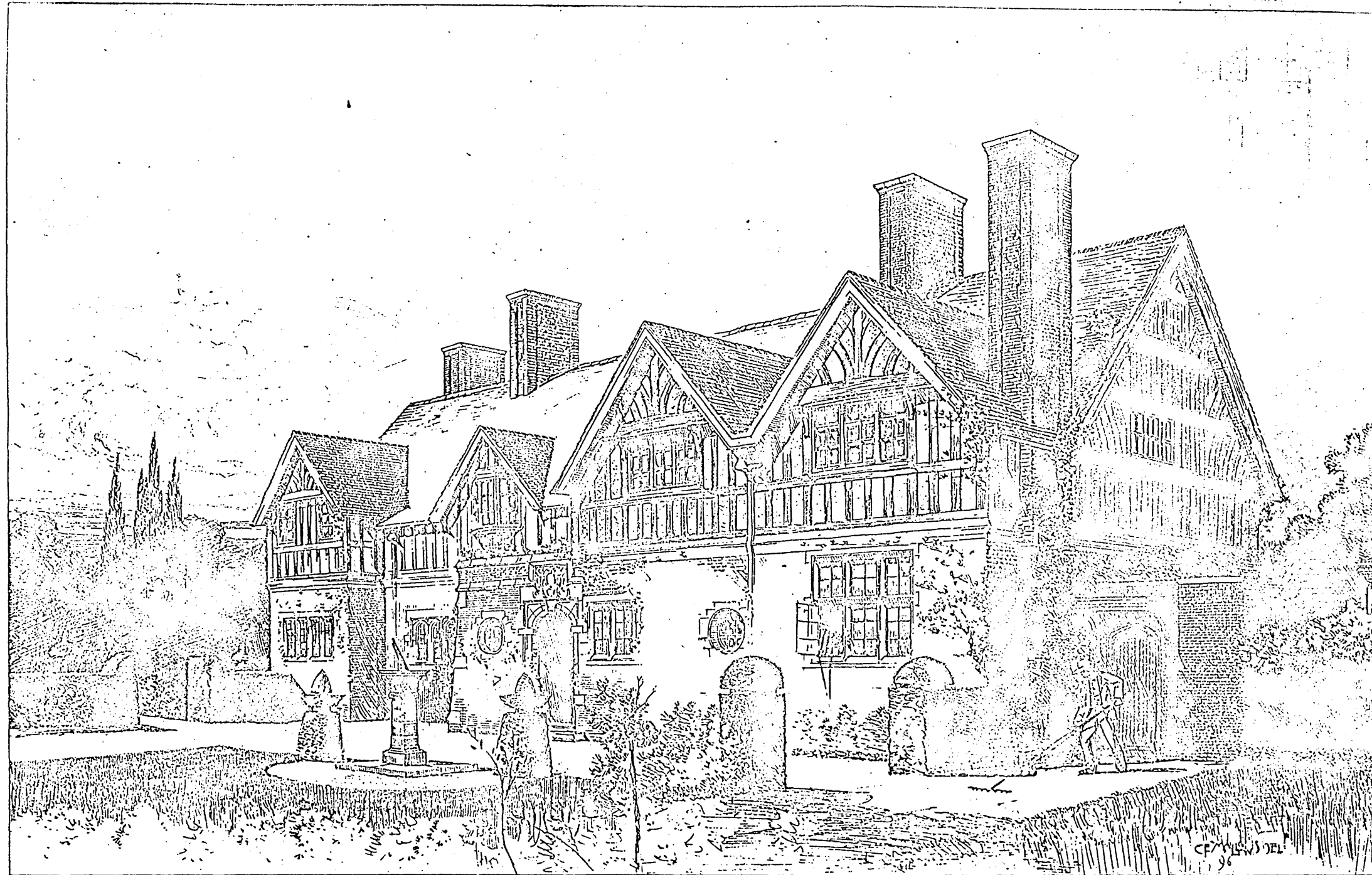


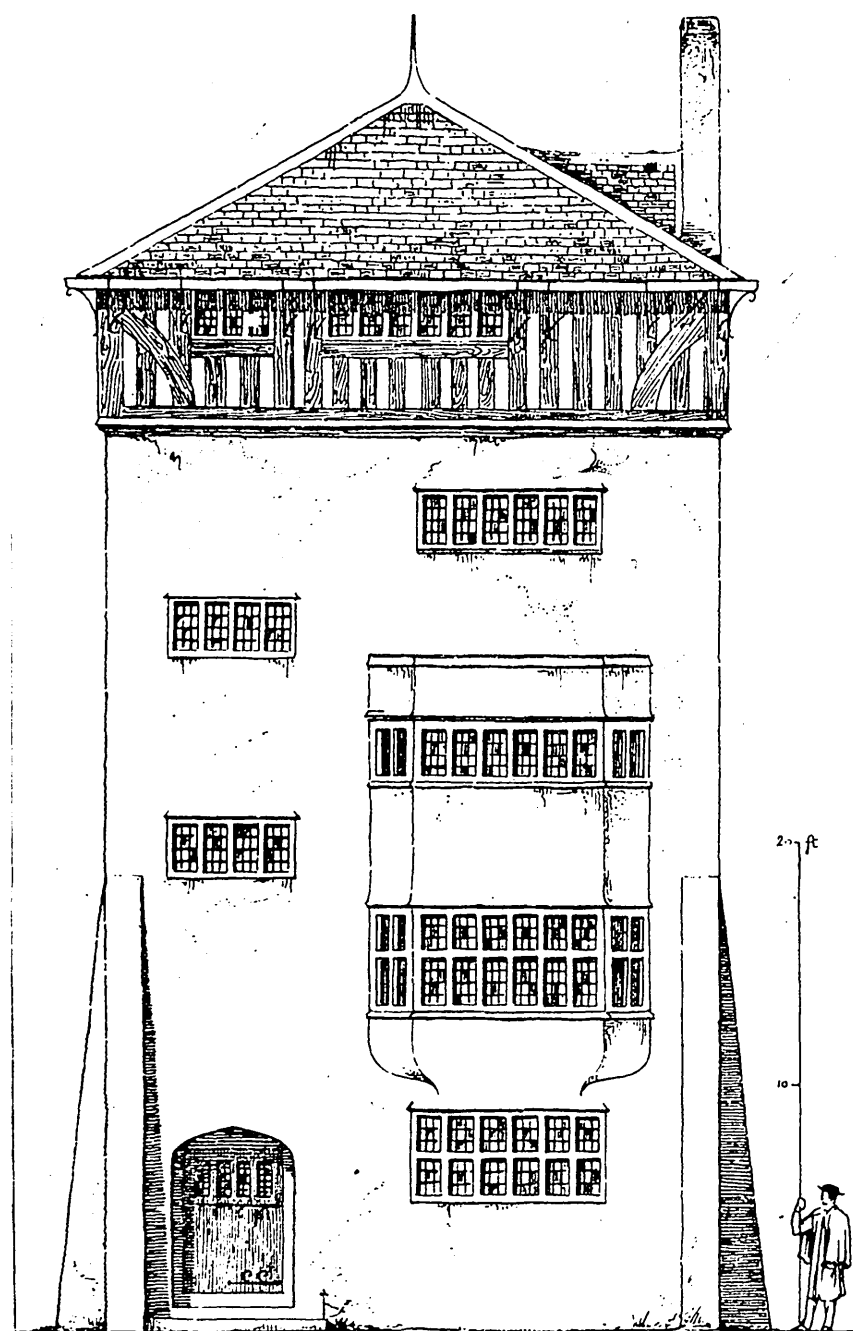
PHOTO-LITHO SPRACUE & CO. 43, EAST HARGREAVE STREET, LONDON, E.C.

"THE GABLES," BLACKHEATH.—MR. ASTON WEBB, F.R.I.B.A. ARCHITECT.

Figure 19: Pure Norman Shaw design from Mr. Aston Webb allied with a formal garden.



Figure 19A: Almost pure Scottish vernacular forms from W.R. Davidson, showing a use of simple surfaces and forms, akin to the intentions of the modern movement.

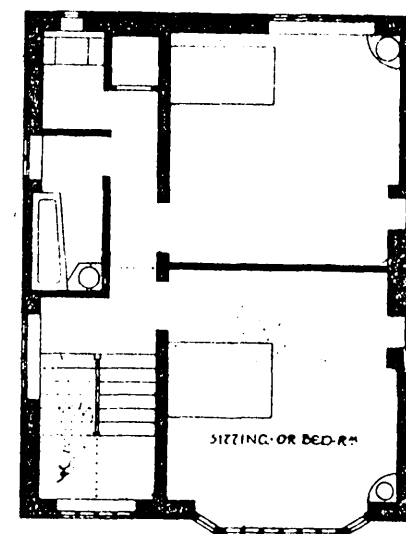
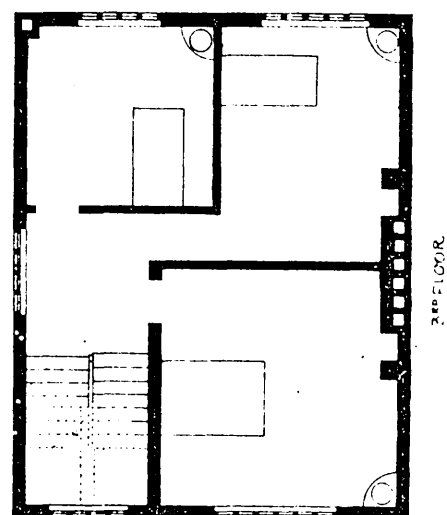
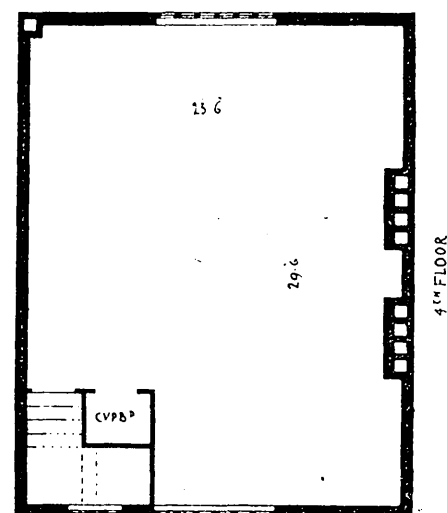


A TOWER HOUSE.

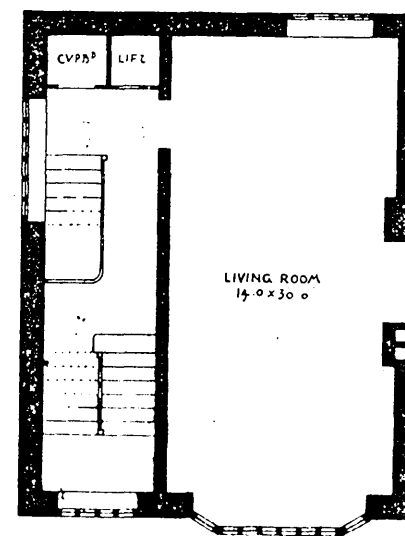
33ft. by 40ft.

C. F. A. VOYSEY, ARCHITECT.

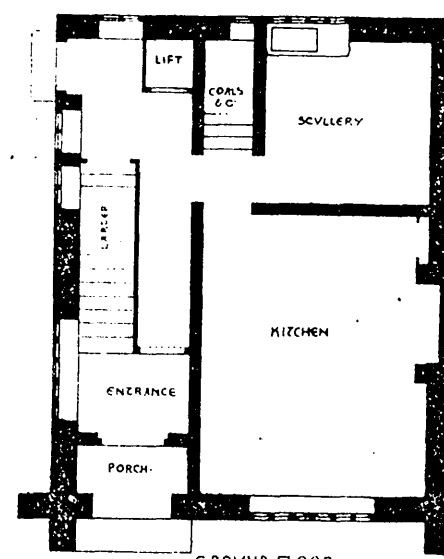
48, TIERNEY ROAD, STREATHAM HILL.



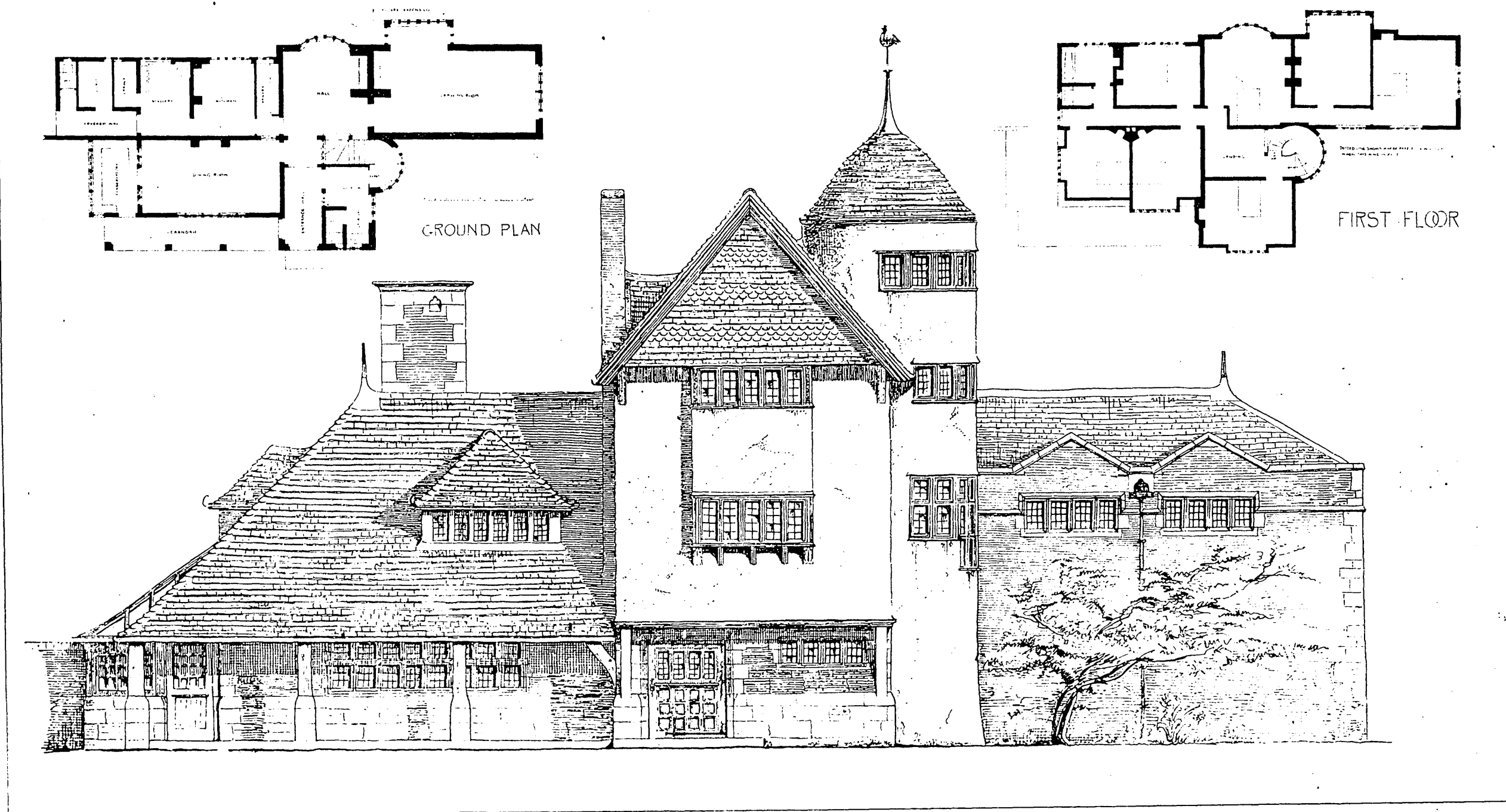
2nd FLOOR



1st FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR



AN ARTIST'S COTTAGE. C. F. A. VOYSEY, ARCHITECT.
FOR A SURREY HILLSIDE.

Figure 21: An early project by Voysey showing the strong influence of George Devey in the handling of the tile hanging and the bell roofed tower. The finials, however, show Voysey manipulating form with an art nouveau freedom.

A COUNTRY RESIDENCE.

C. F. A. VOYSEY, ARCHITECT, 48, TIERNEY ROAD, STREATHAM HILL.

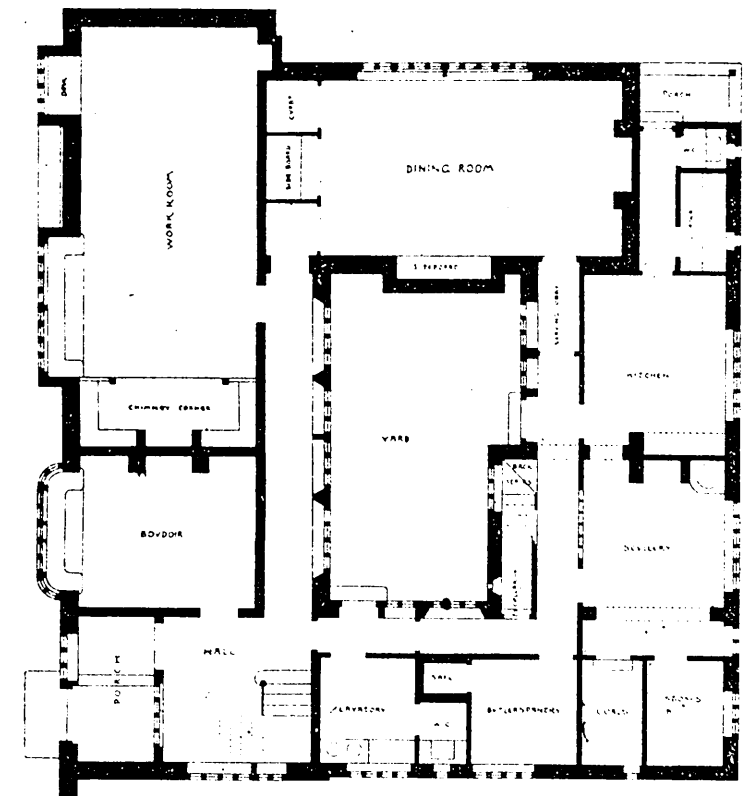
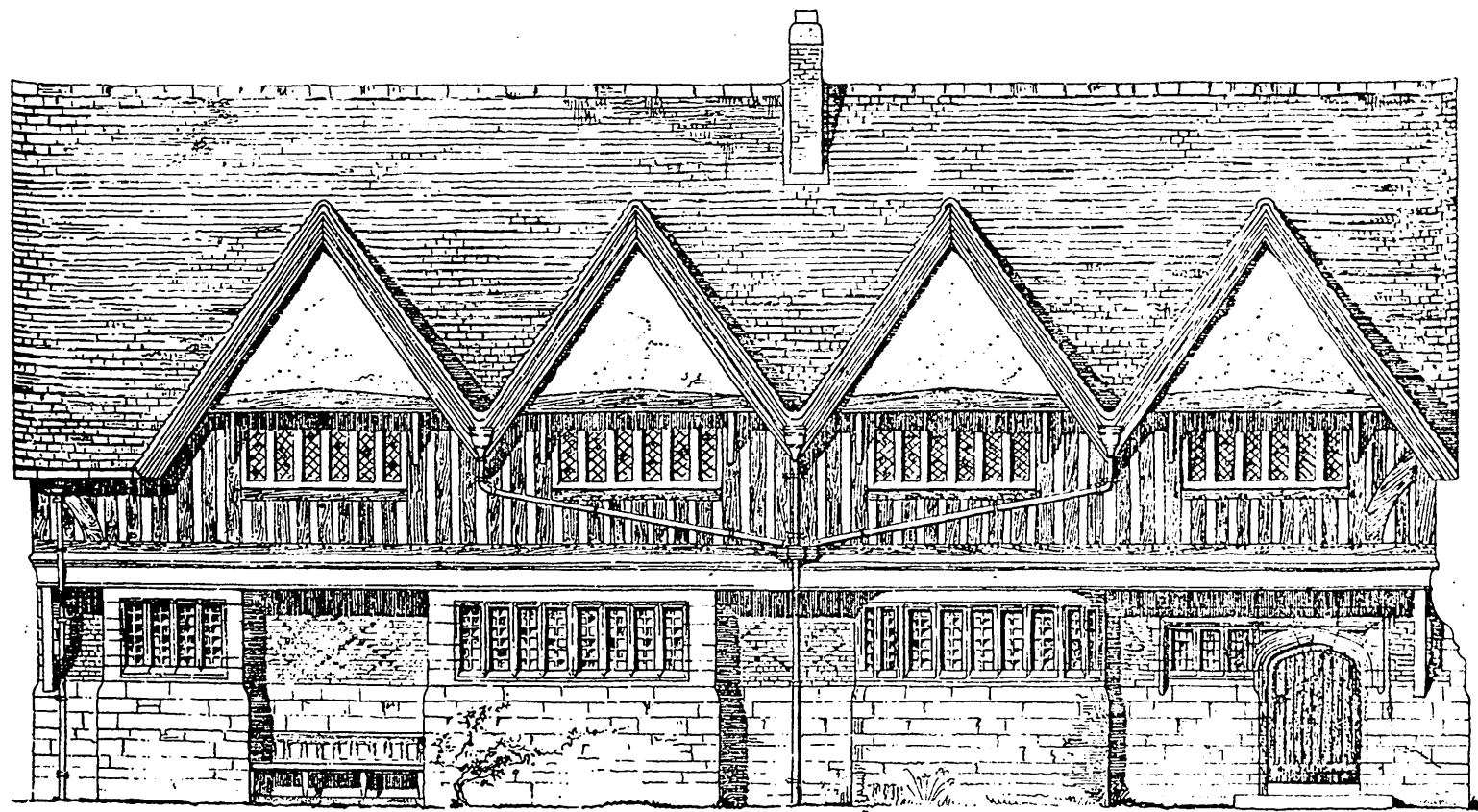
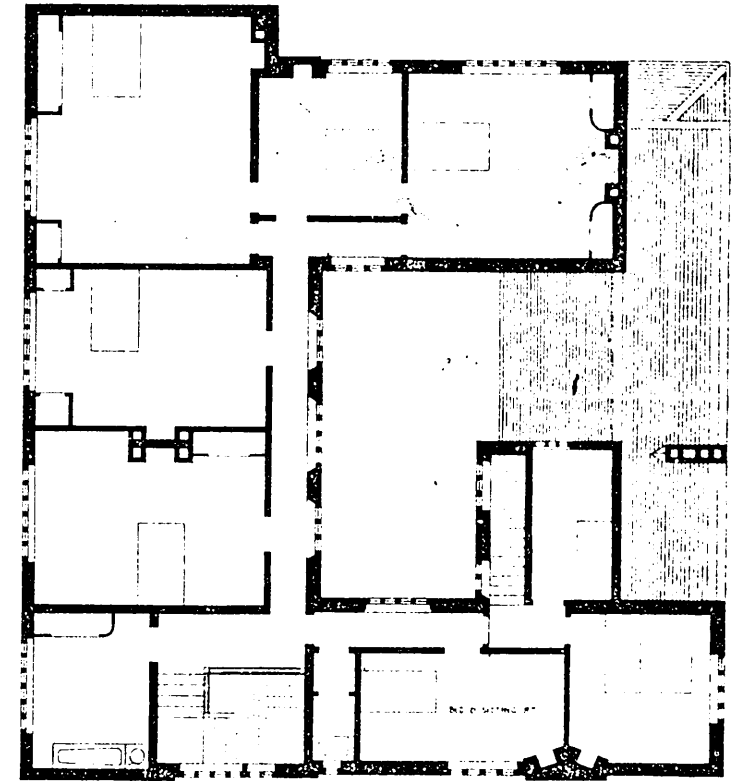
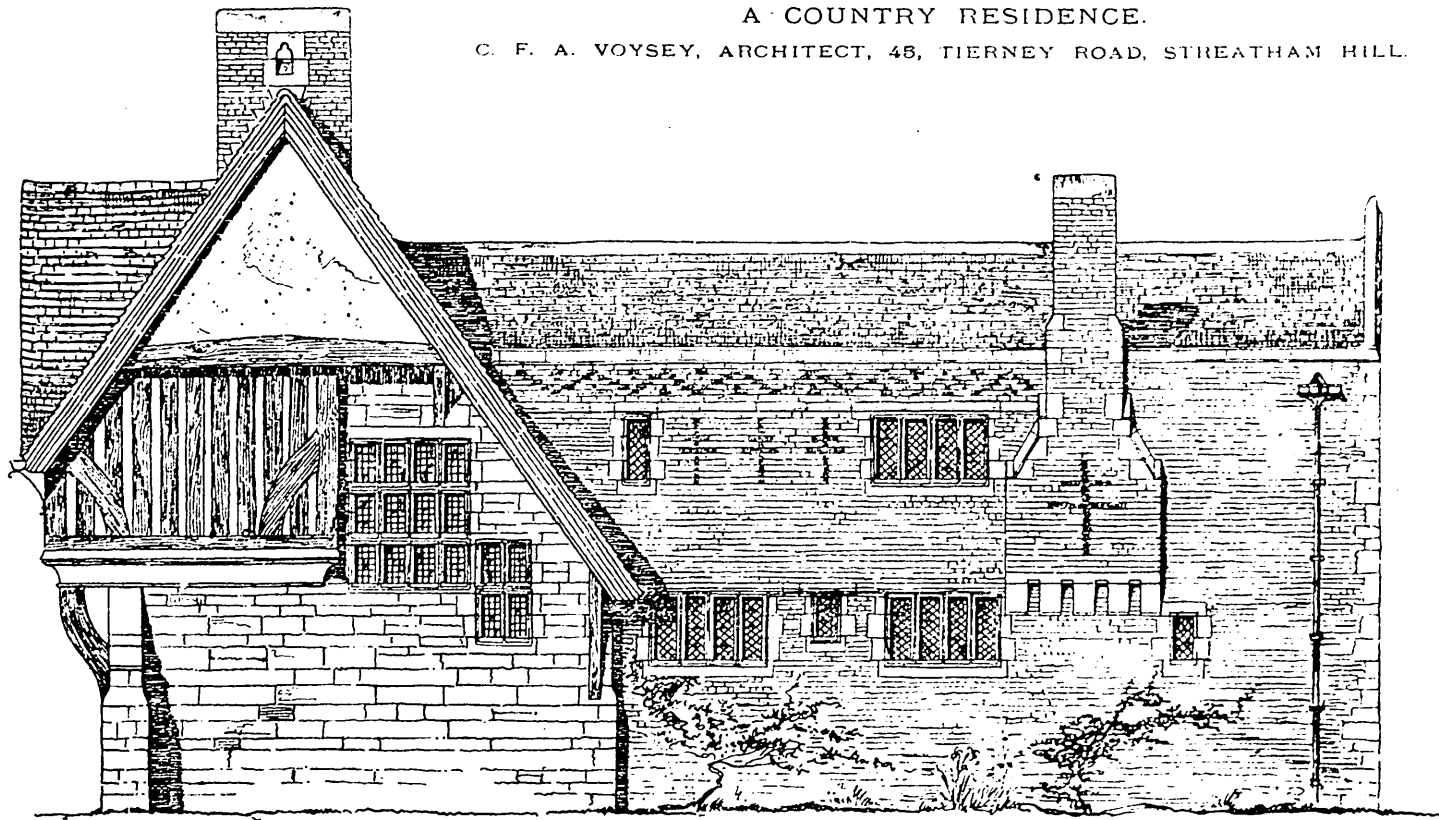
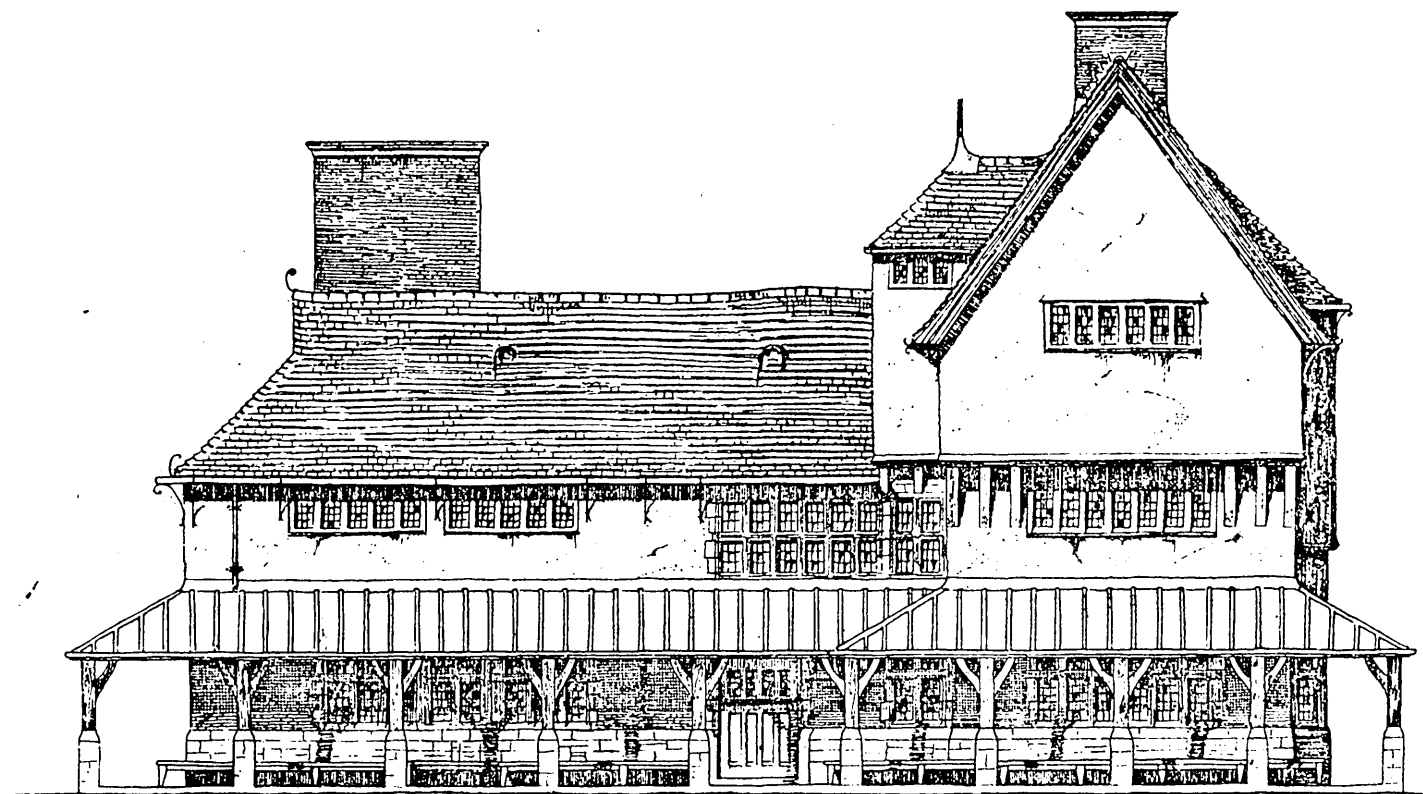
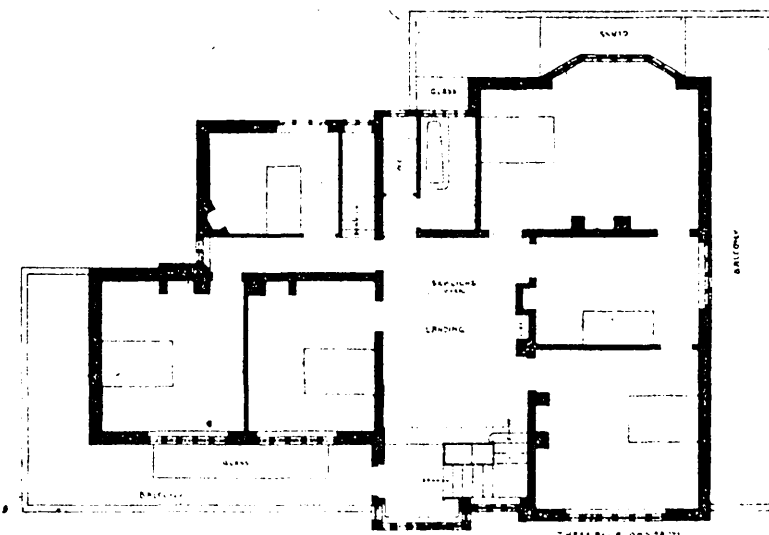
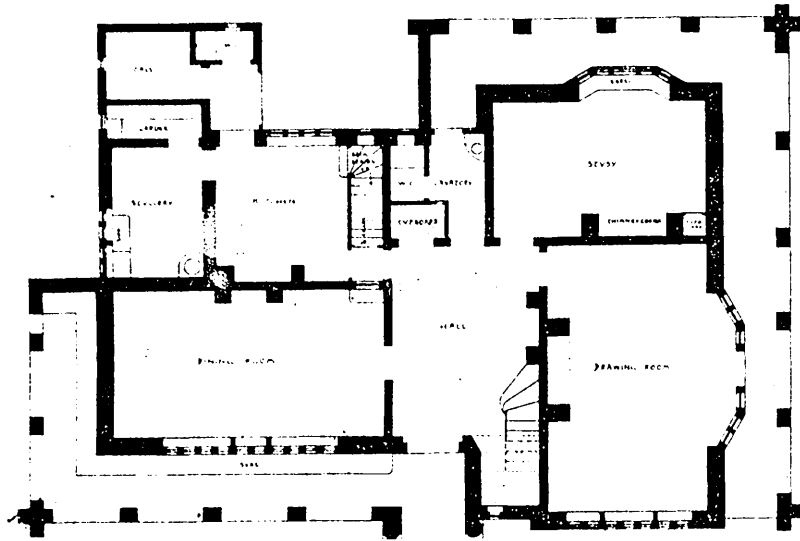


Figure 22: Another early project with strong George Devey influence. The incremental geometry of the planning is less free, or organic, than Shaw's.



ALTERNATIVE.

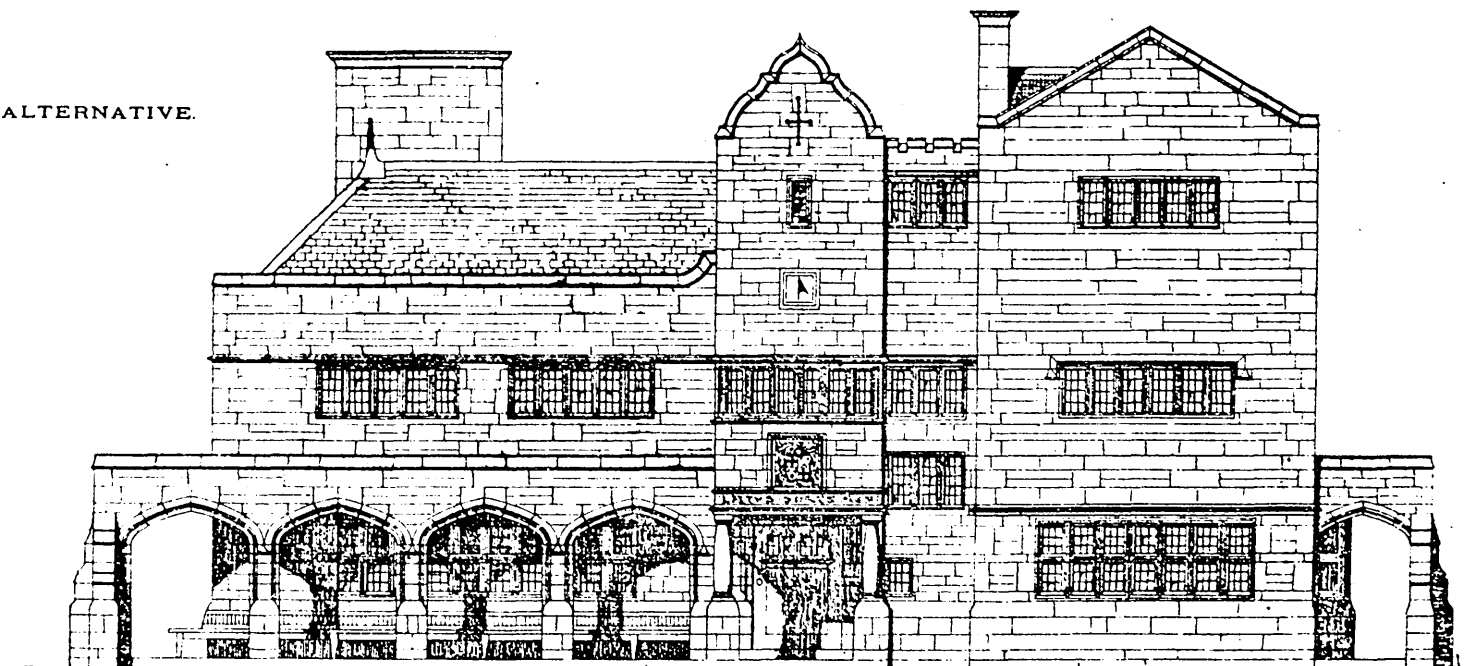
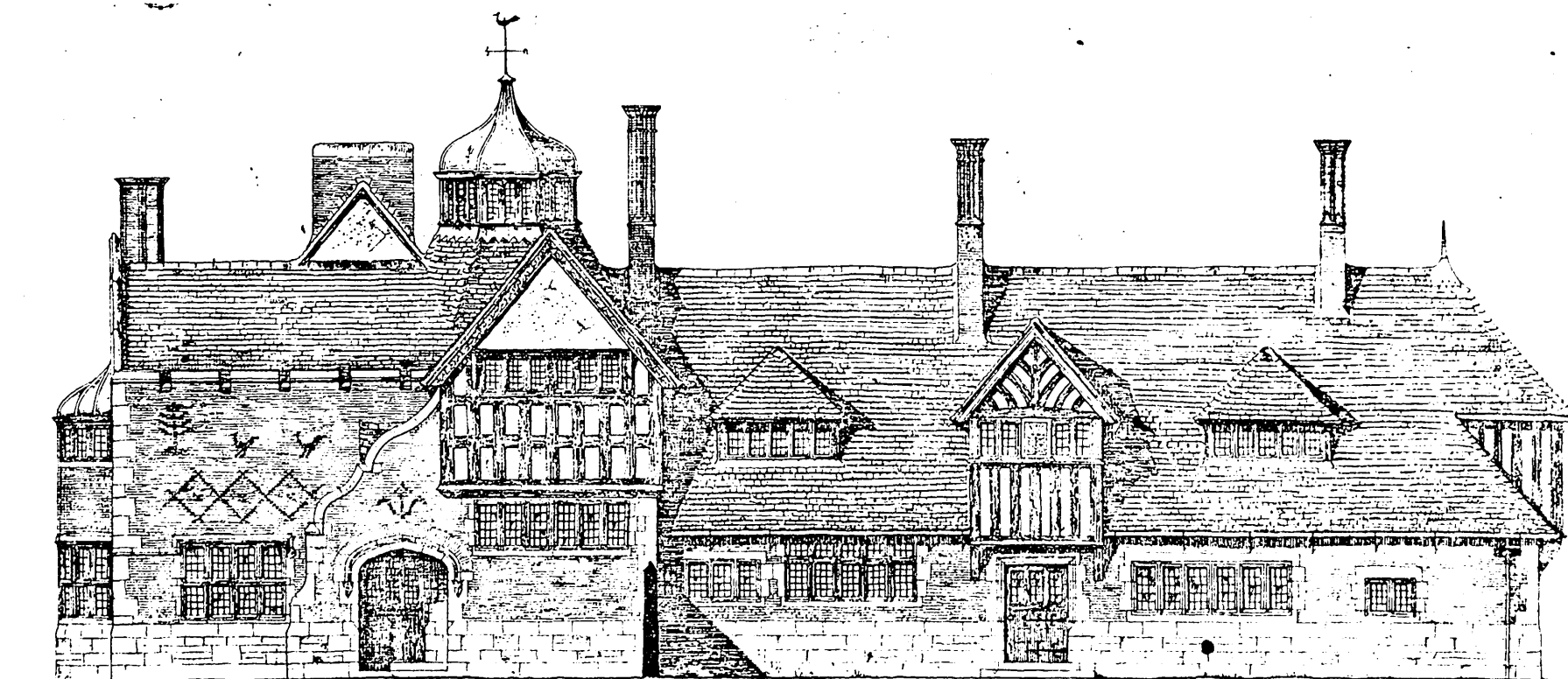
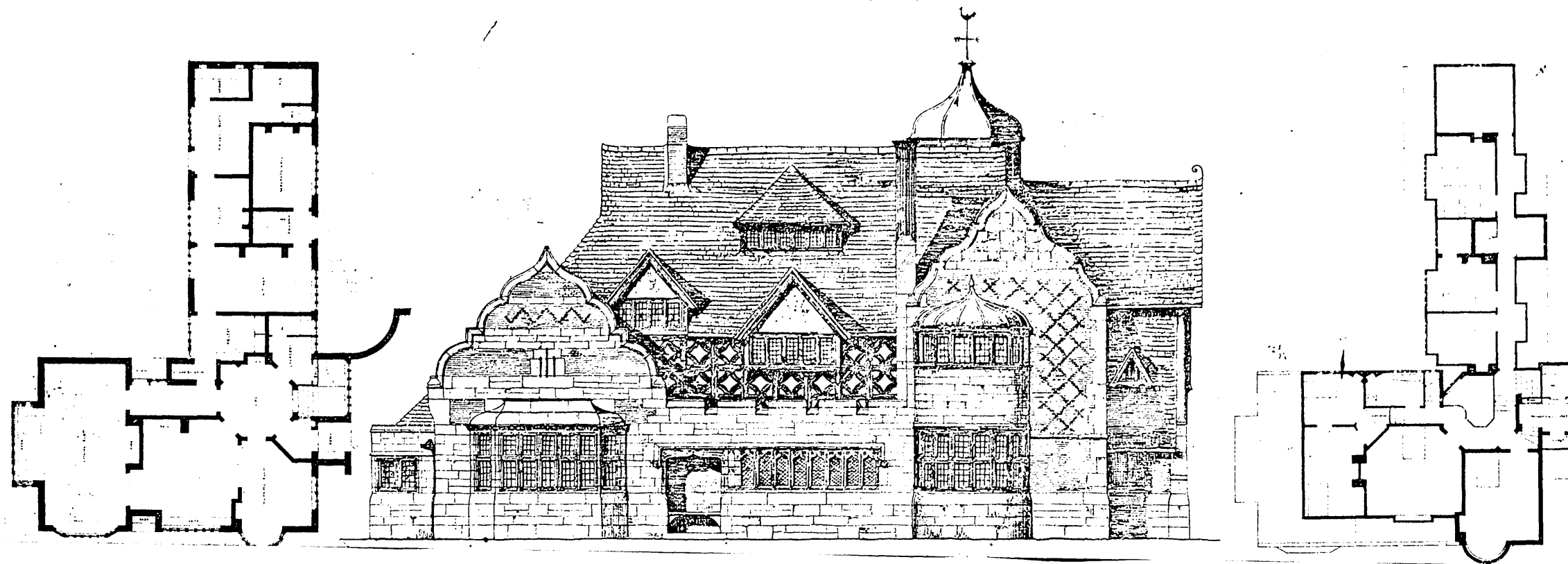


Figure 23: The treatment of this project by Voysey looks freer than of Figure 22, but the way porches are run along facades and across bay windows emphasises the growing emphasis which Voysey was to put on linearity of mass, and on the compartmentation of simple cuboids.

A VERANDAH HOUSE.
C. F. A. VOYSEY, ARCHITECT, LONDON.



A COUNTRY HOUSE WITH OCTAGONAL HALL.

C. F. A. VOYSEY, ARCHITECT, LONDON

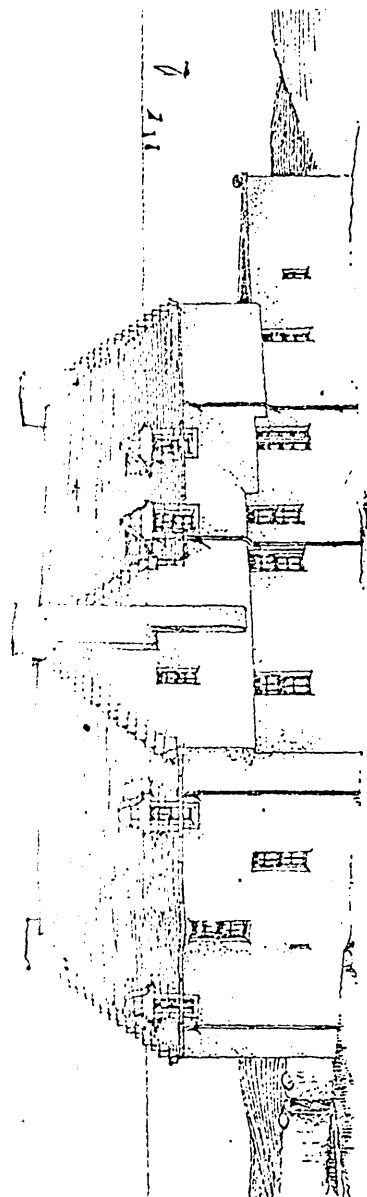
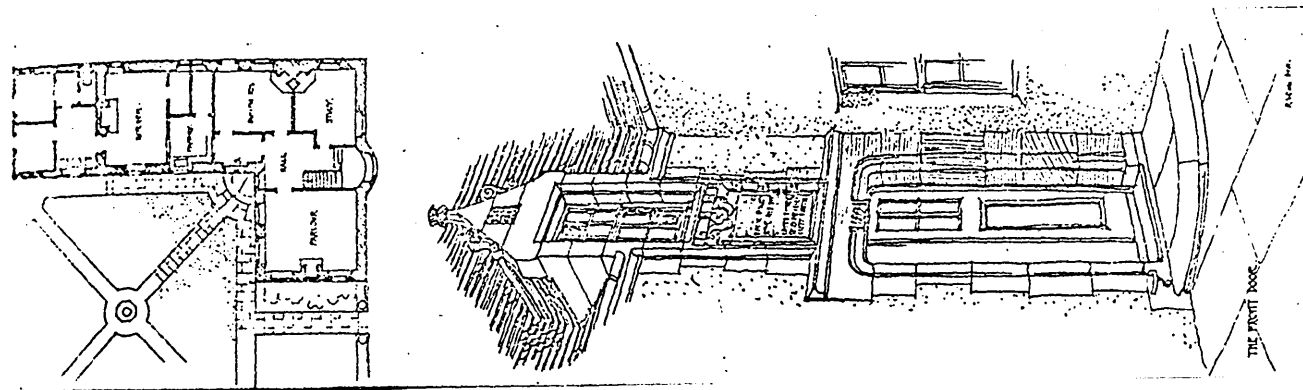
Chap.2
contd.

Figure 24: Another early project by Voysey, shows the use of a simple 'L' shaped block broken only 4 times on the ground floor (by bays). The form of the roof has been manipulated with the richness of a George Devey dwelling.



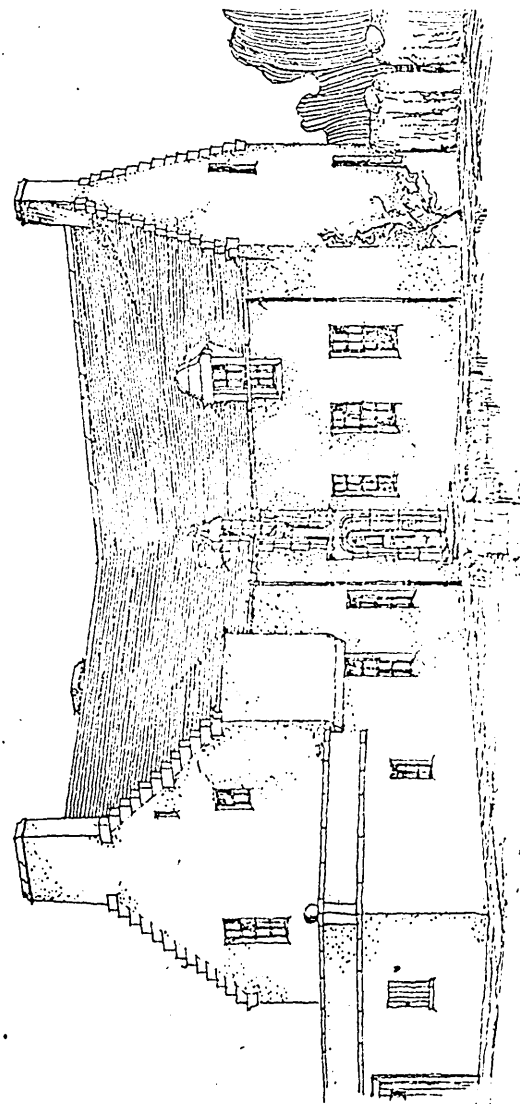
MODERN SCOTTISH HOUSES BUILT IN LOCAL STYLE. MR. R. S. LORIMER, ARCHT. & ARCHT.

Figure 25: A house for one of Lorimer's first clients. A rich play of form contrived within a simple range of means derived from the Scottish vernacular.



VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST

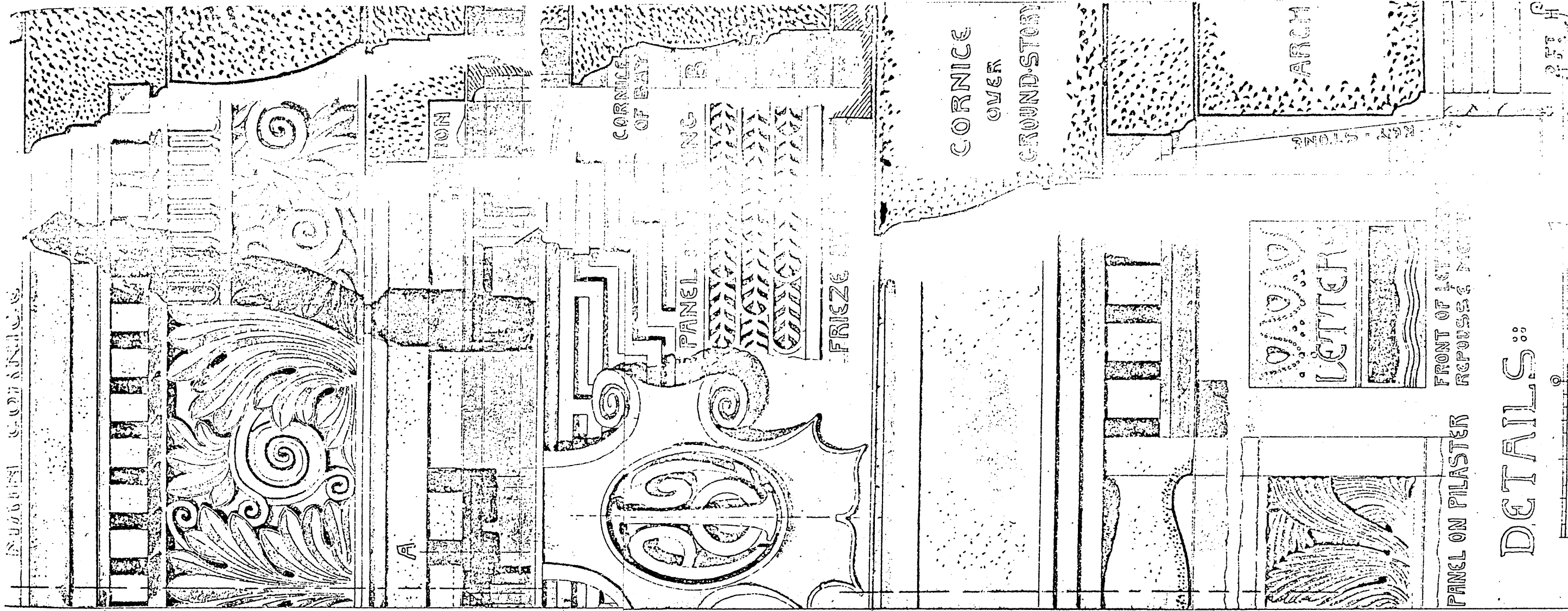
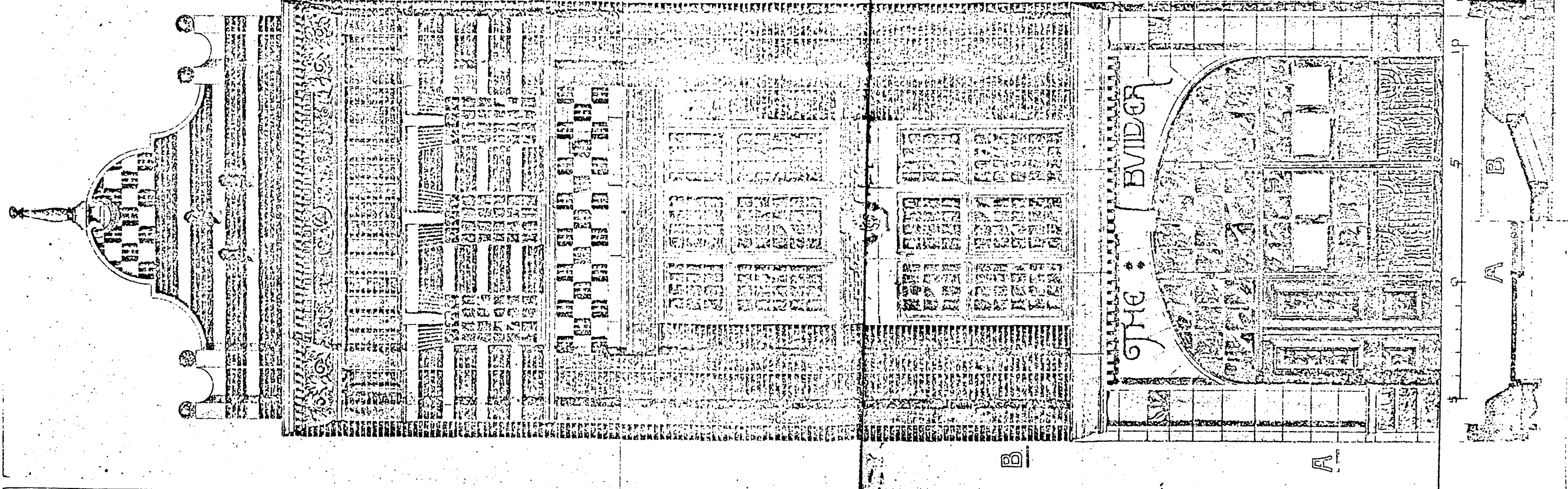
NEW-MANSE WEST-WENYSS-FIFE H. STATHAM ARCHT.
49, QUEEN-STREET DUN.



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

Figure 26: A project for a manse. A simple 'L' shaped plan surmounted by a simple roof form, enriched by a few minor additions.

Figure 27: A display of complete eclecticism from H. Statham, complete with knobs on top.



DETAILS:

PANEL ON PILASTER

FRONT OF LETTER
REPOSED ARCH

LETTER

ARCH

KEY - STONE

CORNICE
OVER
GROUNDSTORY

FRIEZE

PANEL

CORNICE
OF EAVES

ION

ENTABLATURE

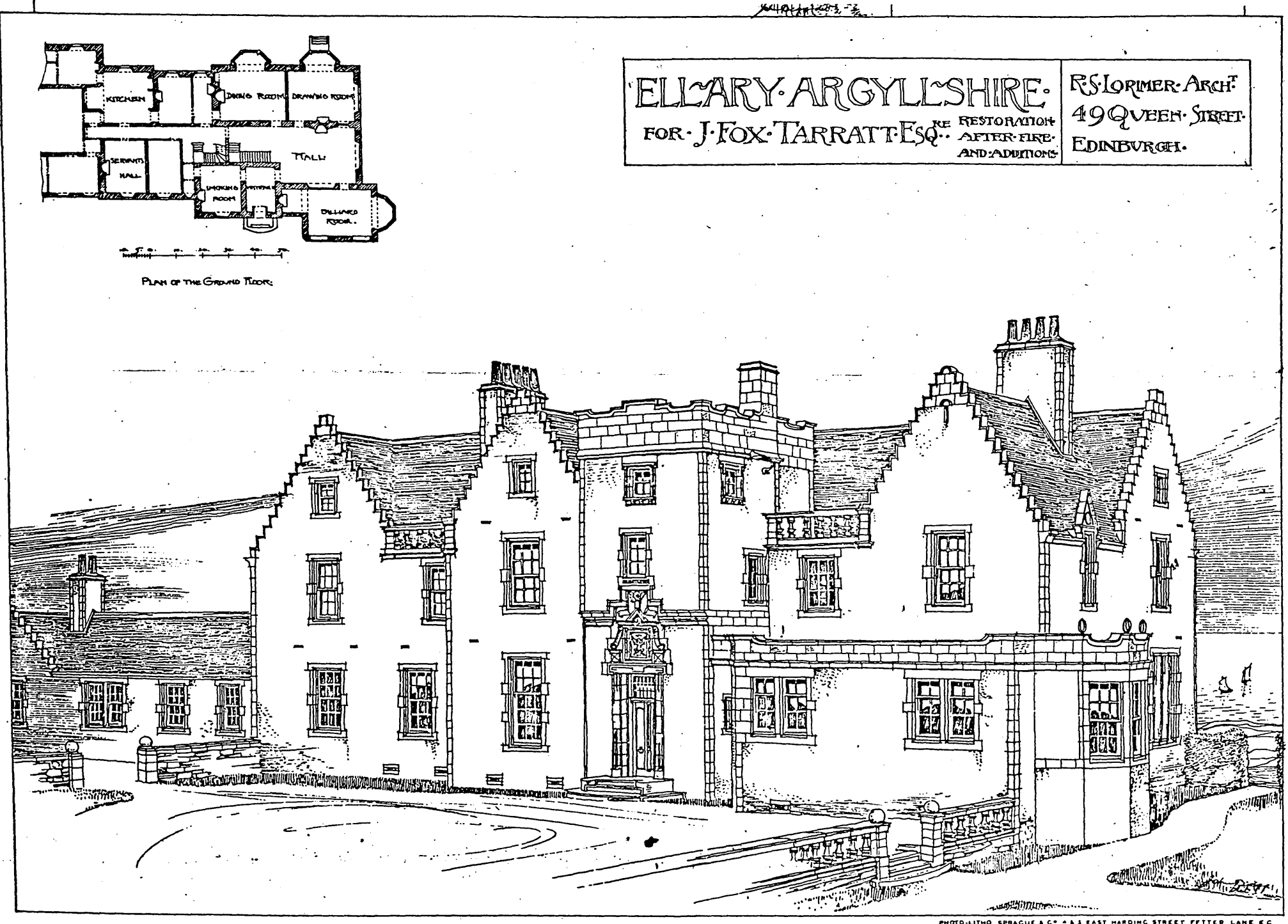


PHOTO-LITHO. SPRAGUE & CO. 4 & 5 EAST HARDING STREET, FETTER LANE, E.C.

MODERN SCOTTISH HOUSES BUILT IN LOCAL STYLE. MR. R. S. LORIMER, A.R.I.B.A., ARCHITECT.

Figure 28: A house by James Bryce, restored by Lorimer. The billiard room in the lower block was added by Lorimer.

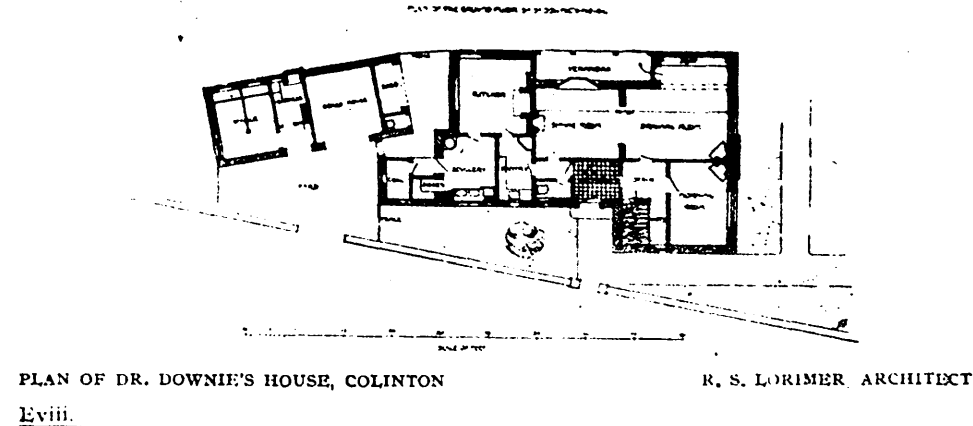
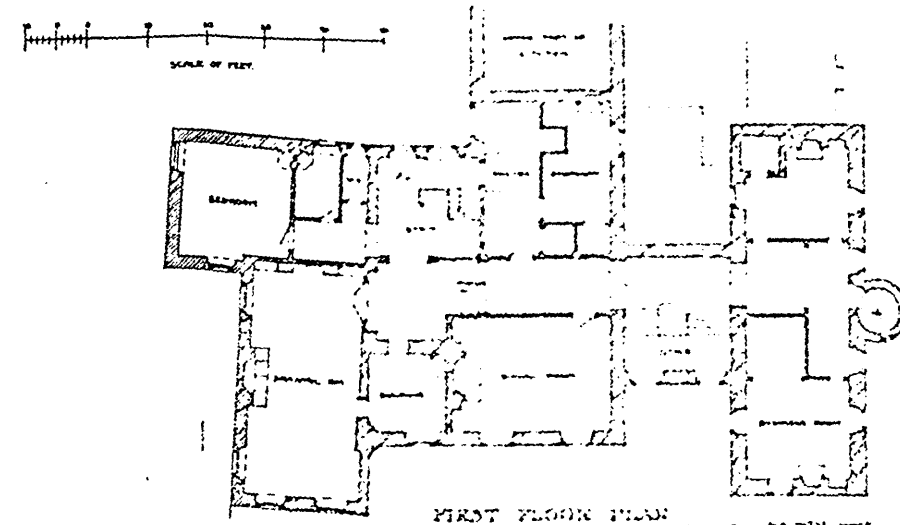


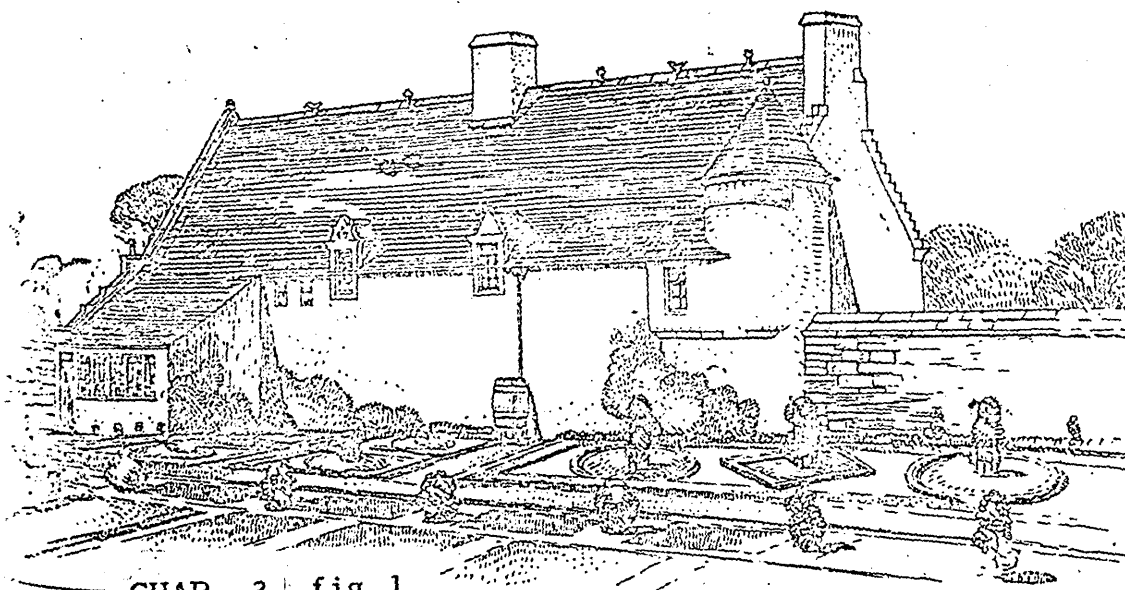
Figure 30: An early example of Lorimer's elimination of all unnecessary features to give unified compositions depending on simple surfaces and forms for their effect.



MOUNIE ABERDEEN-SHIRE

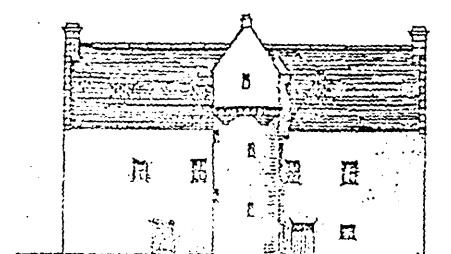
RESTORATION OF OLD HOUSE & ADDITIONS : WITH
STABLE, GARDENS & FOR MAJOR SETON OF MOUNIE

R.S. Lorimer. ARCHITECT &
49 QUEEN ST. EDINBURGH

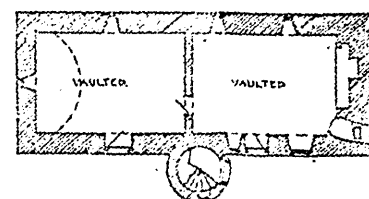


CHAP. 3 fig.1

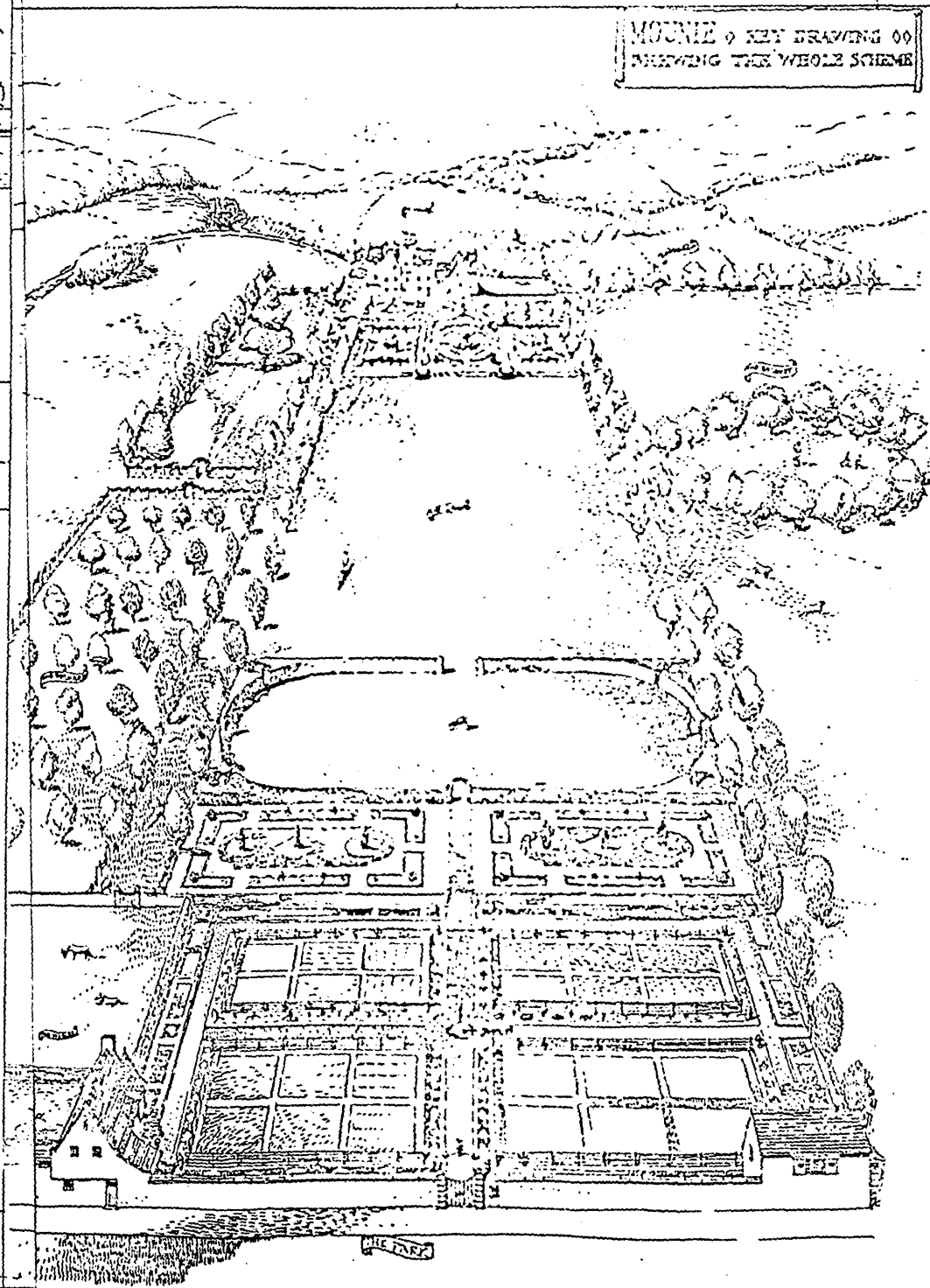
VIEW OF PART OF STABLE BUILDINGS
FROM THE GARDEN



FRONT OF OLD HOUSE AS EXISTING.



SCALE OF FEET





Chap.3

Figure 1: An unrealised restoration in the 'Colinton Manner'.

Figure 2: The 'Colinton Manner' translated into wood by Lorimer for a Norwegian country retreat.



THE GATE HOUSE, BRIGLANDS, KINROSS-SHIRE, N.B.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

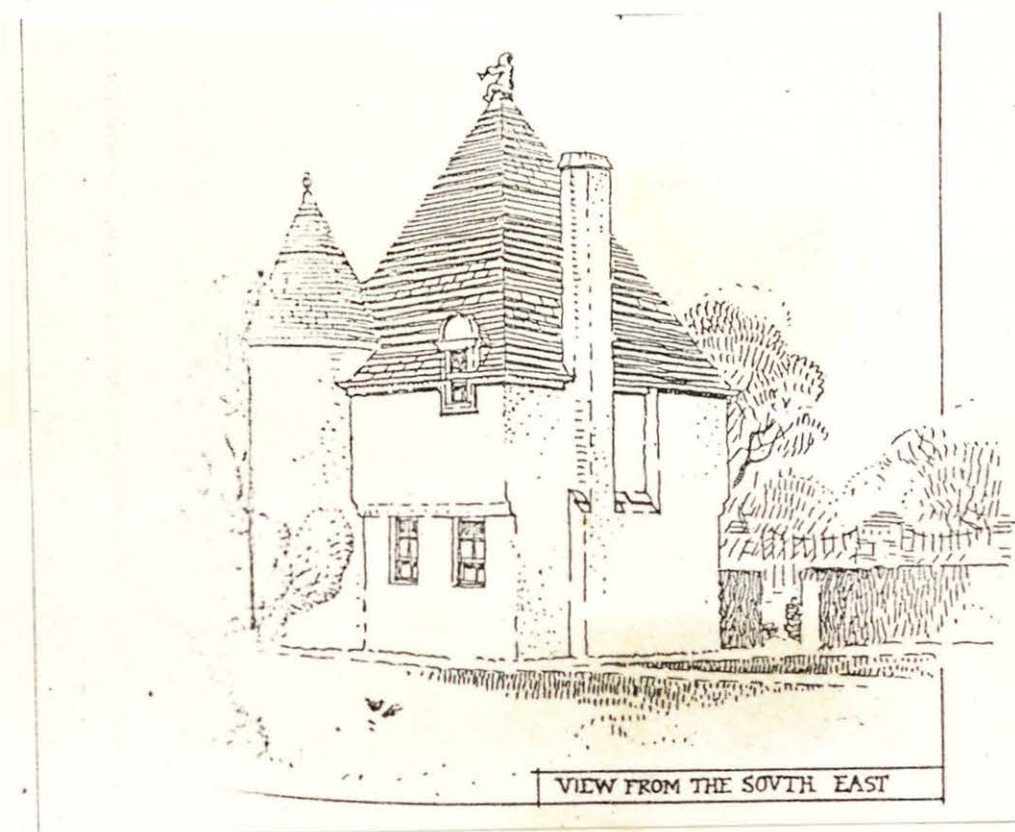
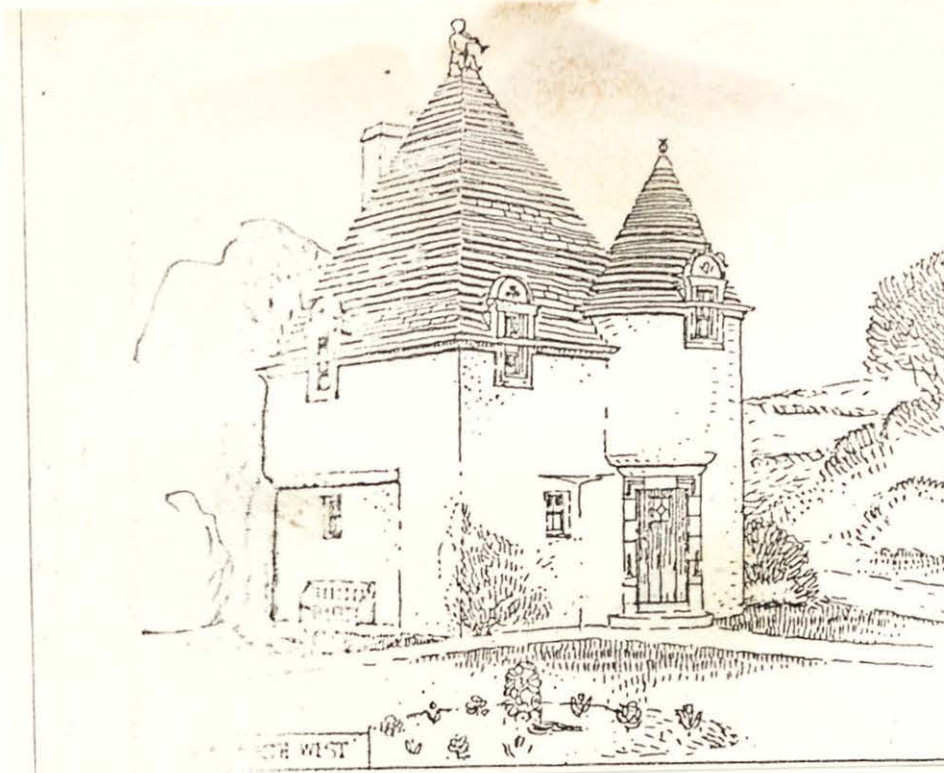
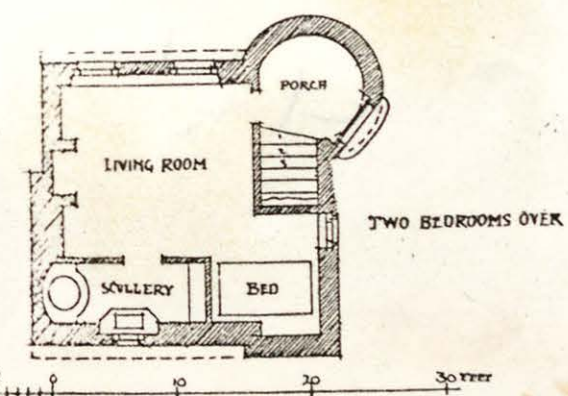
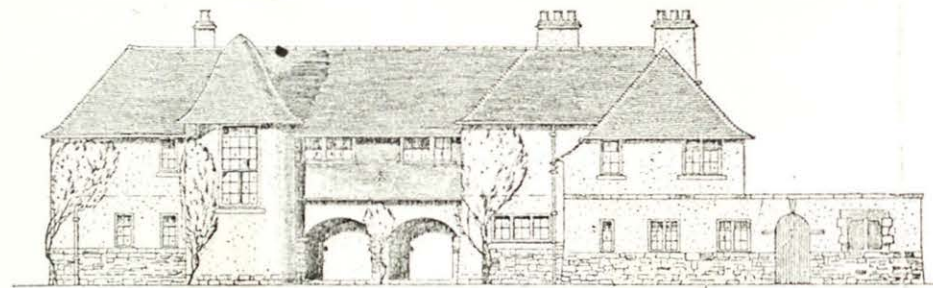


Figure 3: Queen Mary's Bath house adapted to a gate lodge at Balcarres. The free flowing form avoids the sense of obstruction of so many simple rectangular lodges.

Figure 3A: Briglands gate lodge, another example from a series of some 6 such lodges designed by Lorimer.



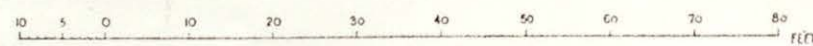
HOUSE IN PEEBLES SHIRE N.B.
1/8" SCALE ELEVATIONS



FRONT ELEVATION (North East)



BACK ELEVATION (South West)



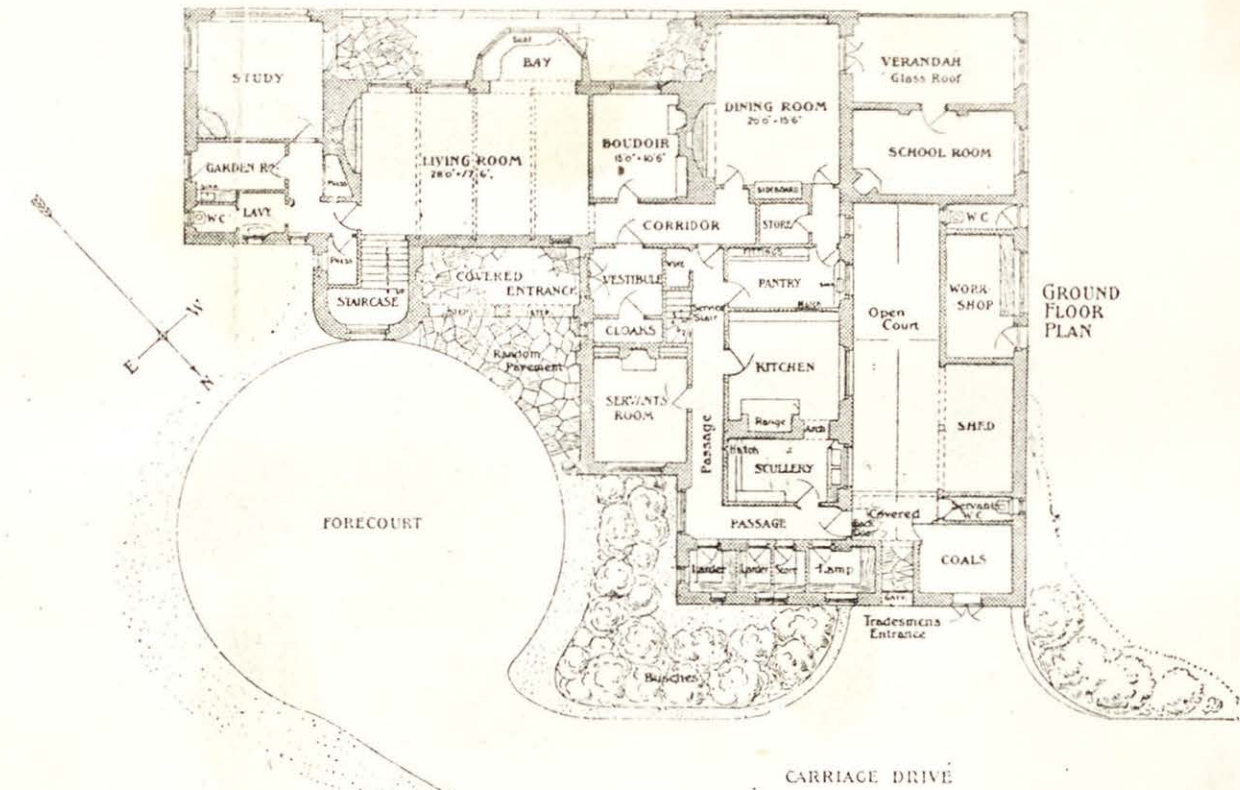
SCALE OF FEET

R.S. LORIMER A.R.S.A.
49 QUEEN ST. EDIN.

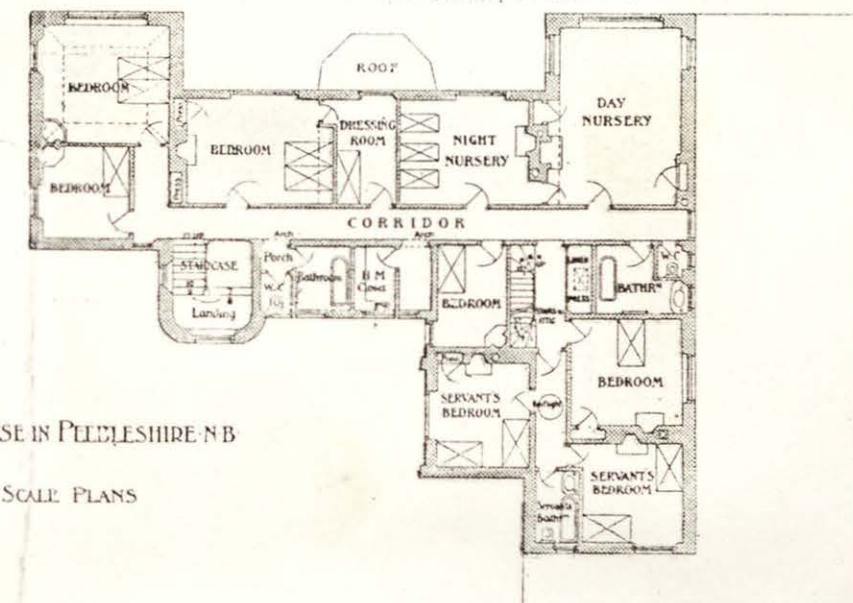
HOUSE IN PEEBLES SHIRE, N.B.

FROM THE ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

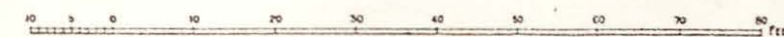


FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Servants' Bedrooms
Box Room & Cistern
Room in Attics

HOUSE IN PEEBLES SHIRE N.B.

1/8" SCALE PLANS



SCALE OF FEET

R.S. LORIMER A.R.S.A.
49 QUEEN ST. EDIN.

HOUSE IN PEEBLES SHIRE, N.B.

SEE THE COLOUR-PLATE OF THE ELEVATIONS.

R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect.

Chap.3. Figure 4: An un-realised project. The emphasis of
contd. . . horizontals is uncharacteristic of Lorimer's work.

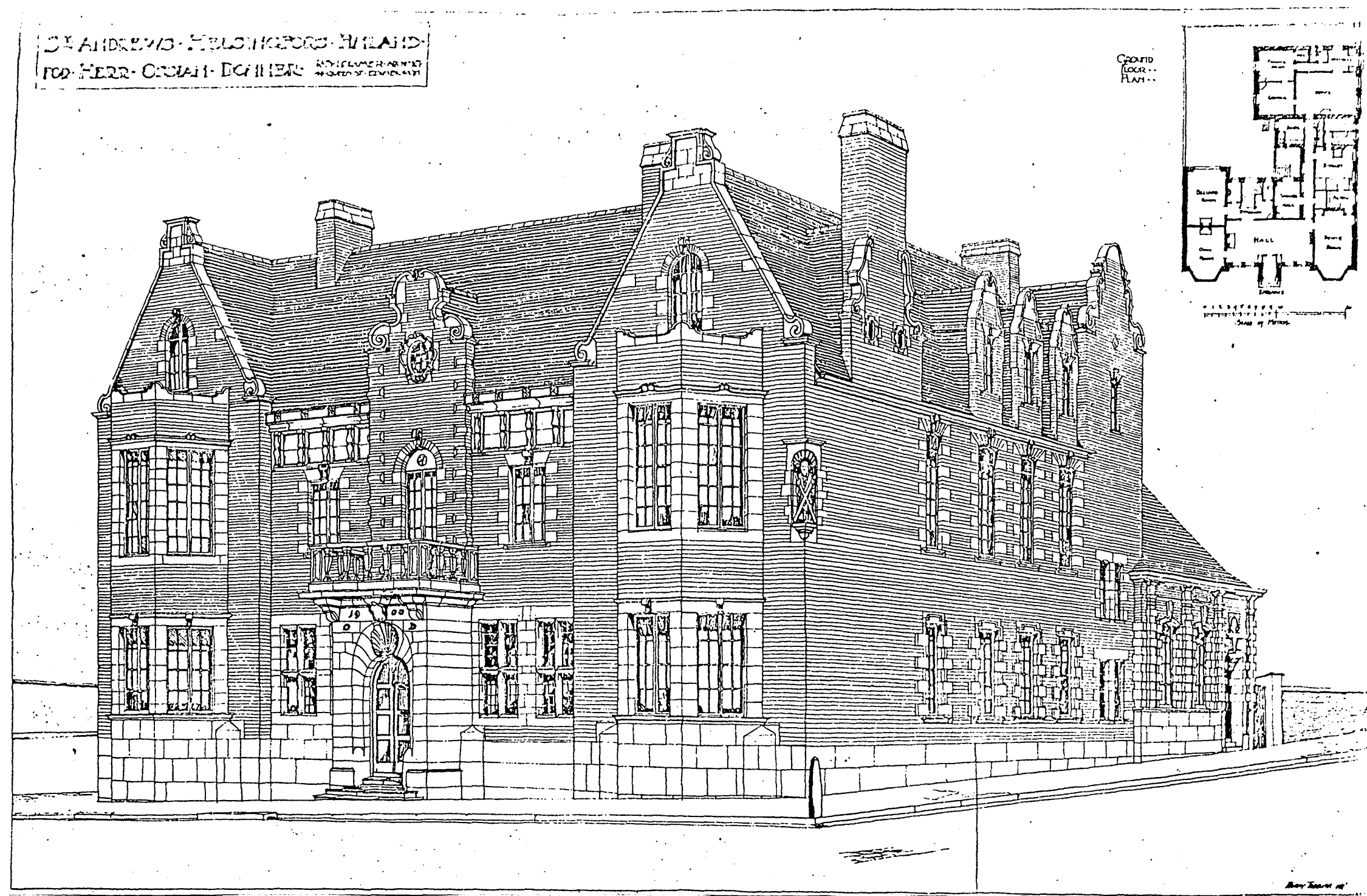


Figure 5: A Scottish house in Helsinfors with Jacobean overtones.



2



3

Figure 6: A house in England in the English manner.

Four views of Whinfold. 1, From south, showing extension (not by Lorimer) on left. 2. From north west, showing large round yew tree (now destroyed) in centre of turn-around. The front door was in the corner between two wings. Present owner has moved it to the near gable end. 3 and 4. From the east. The stumps are of Wellingtonia. The garden design by Lorimer and Jekyll has been completely altered by present owner.



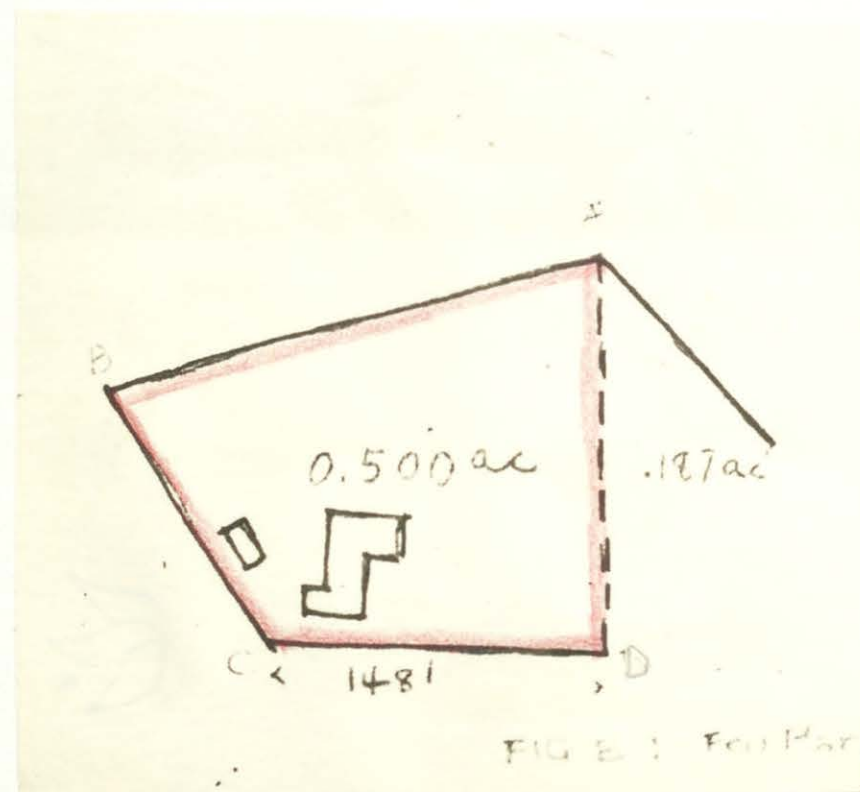
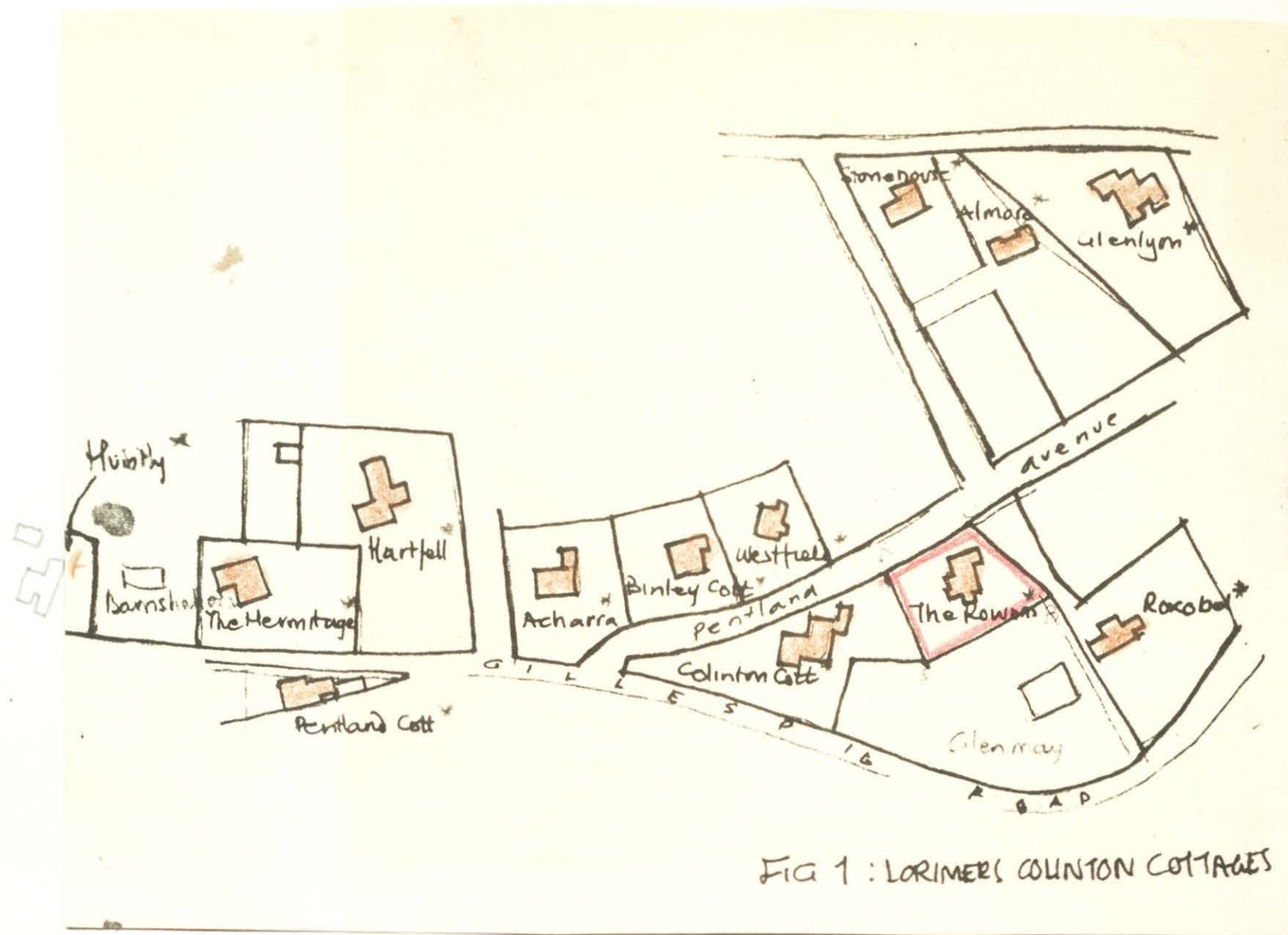
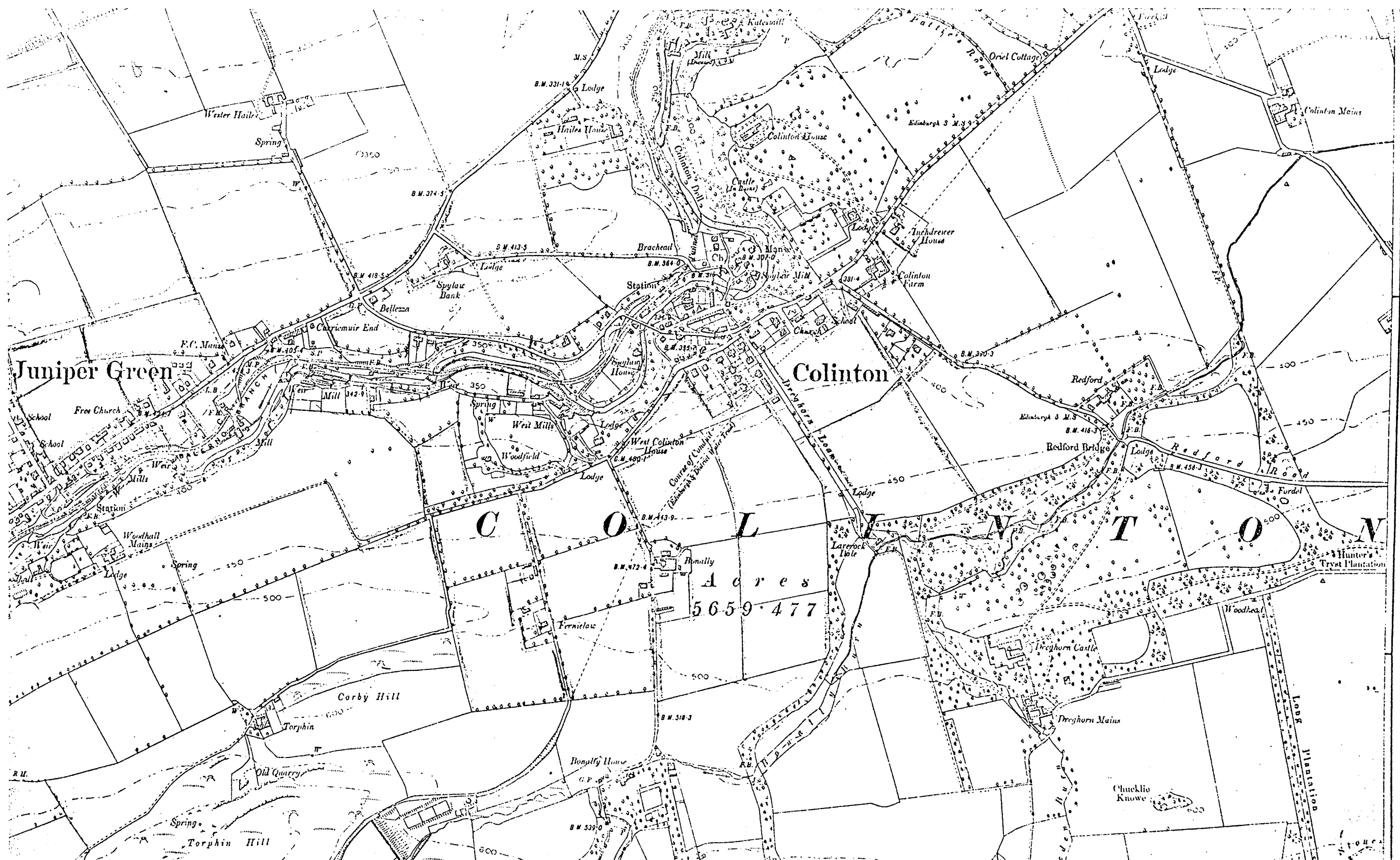
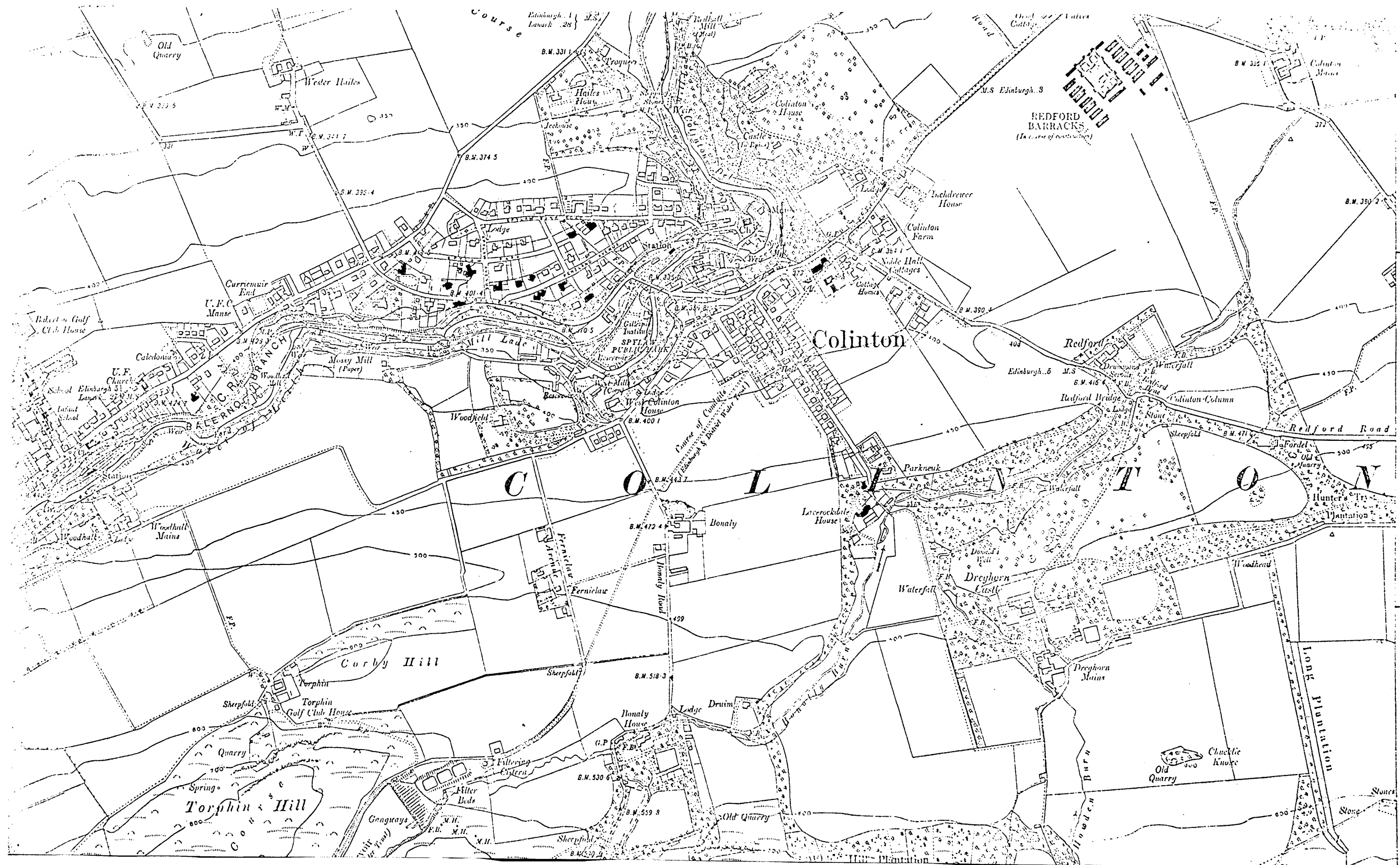


Figure 2: The feu plan for 'The Rowans' to show its misleading effect. (Vol.1, p.96).





Figures 3, 4 and 5: Three maps of Colinton to show the progress of building operations there from 1895, to 1908 and 1915. (Vol.1, pp.89, 90, 98).



The Murrel, Aberdeen, Fife.

59

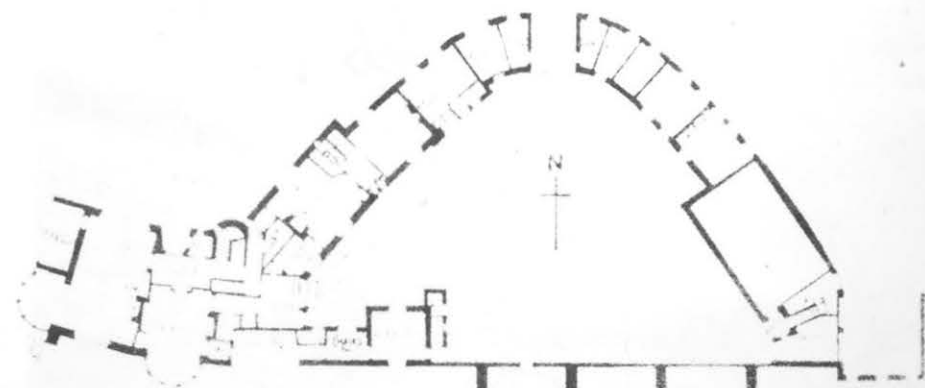
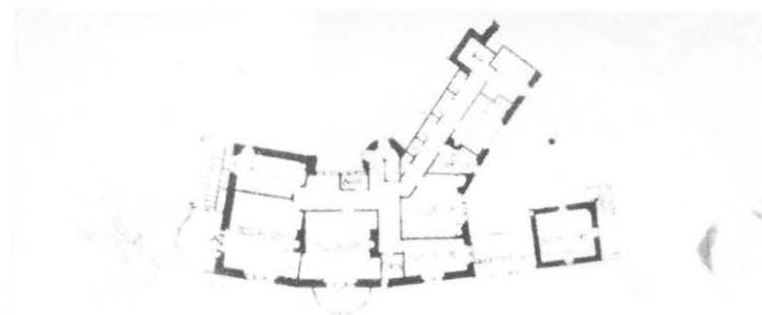


74. KITCHEN COURTYARD FROM SOUTH.



75. THE ENTRANCE FRONT.

6



10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80



6A

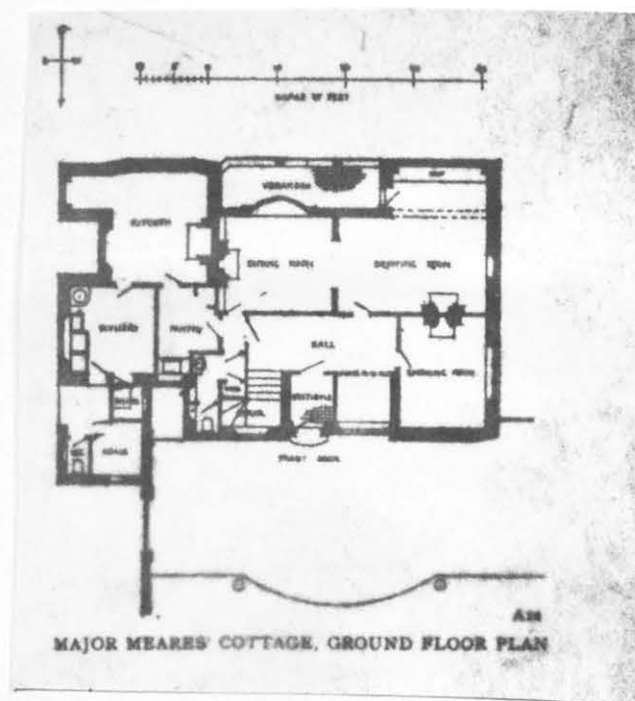
A GROUP OF COTTAGES, MIDDLETON, BUILT OF STONE, CLAYED AND WHITEWASHED, AND ROOFED WITH SCOTCH SLATE.

R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect

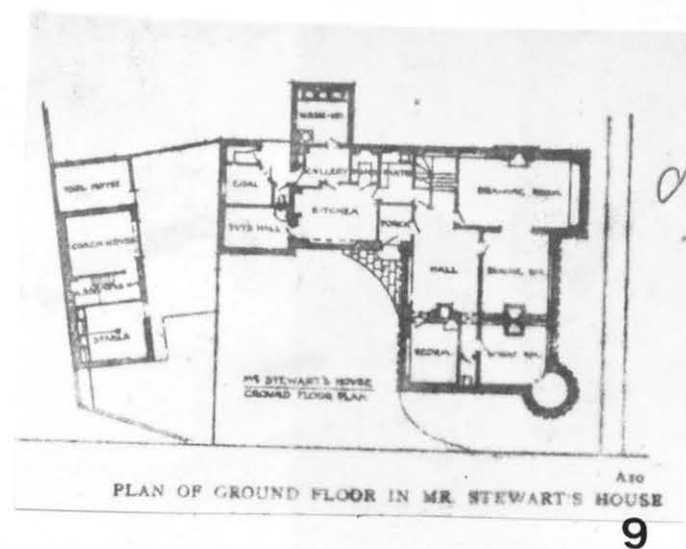
7

Figure 6: A bachelor's establishment, at which Lorimer spent many a week-end. (Vol.1, p.100).

Figure 7: A charming group of cottages, not notable for any advances in design. Outside lavatories and no bathrooms were included. (Vol.1, p.101).



8



9



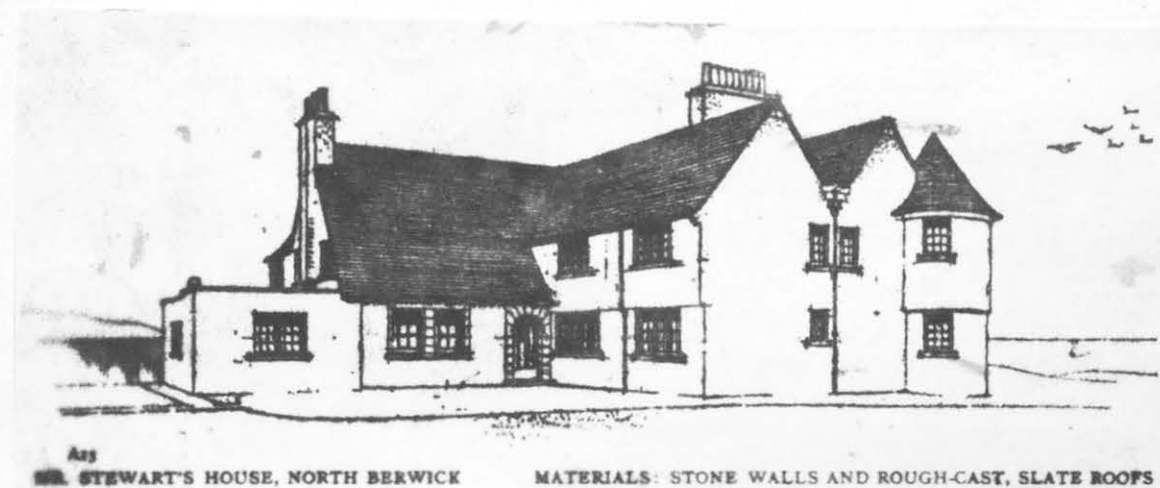
10



12



8A



9A

Figure 8: The plan of a typical Colinton Cottage, Acharra, for Major Meares. (Vol.1, p.101).

Figure 9: The plan of Teviotdale, North Berwick. A plan inflected to the view of the sea to the north. (Vol.1, p.102).

Figure 10: An Argyllshire house in the 'Colinton Manner'. (Vol.1, p.103).

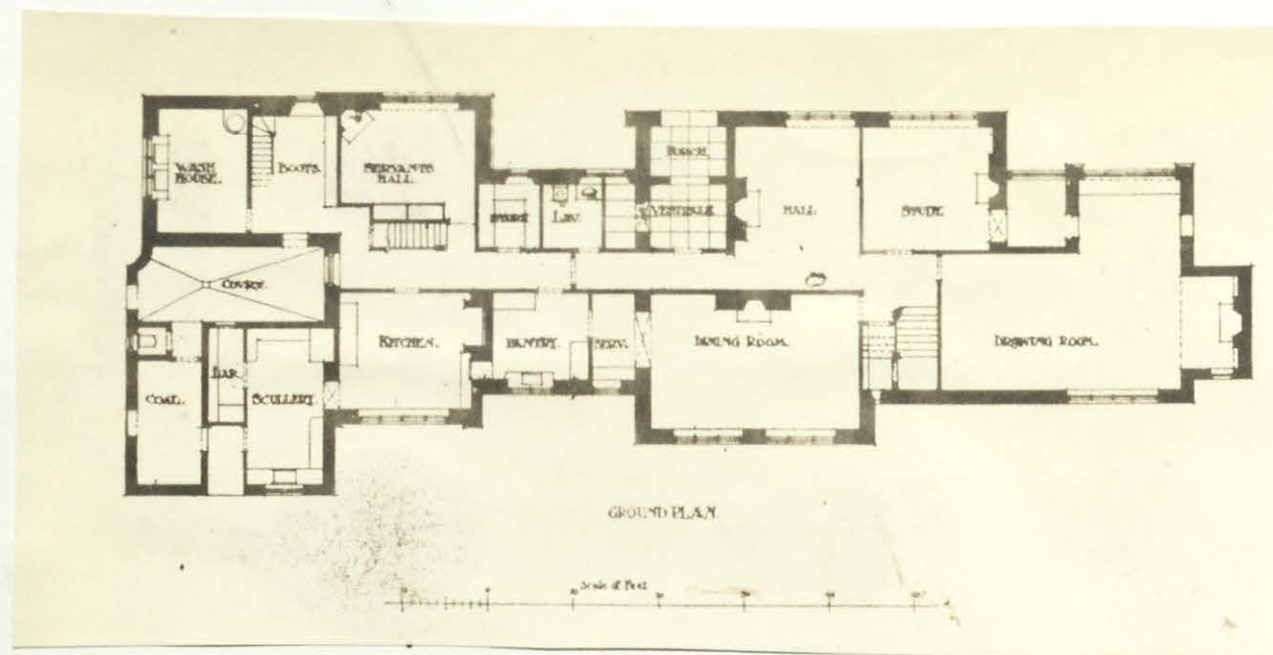
Figure 11: See illustration p.49 Vol. 2: figure 4, Chap. 3.

Figure 12: Laverockdale. A small Baronial Mansion in Colinton, for Lorimer's stockbroker. (Vol.1, p.105).

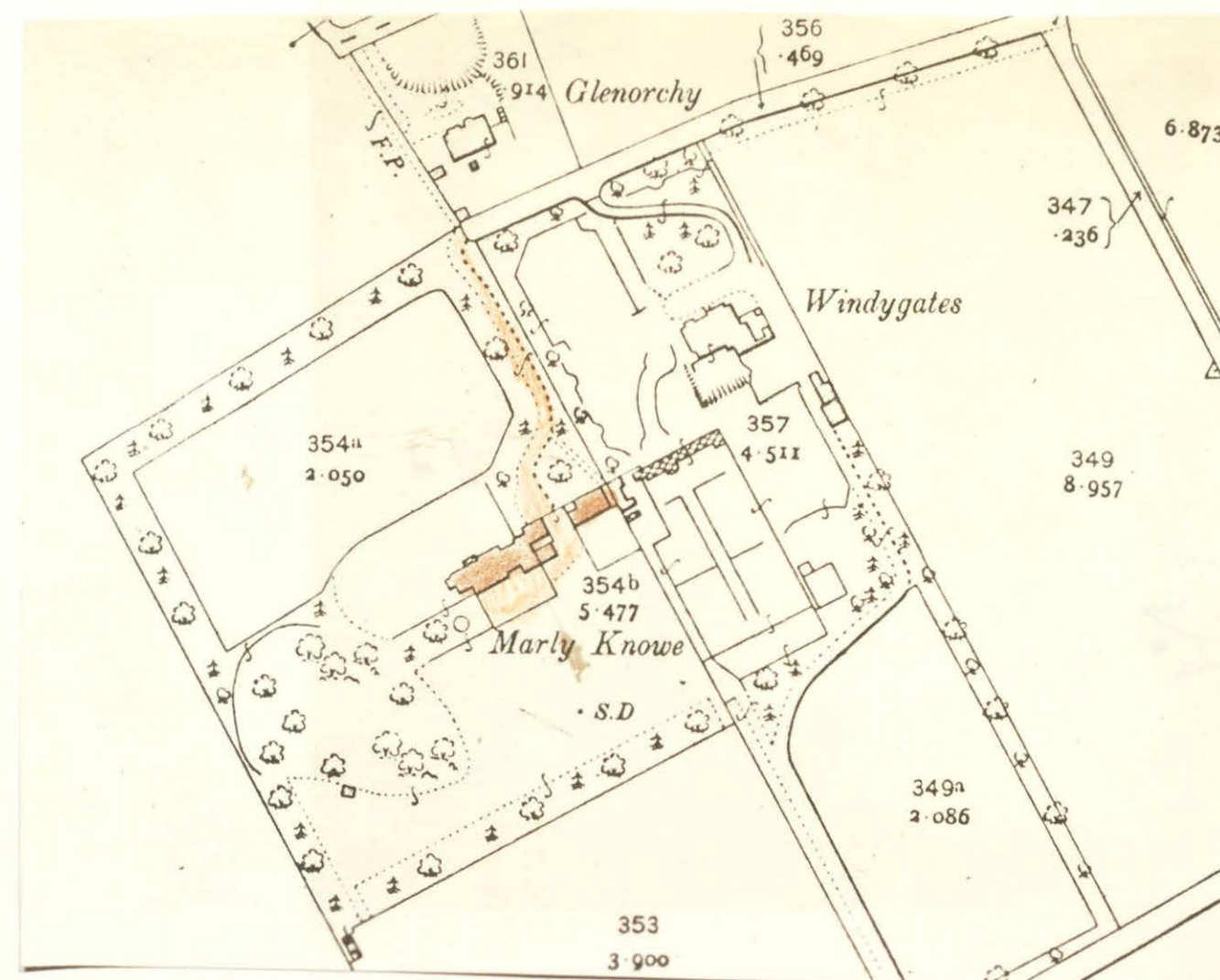
Figure 13: Bunkershill. A Tudor design by Lorimer for a Scottish site. (Vol.1, p.105).



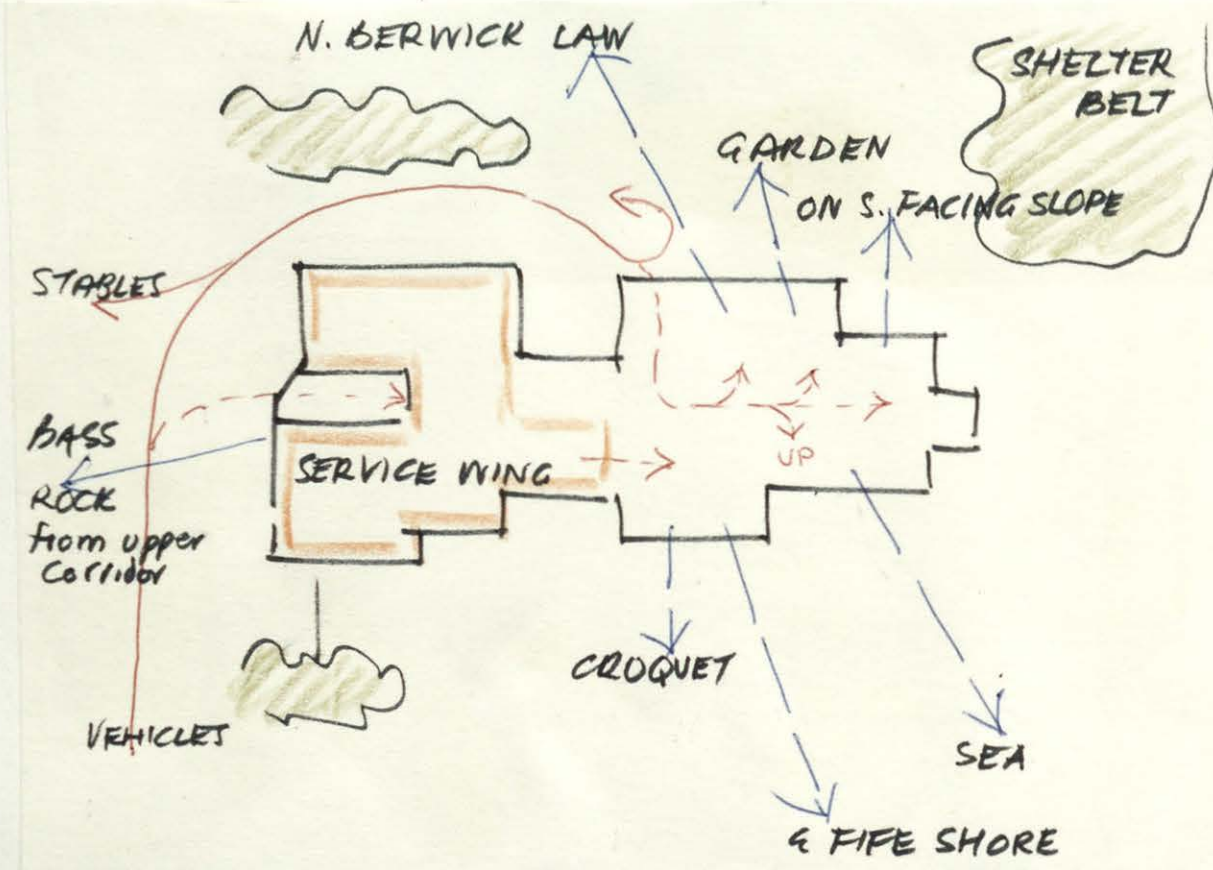
13



14



16A



15

Chap.4

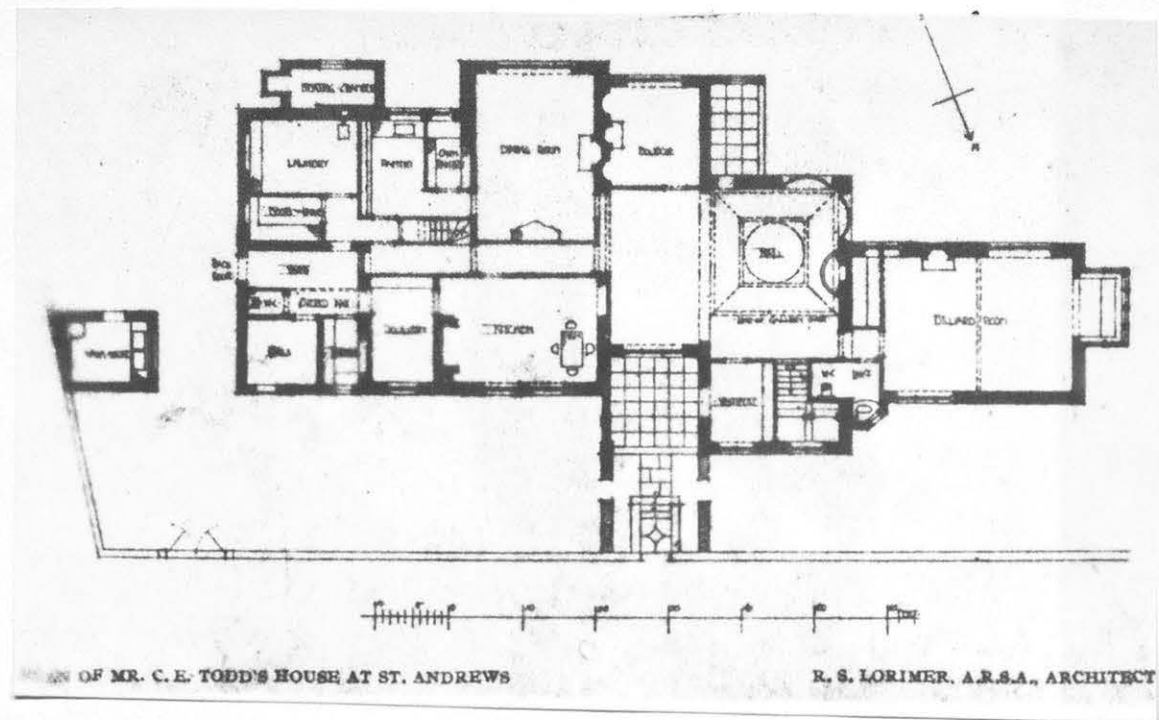
Figure 14: A linear plan by Lorimer for a hill top dwelling for a professor. (Vol.1, p.105).

Figure 15: The zoning of Marly Knowe, a plan inflected to views of the sea to the north and North Berwick Law to the south. (Vol.1, p.106).

Figure 16: A general view of Marly Knowe, a moderately large house, deliberately given as intimate a scale as possible. (Vol.1, p.106).



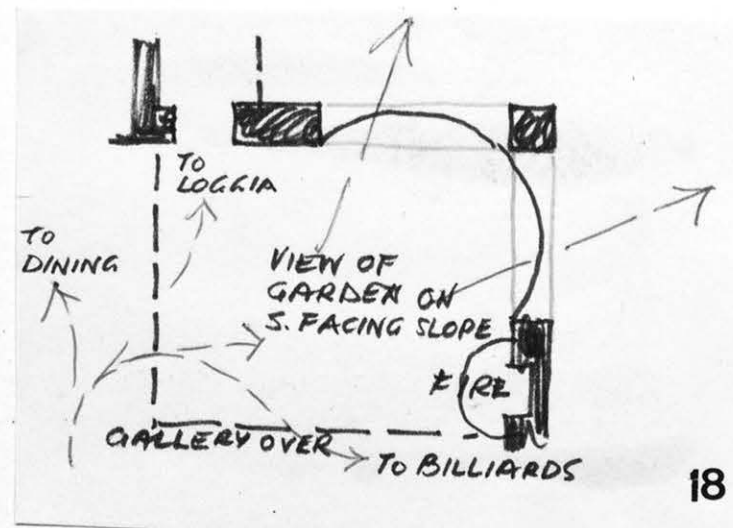
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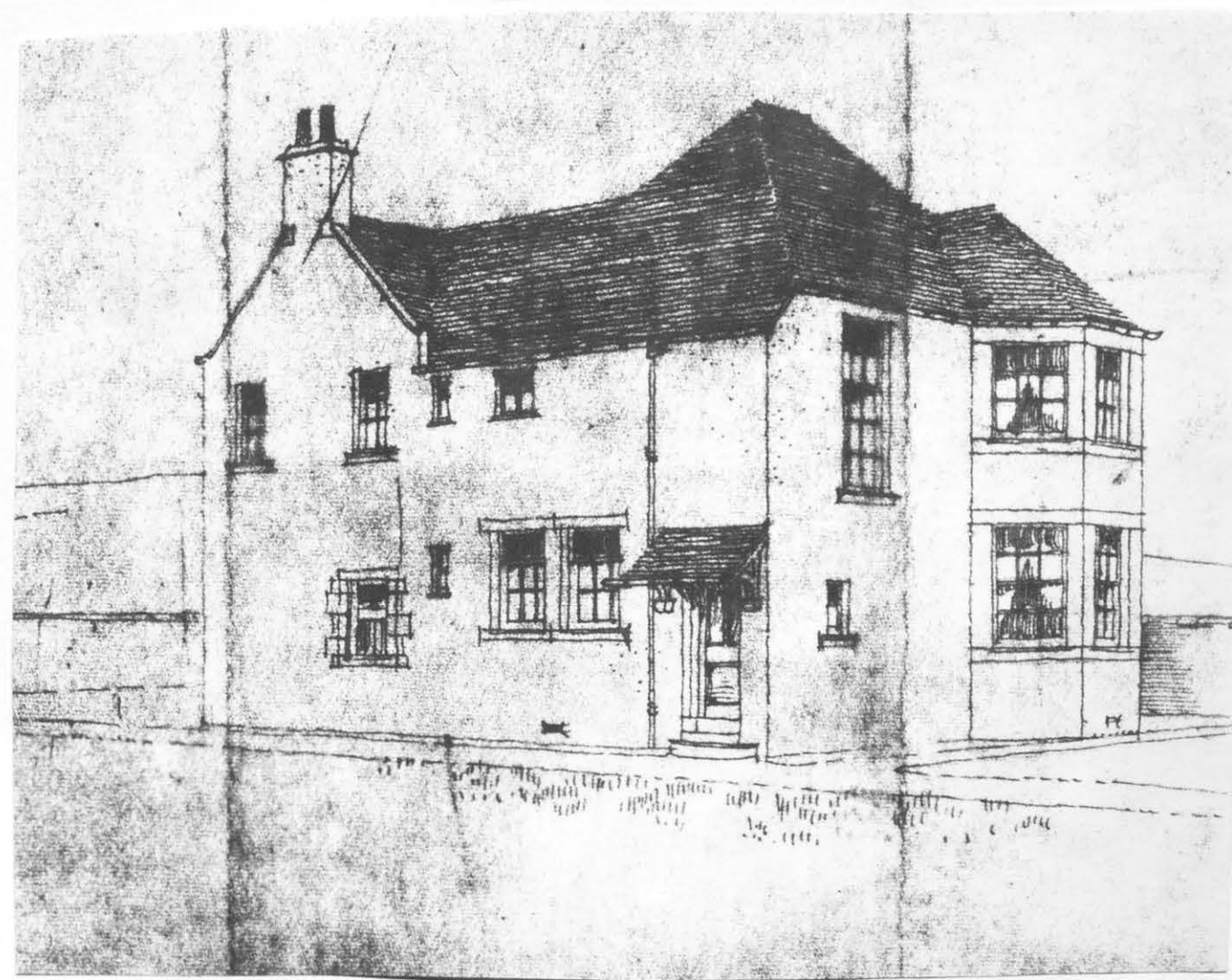
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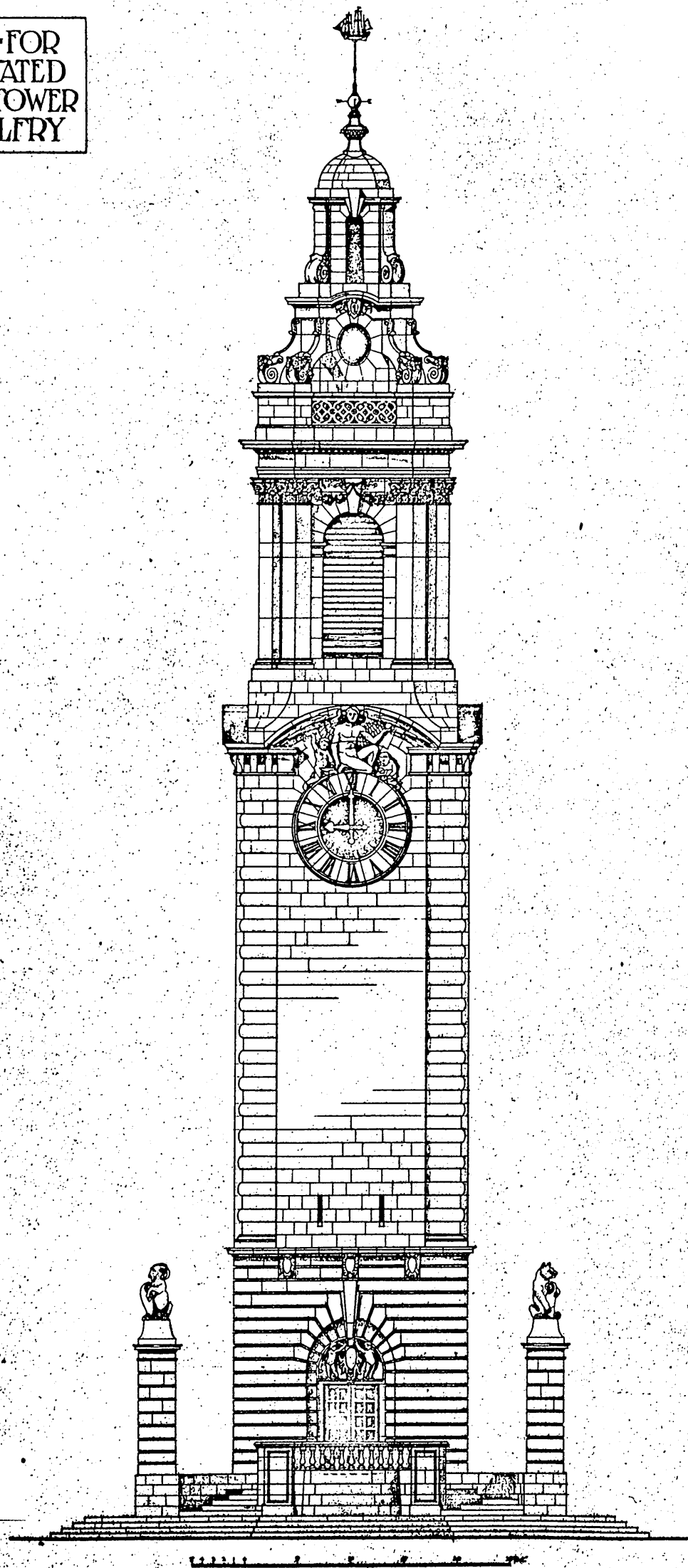
Figure 17: An S plan by Lorimer for the brow of a slope in St. Andrews. (Vol.1, p.107).

Figure 18: Wayside, St. Andrews, a detail of the plan. (Vol.1, p.107)

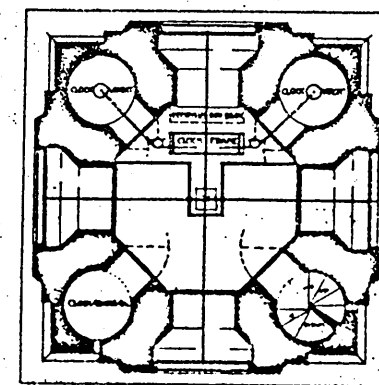
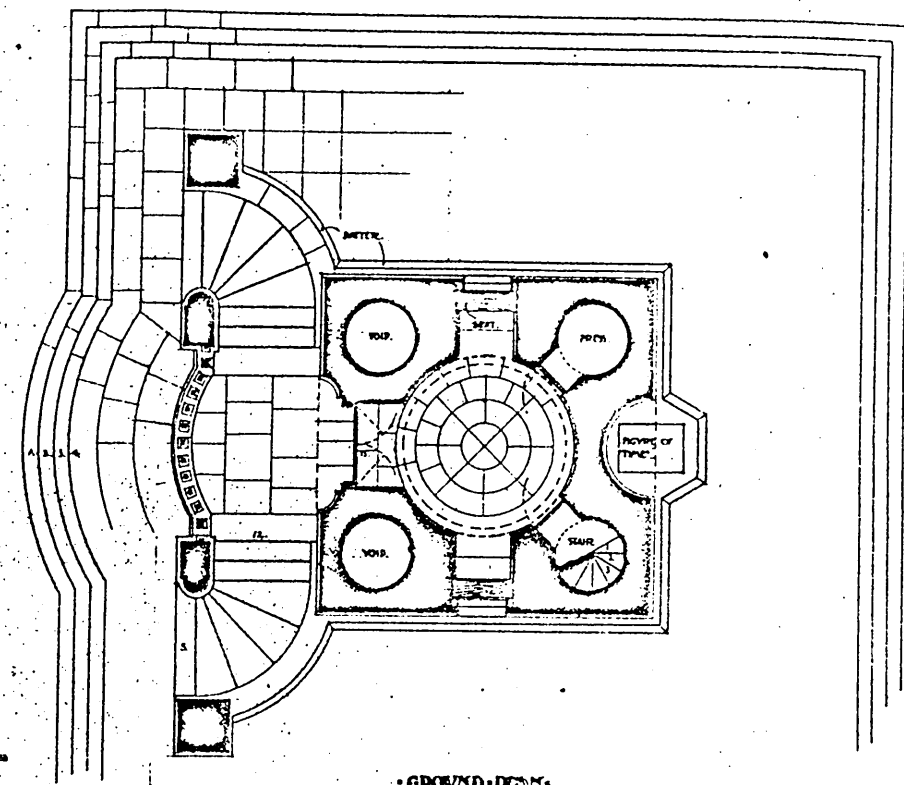
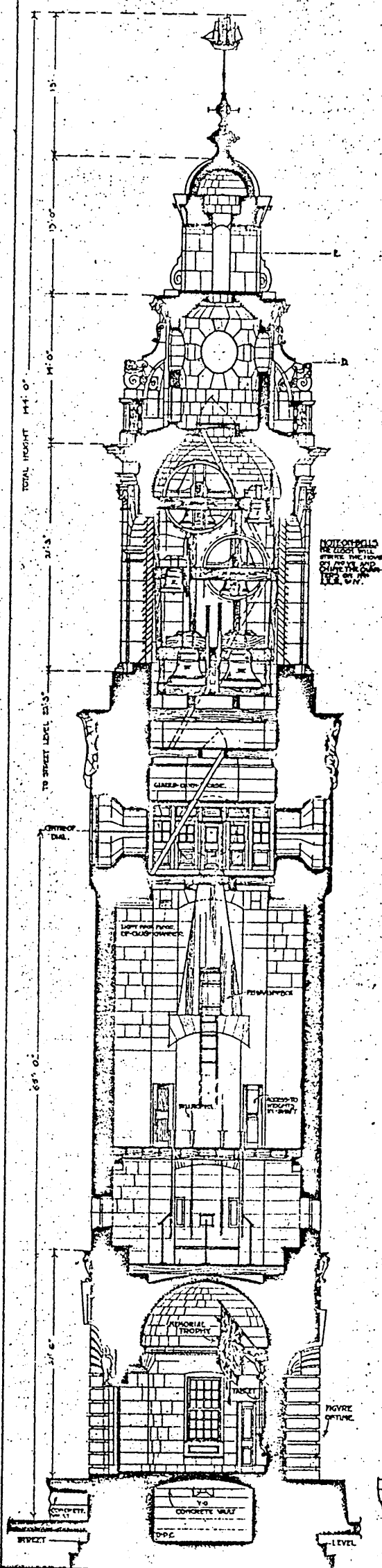
Figure 19: A general view of Wayside. A particularly felicitous grouping of design elements. (Vol.1, p.107).

Figure 20: A house in Methil designed by J.F. Matthew, showing the influence of Lorimer's work but not its flair. (Vol.1, p.108).

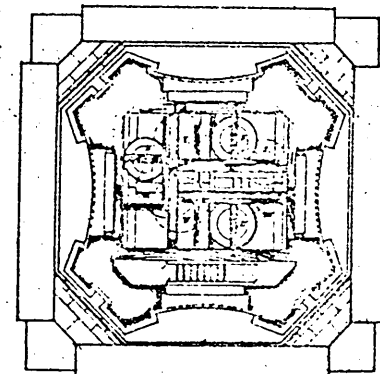
DESIGN FOR
AN ISOLATED
CLOCK TOWER
AND BELFRY



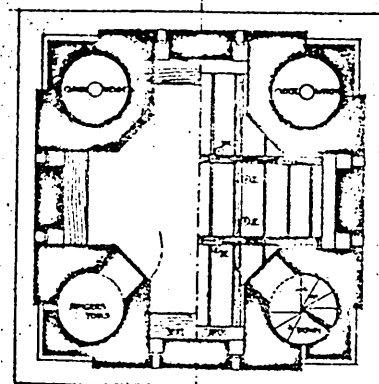
CHAP. 4



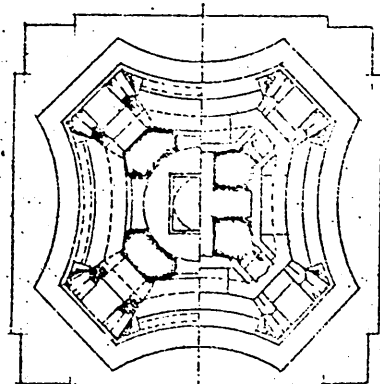
CLOCK CHAMBER



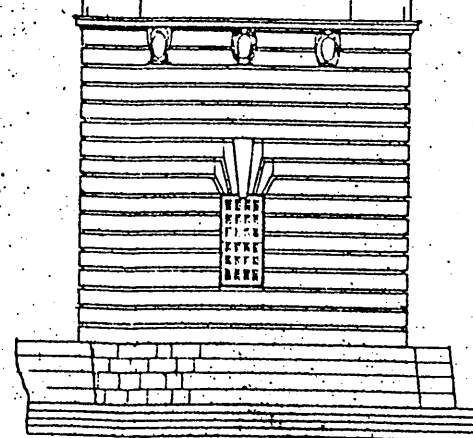
BELFRY



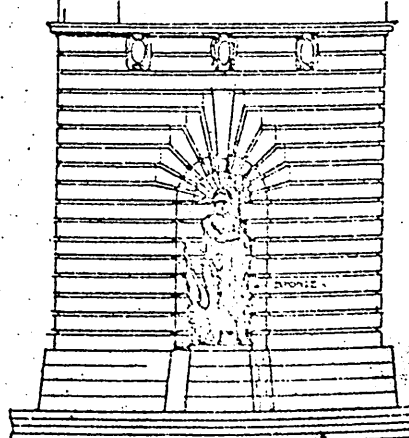
RING ROOM



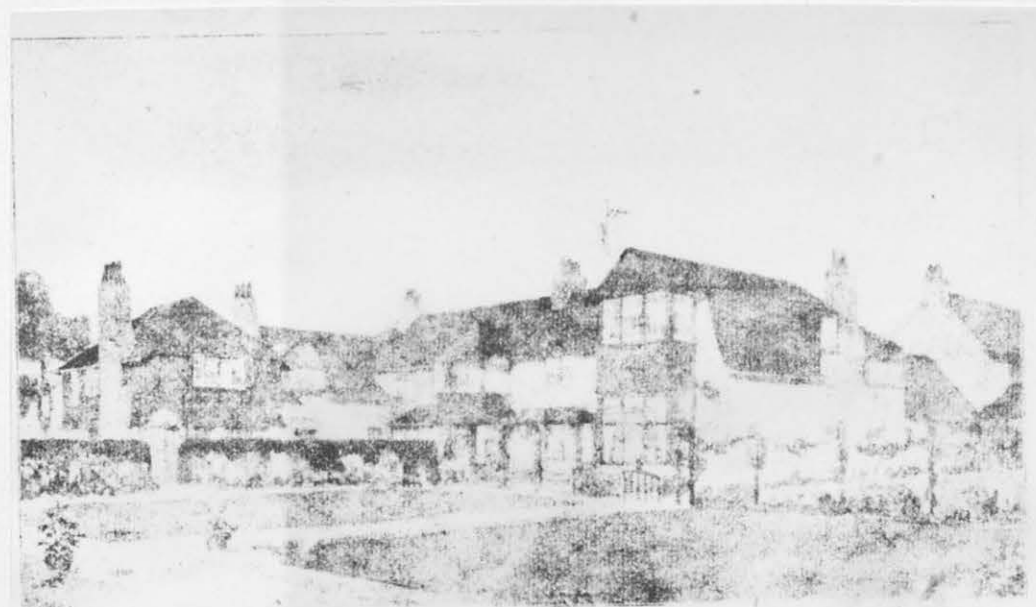
UPPER STAGES



SIDE ELEVATION



BACK ELEVATION



23



22

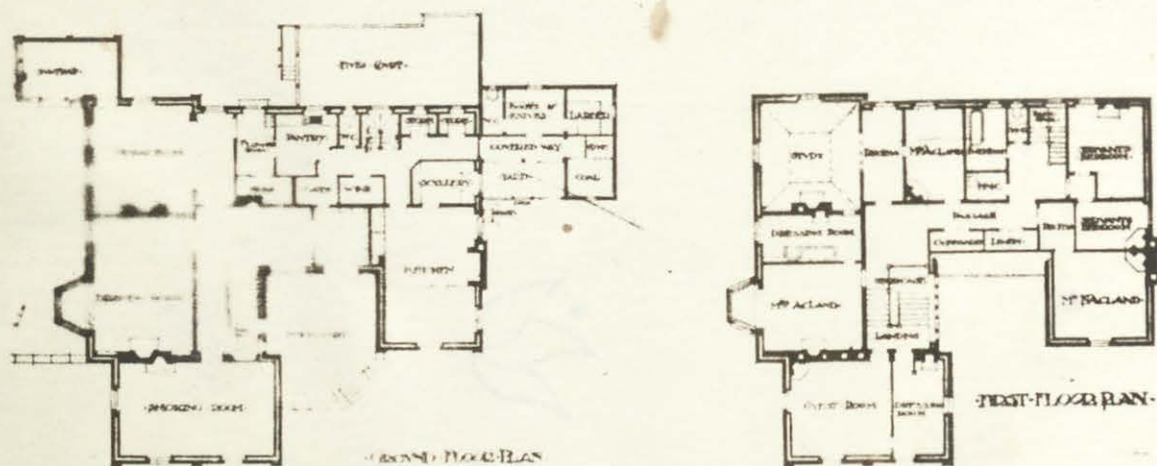
Chap.4
contd..

← **Figure 21:** Tite prize drawings of Percy Nobbs who was one of a number of distinguished pupils attracted to Lorimer's office. (Vol.1, p.108).

Figure 22: A project by R. Traquair. The emphasis is horizontal. (Vol.1, p.108).

Figure 23: Skirling House, a largely wooden house wrapped around two stone cottages by R. Traquair for former clients of Lorimer. The emphasis again is horizontal. (Vol.1, p.109).

EXTERIOR ARCHITECTURE



HOUSE, WEAPONESS, YORKSHIRE

R. S. LORIMER, A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., ARCHITECT

31

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Figure 24: Weaponess. A house in Yorkshire by Lorimer. (Vol.1, p.109).



Free Court, Harmeny Ho. PPS J.W. 7

25

Figure 25: Harmeny House, Balerno. A house of the later Colinton period. (Vol.1, p.109).

Figure 26: Lorimer's last work in Colinton. The character is southern. (Vol.1, p.109).

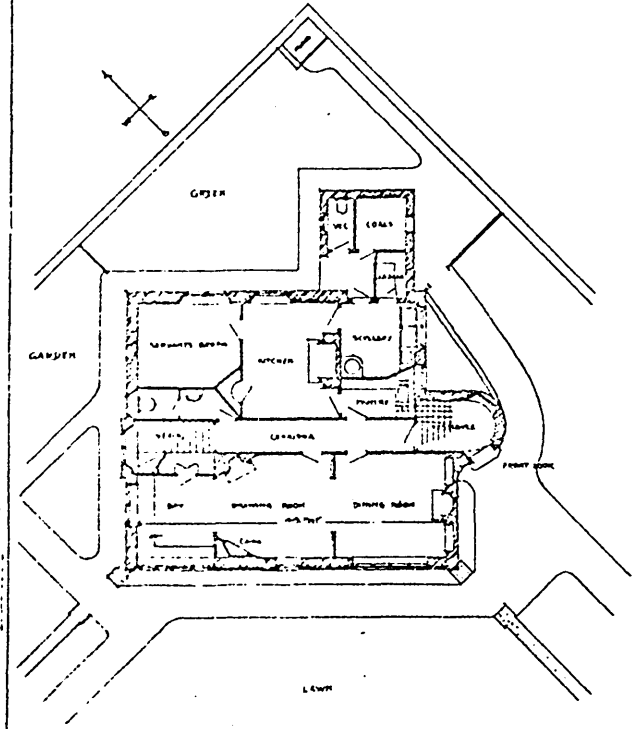
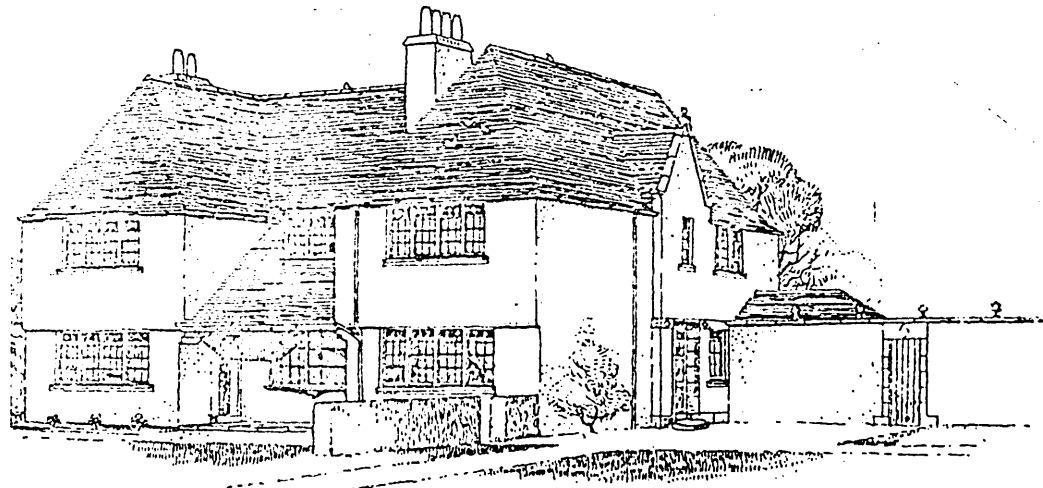
on p.63



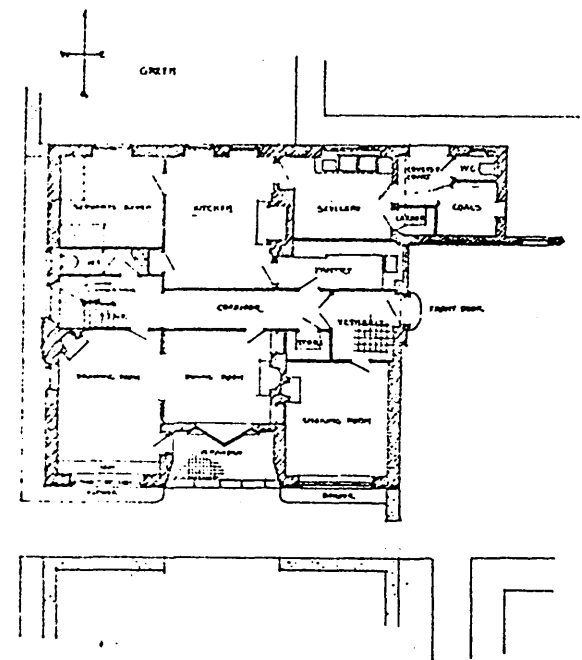
26



THREE COTTAGES AT COLINTON R.S. LOWMEYER ARCHITECT
49 QUEEN ST. EDINBURGH



FOR MISS CUTHRIE WRIGHT



FOR MAJOR MEARES

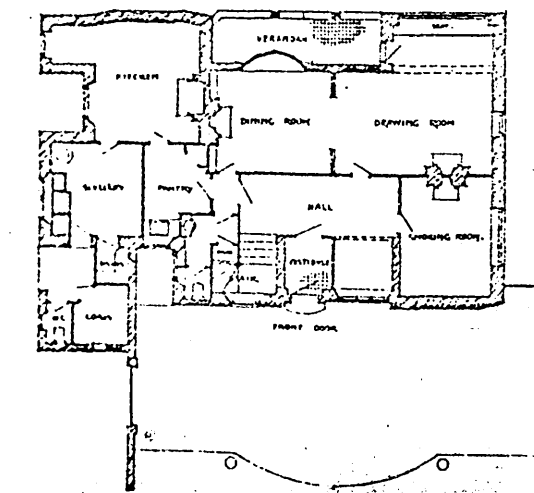
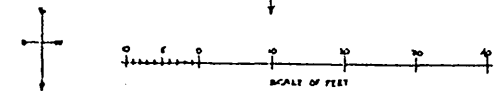
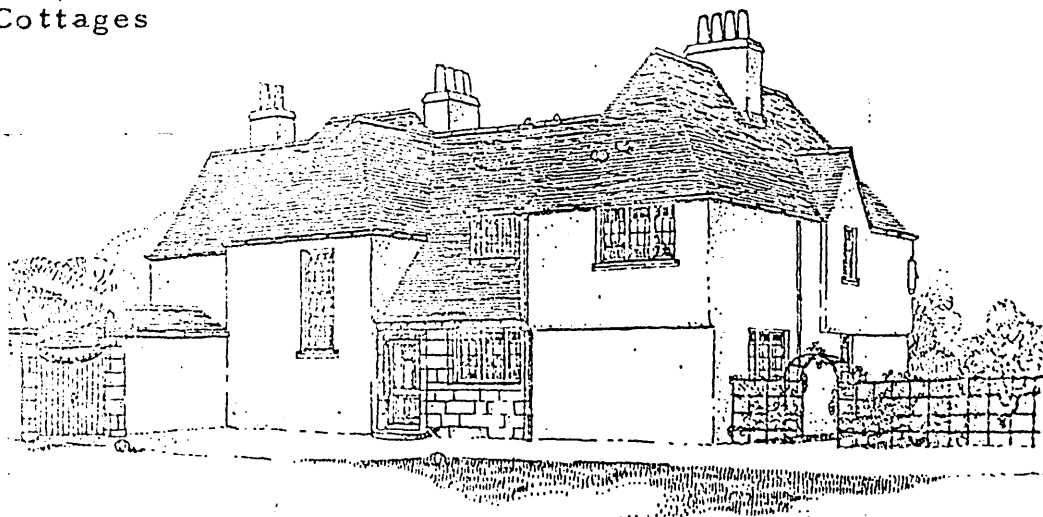
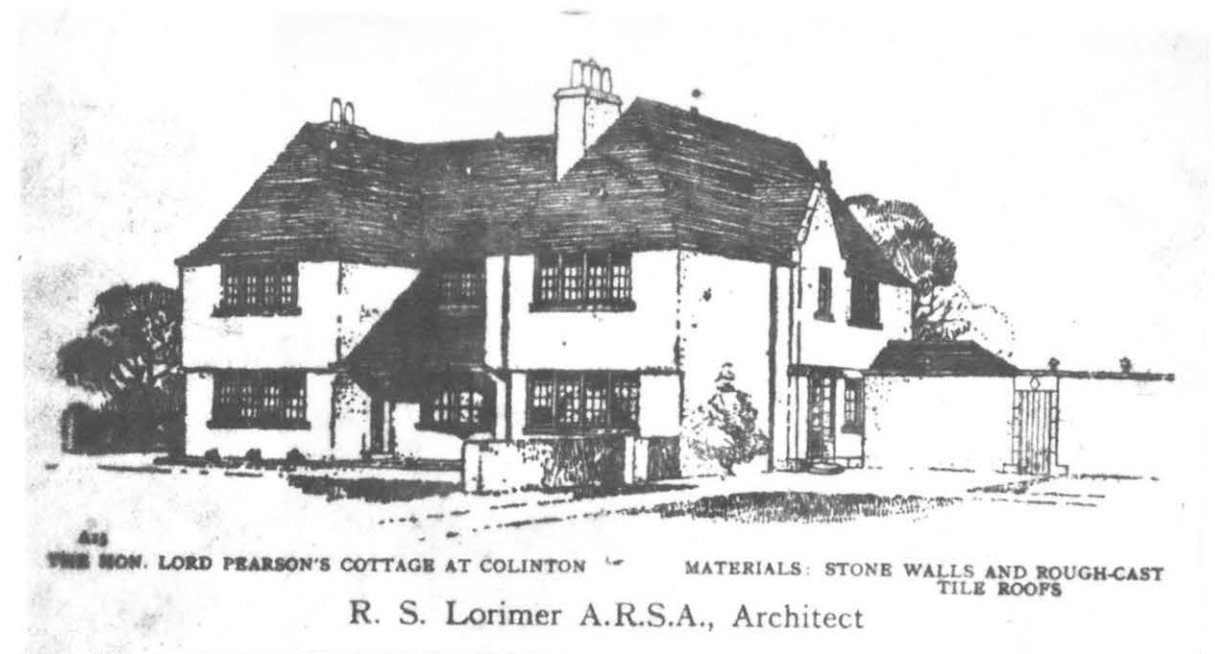


Figure 27: A presentation drawing of Colinton Cottages for the Royal Scottish Academy. (Vol.1, p.111).





[51] A COTTAGE AT COLINTON
HARRIS AND SLATE, c. 1895

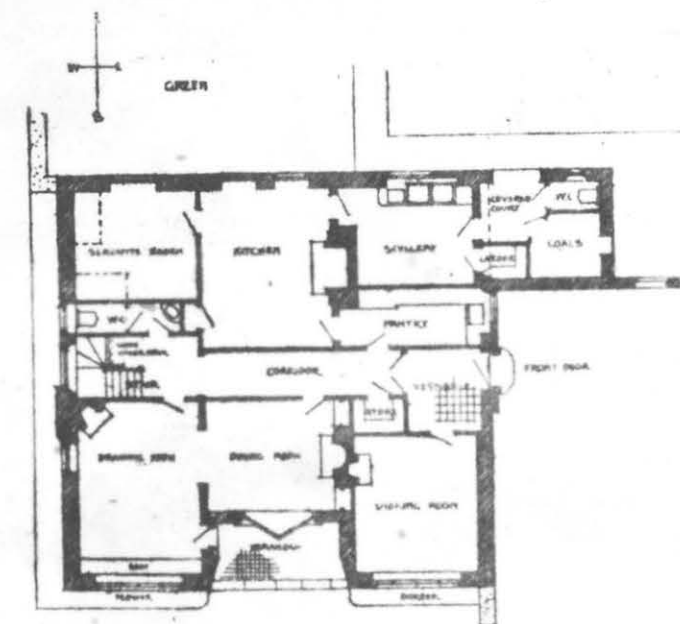


THE HON. LORD PEARSON'S COTTAGE AT COLINTON MATERIALS: STONE WALLS AND ROUGH-CAST
TILE ROOFS
R. S. Lorimer A.R.S.A., Architect

28



•A HOUSE AT NORTH BERWICK.
FOR
The Hon. Lord Tenterden



LORD PEARSON'S COTTAGE, PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR

Two further houses by Lorimer
Figures 28A and B: Binley Cottage
Figure 28C: The Grange, North Berwick

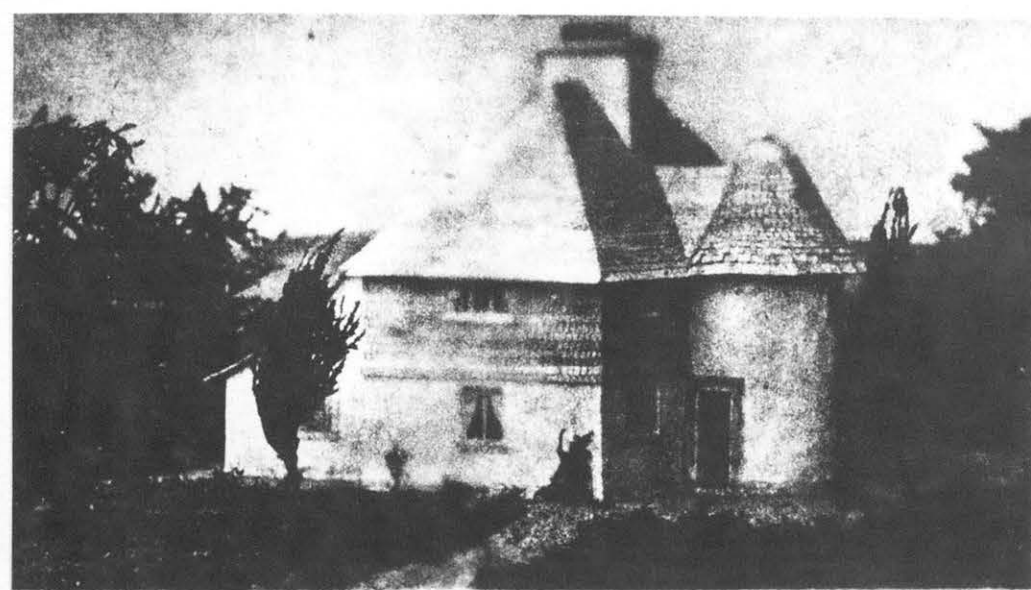
CHAP. 4

Figure 28: 'Westfield' is a Colinton Cottage with a compact plan, and excellent siting. The details and character are wholly Scottish. (Vol.1, p.113).

A GATE-LODGE COTTAGE

FITTED WITH HOPE'S STANDARD WINDOWS

Designed by Sir Robert Lorimer, A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.



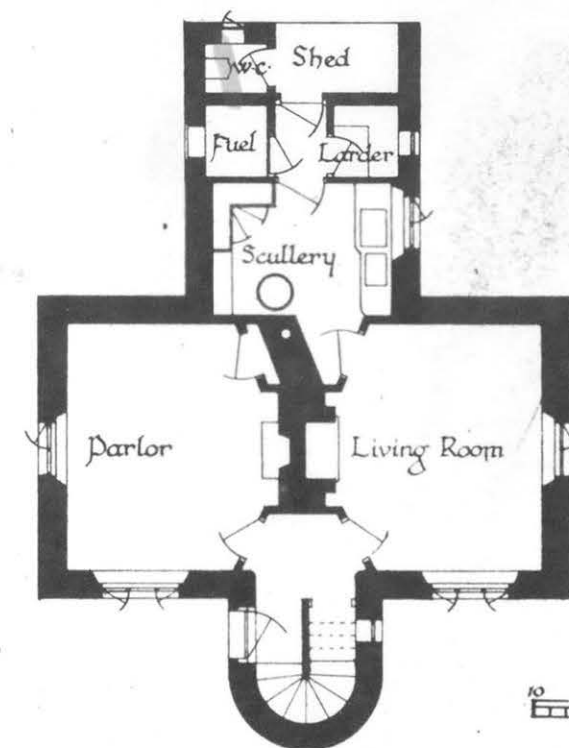
View from South



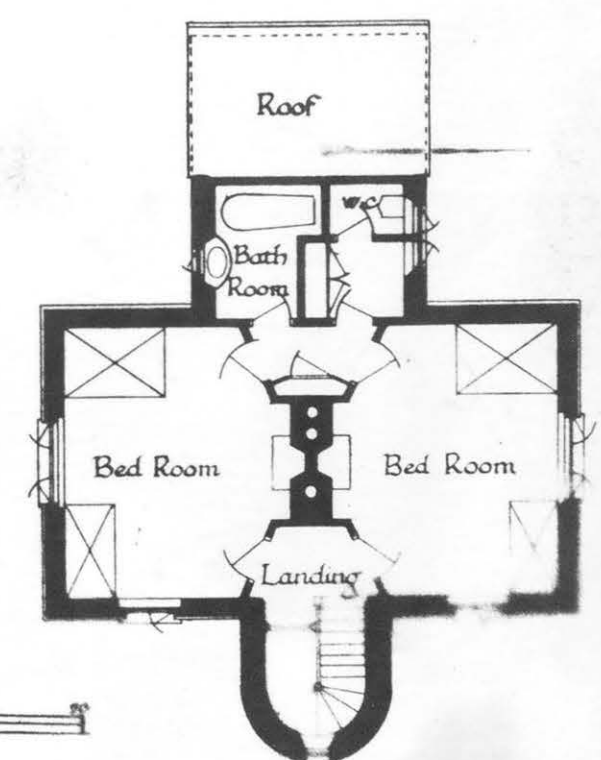
Front Elevation



Side Elevation



Ground Floor Plan



First Floor Plan

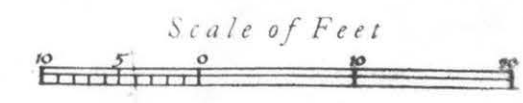
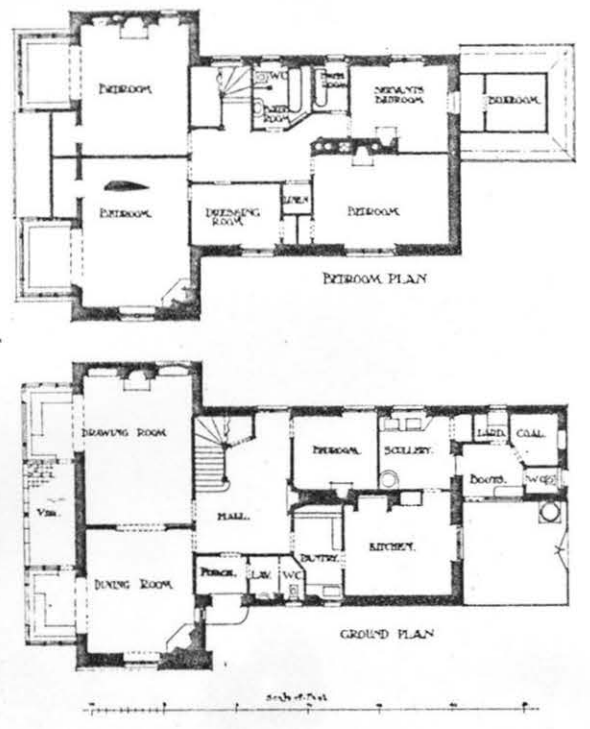


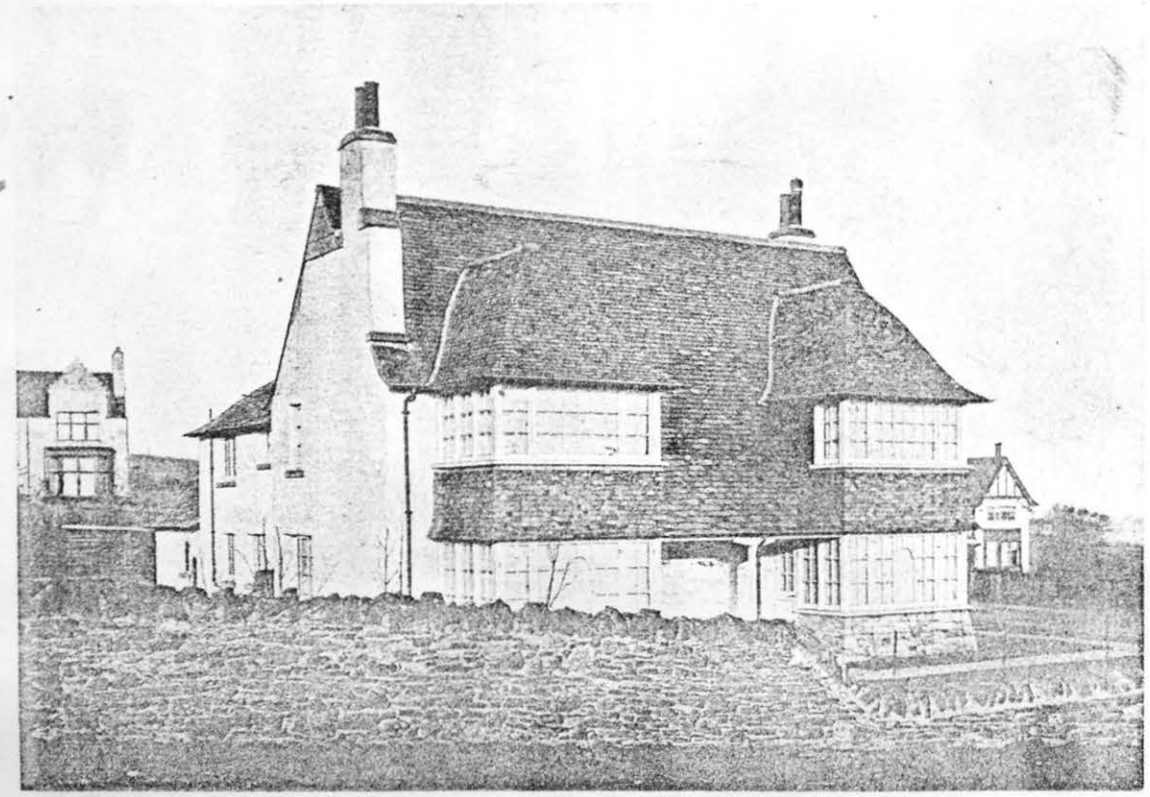
Figure 29: A project for a window manufacturers catalogue, showing qualities similar to those of 'Westfield'. (Vol.1, p.113).

THE HOME FROM OUTSIDE. PLANS AND A PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEW



PLANS OF A WEEK-END COTTAGE ON GULLANE LINKS, N.B.
SEE THE ILLUSTRATION GIVEN BELOW

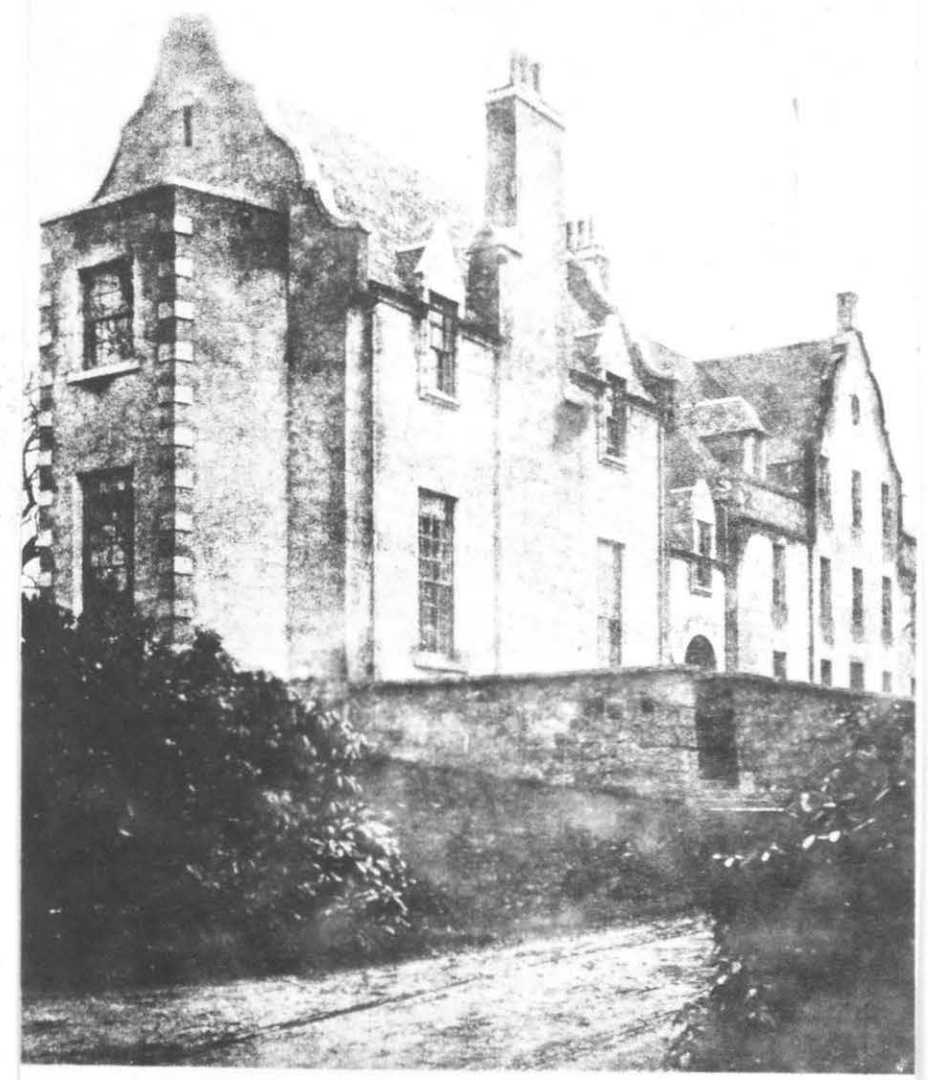
R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect



WEEK-END COTTAGE ON GULLANE LINKS, N.B. SEE THE PLANS ILLUSTRATED ABOVE

R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A., Architect

Figure 30: Whiteholm, a house at Gullane, with a Tee shaped plan and the Colinton Manner. (Vol.1, p.113).



HOUSE IN ABERDEENSHIRE THE RESIDENCE OF R. P. ROBERTSON GLASGOW, E.
VIEW FROM THE SOUTHWEST

R. S. Lorimer A.R.S.A., Architect

Figure 30A: A granite house by Lorimer

Figure 31: See illustration p.46, Vol.2: figure 1, Chap. 3.

THE BUILDER, JANUARY 9, 1904.

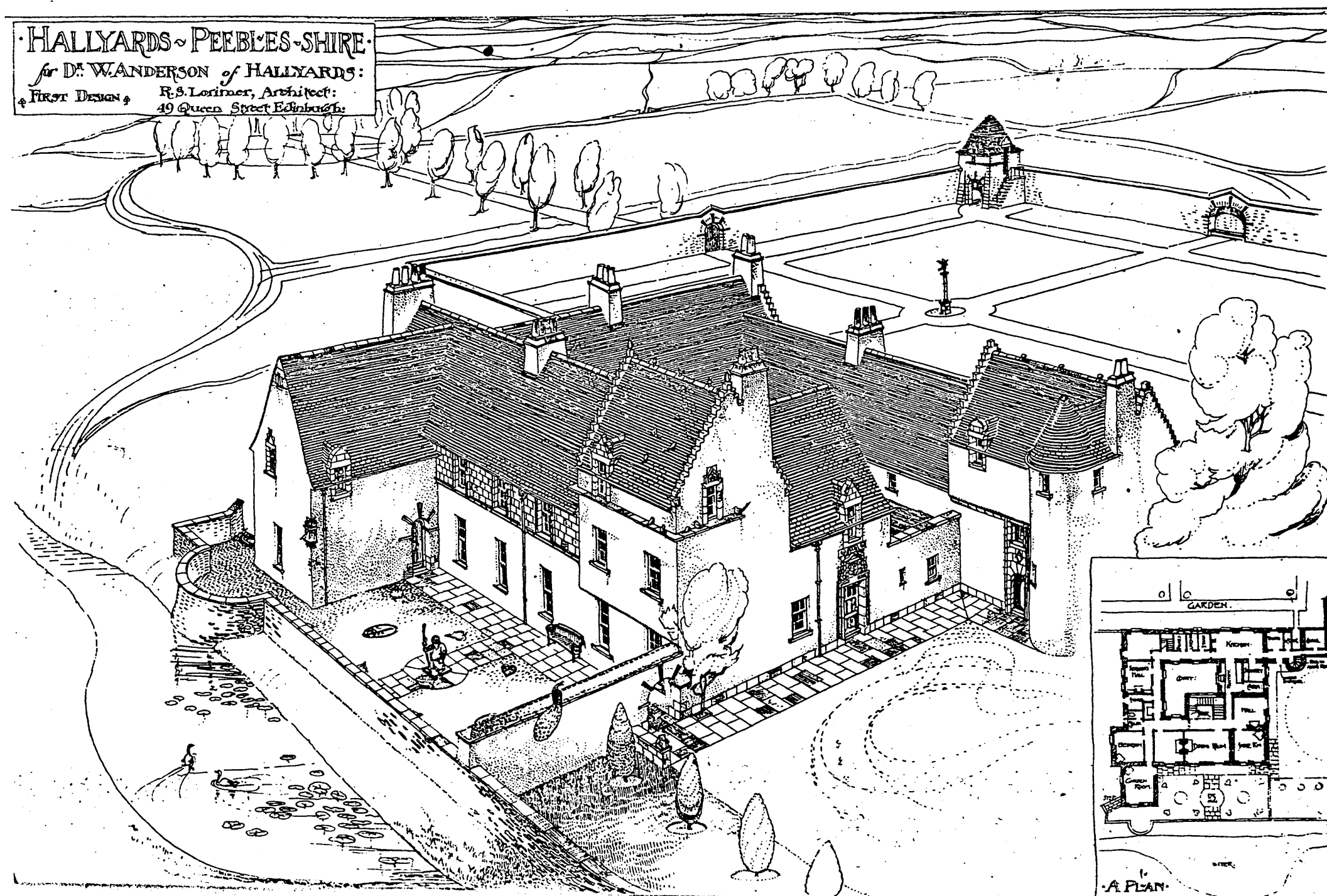


Figure 32: Hallyards. A new house on the site of an existing house. Scheme abandoned in favour of remodelling the existing house. (Vol.1, p.116).

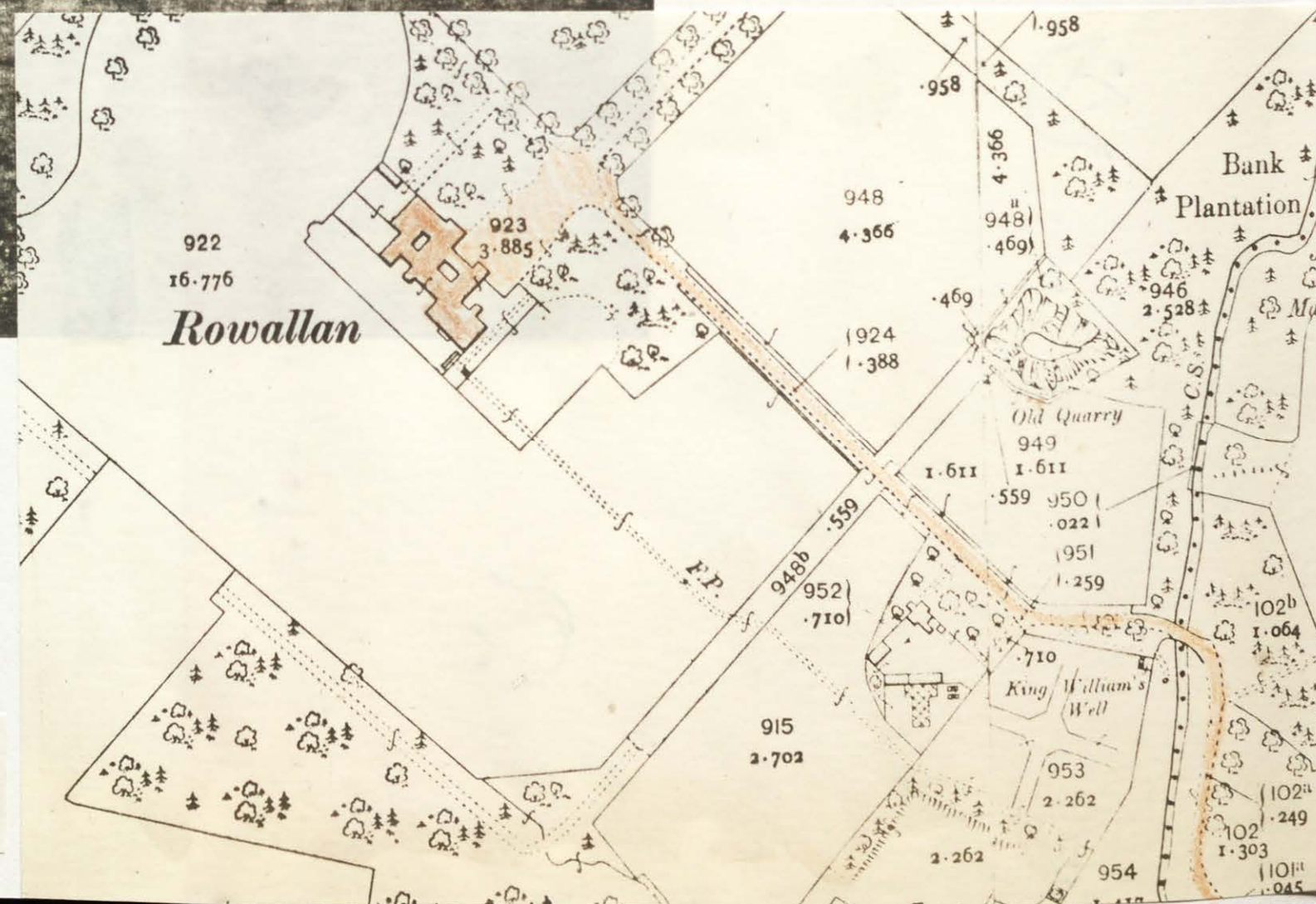
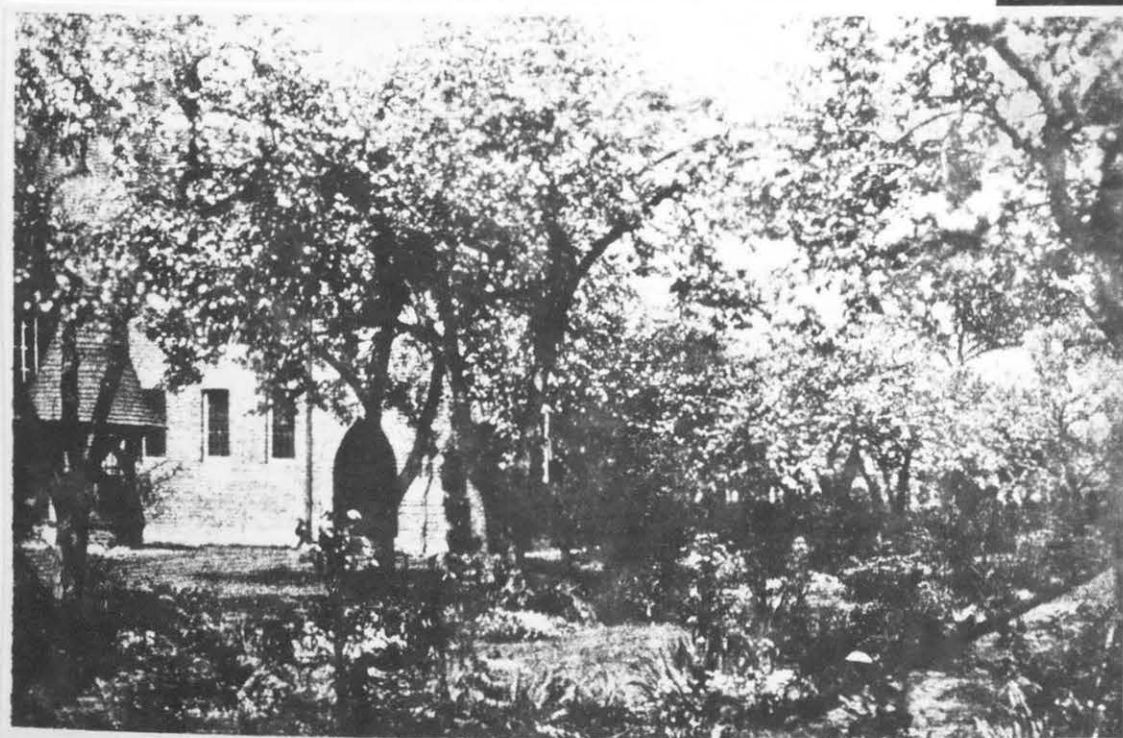
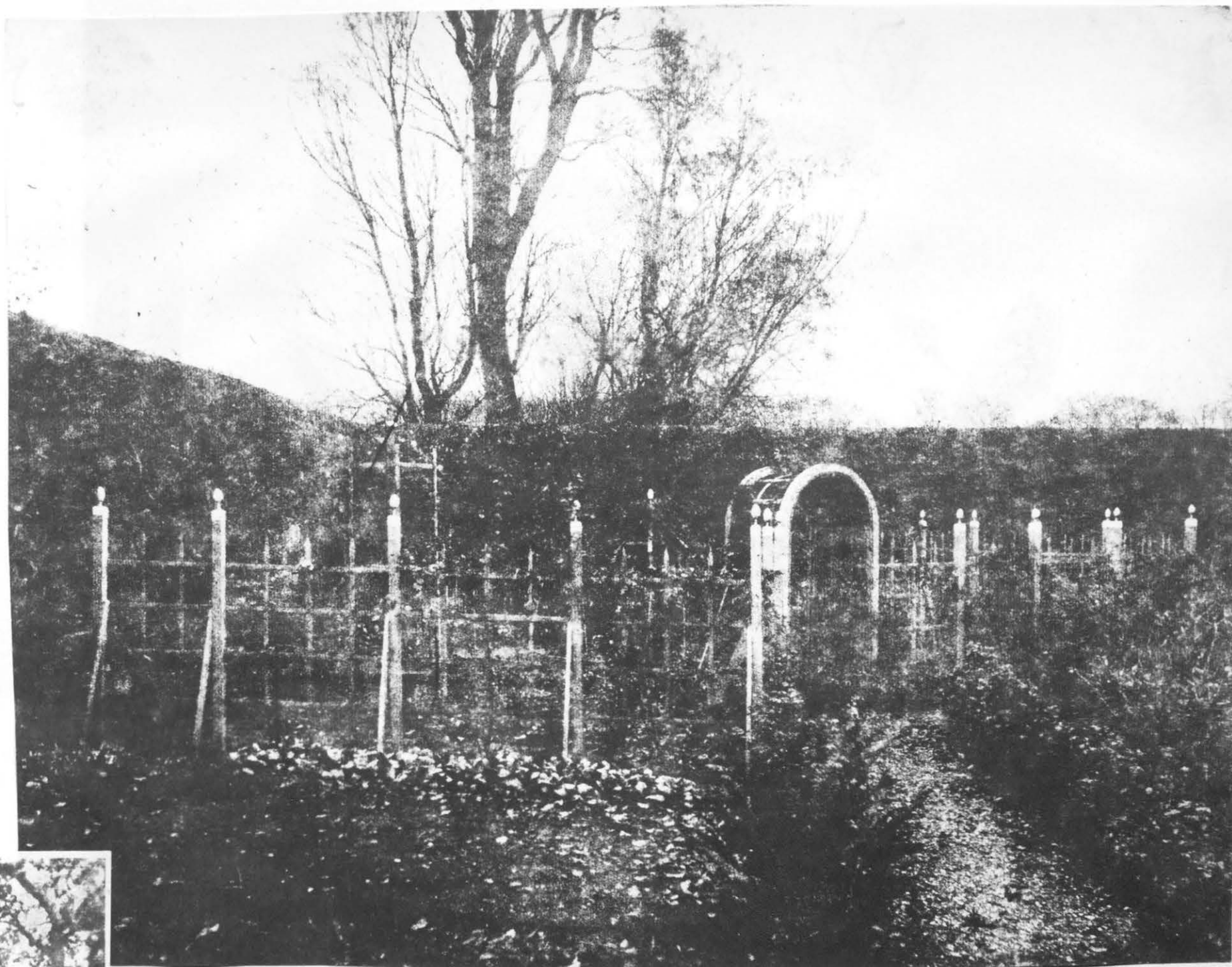


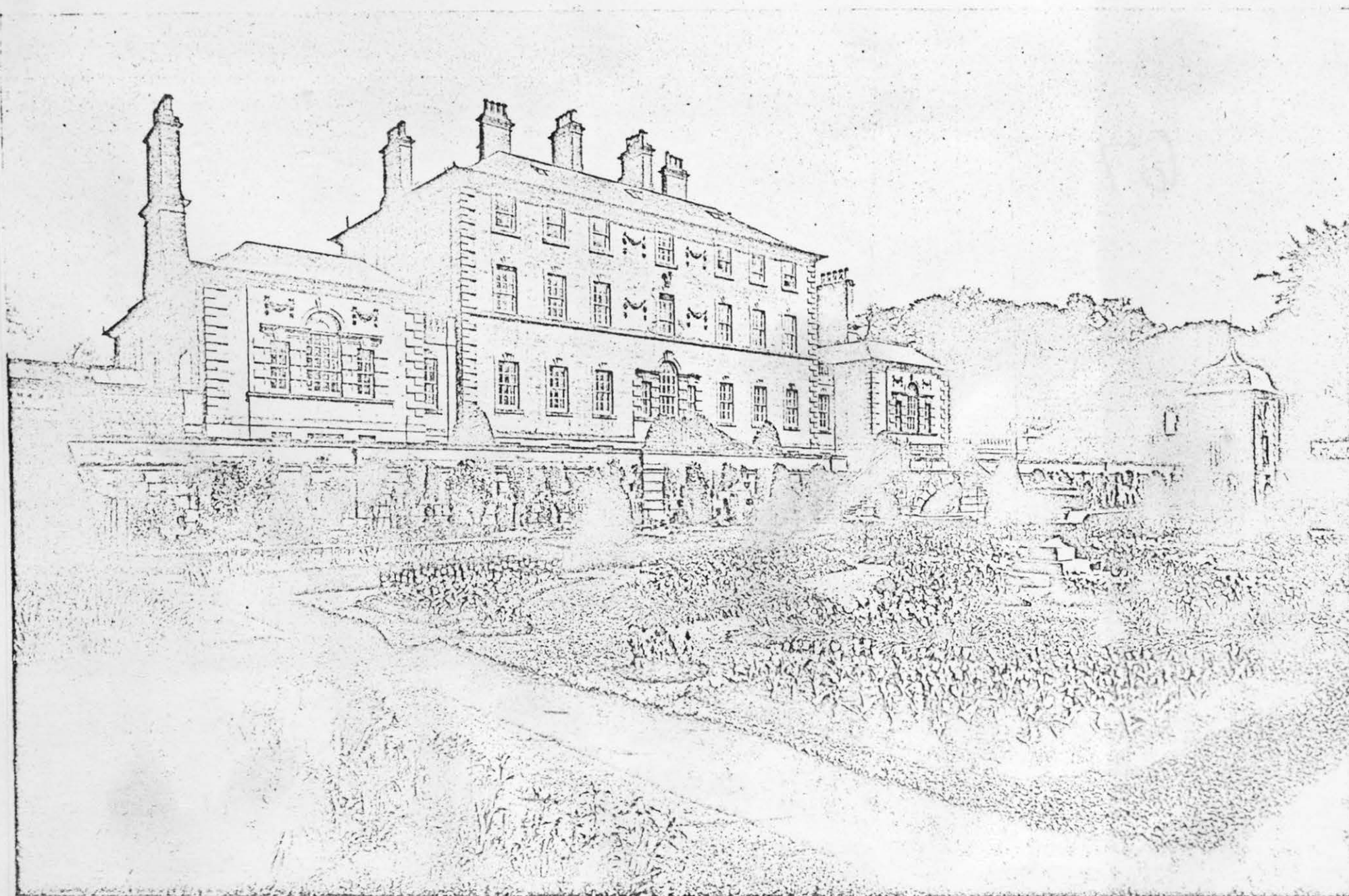
Figure 33: Rowallan. Lorimer's first design for a new mansion in Scotland. (Vol.1, p.118).



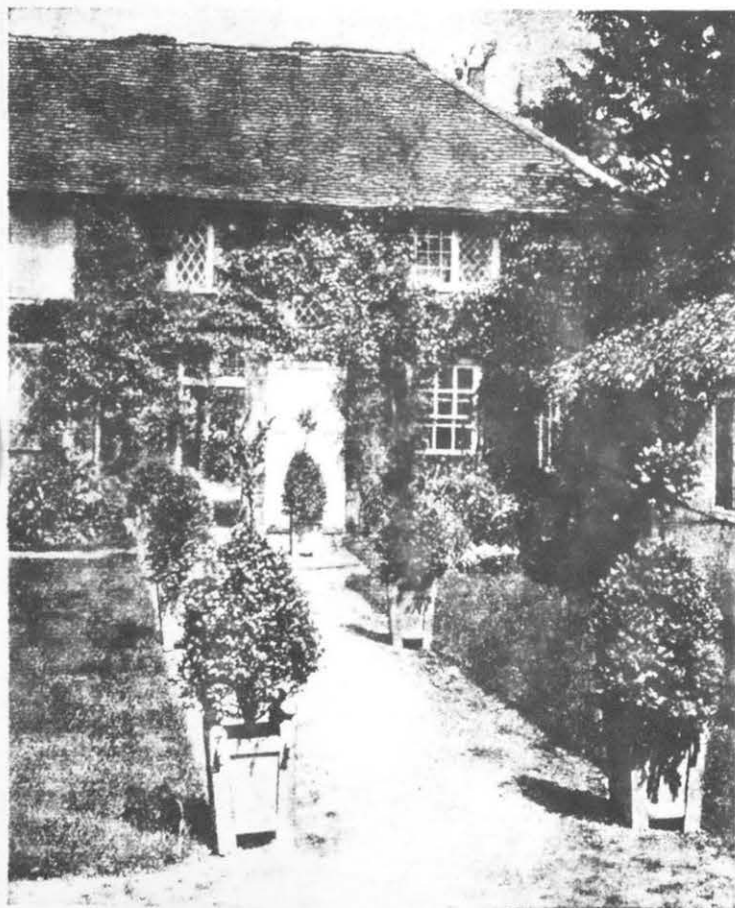
EXAMPLE OF ORCHARD GARDEN

ORIGINALLY LAID OUT BY WILLIAM MORRIS

Figure 34: Kellie Castle. Lorimer's first garden design. (Vol.1, p.112).



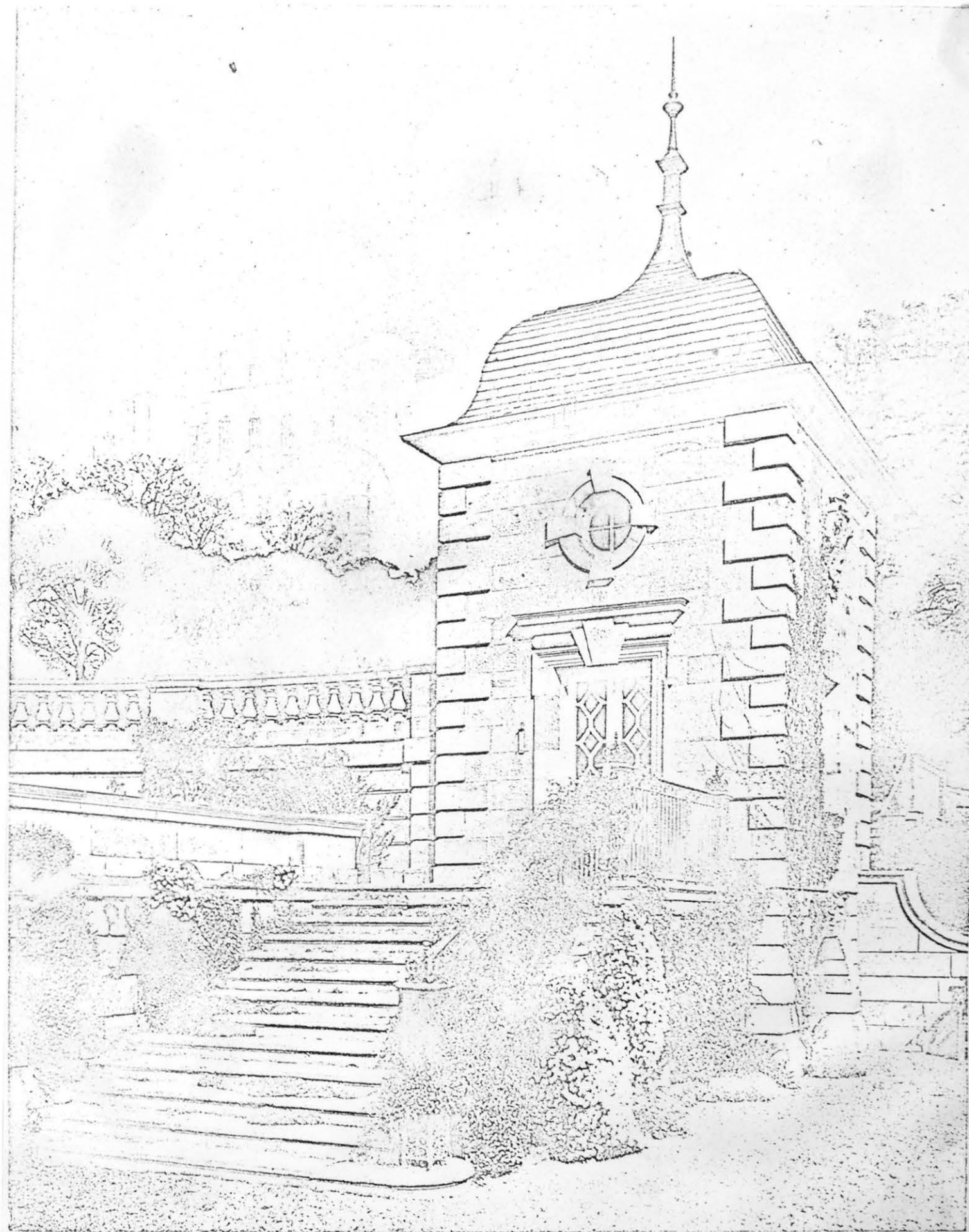
POLLOK HOUSE, POLLOKSHAW: ADDITIONS AND NEW TERRACE.—SIR R. ROWAND ANDERSON, ARCHITECT.



EXAMPLE OF A GARDEN

BY G. F. BODLEY, A.R.A.

Figure 36: A garden design by George Bodley, Lorimer's last master. (Vol.1, p.122).



8.—Garden house at Pollok House, Renfrew, by Sir Rowland Anderson; admirably placed as a stop to two levels of terrace, stairway and wall.





VIEW OF THE GARDEN PAVILION AT EARLSHALL, FIFE. BUILT OF LOCAL RUBBLE WORK AND ARBROATH PAVEMENT SLATES

R. S. Lorimer A.R.S.A., Architect

Figure 38A: Garden pavilion at Earlshall by Lorimer c.1898. Austere in its simplicity, compared with Pollock House p.71

Fig.38. Earlshall

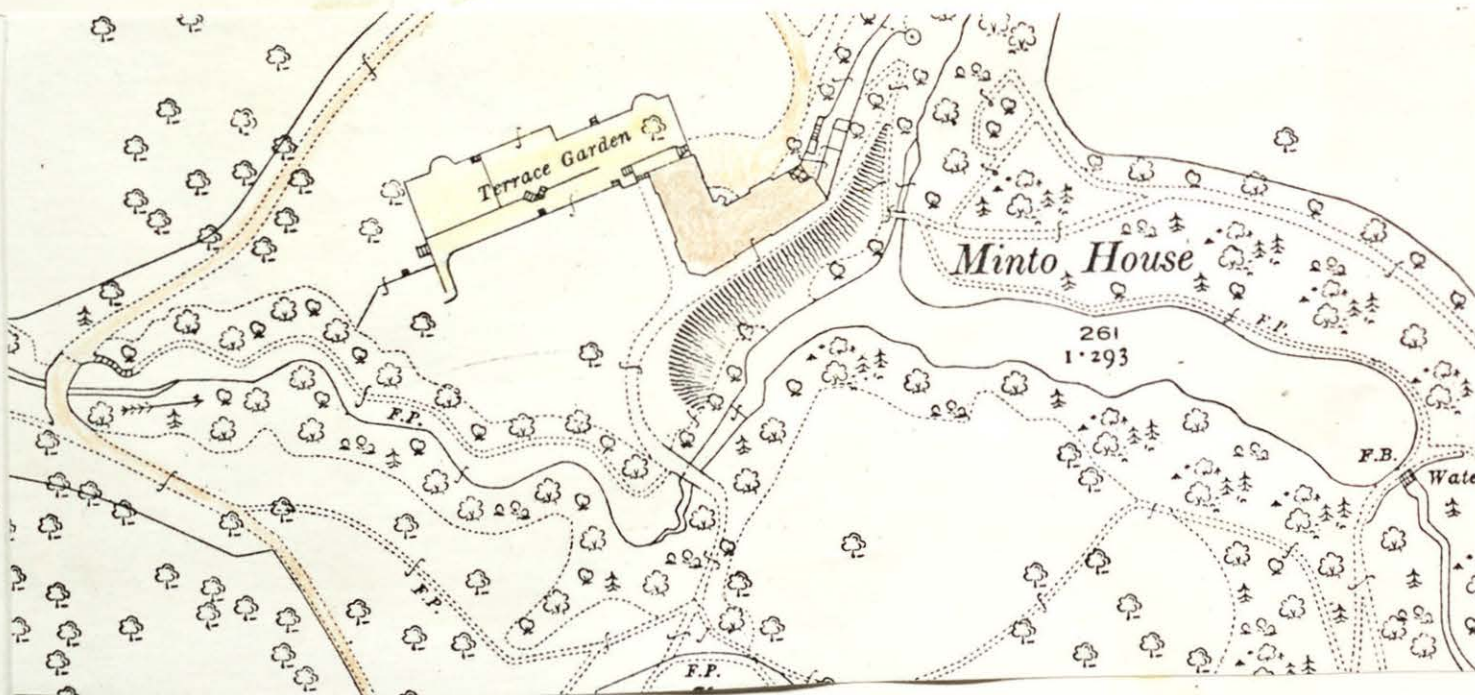


Figure 39: Minto. Garden terrace designed to be seen obliquely from the first floor of the house. (Vol.1, p.129).



A DIRECTORY OF SCOTTISH CRAFTSMEN AND BUILDERS

JAMES CARMICHAEL

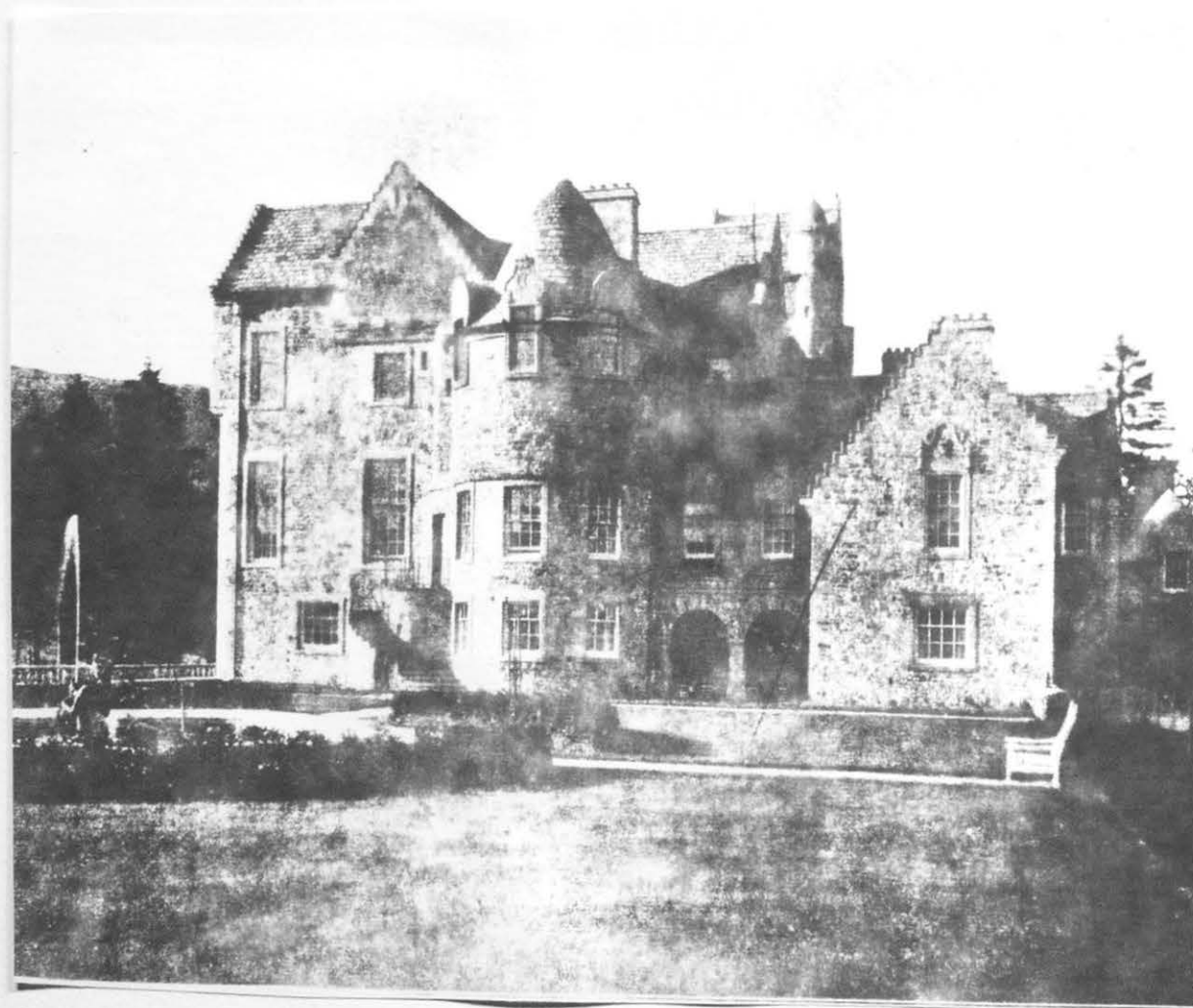
Kilmichael Glassary,
Lochgilphead, Argyllshire, N.B.

Contractor for Building Work and Restorations, Shooting Lodges, Quarrying, Road making, and General Estate Work.

SPECIALITY.—Formation of Lochs for Fishing on Highland Estates.

JAMES CARMICHAEL has recently carried out the following contracts for Sir Robert Lorimer:—
Home Farm, 1100 ft.,
Kennels, Roads, Dam,
Power House, &c., &c.,
at Ardkinglas.
Mason Work of Restora-
tion of Dunderberg,
Loch Fyne, &c., &c.,
Dunrobin, &c., &c.,
(Shooting Lodges, &c., &c.)

JAMES CARMICHAEL
Contractor for
Fishing
following
contracts for Sir
Robert Lorimer:
Home Farm, 1100 ft.,
Kennels, Roads, Dam,
Power House, &c., &c.,
at Ardkinglas.
Mason Work of Restora-
tion of Dunderberg,
Loch Fyne, &c., &c.,
Dunrobin, &c., &c.,
(Shooting Lodges, &c., &c.)



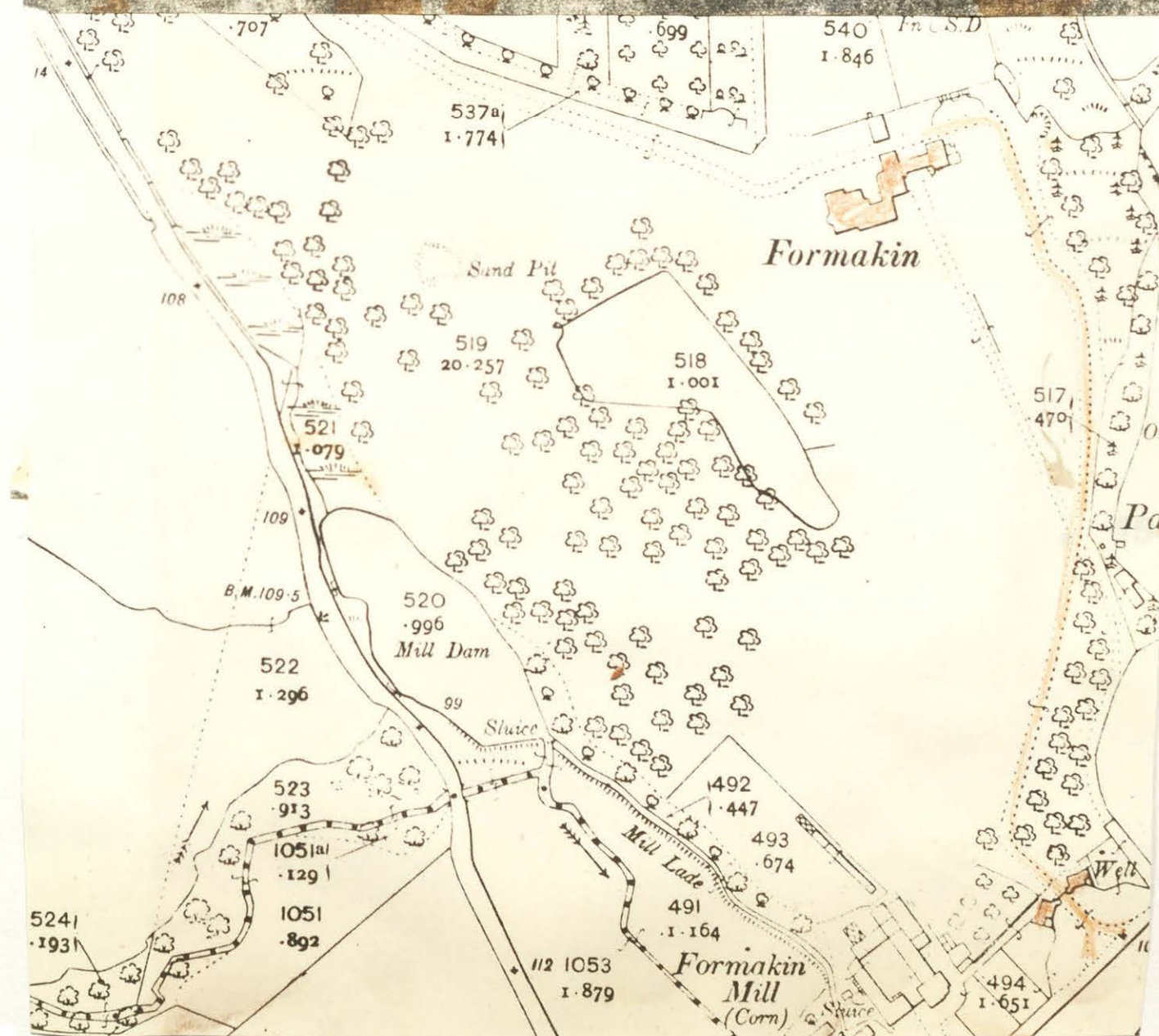
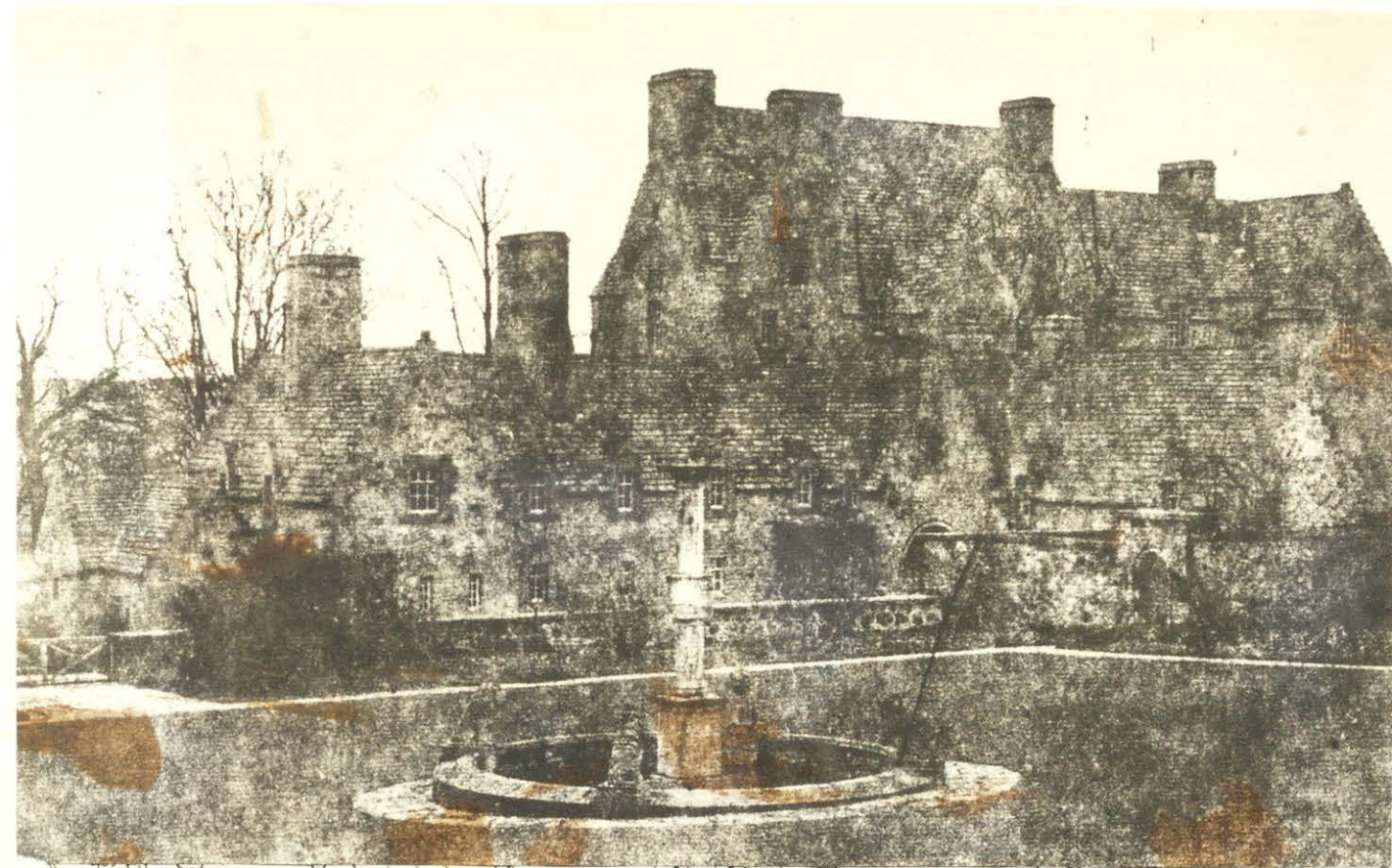
Figures 42 and 43: The west facade of Ardkinglas, and the generator dam.

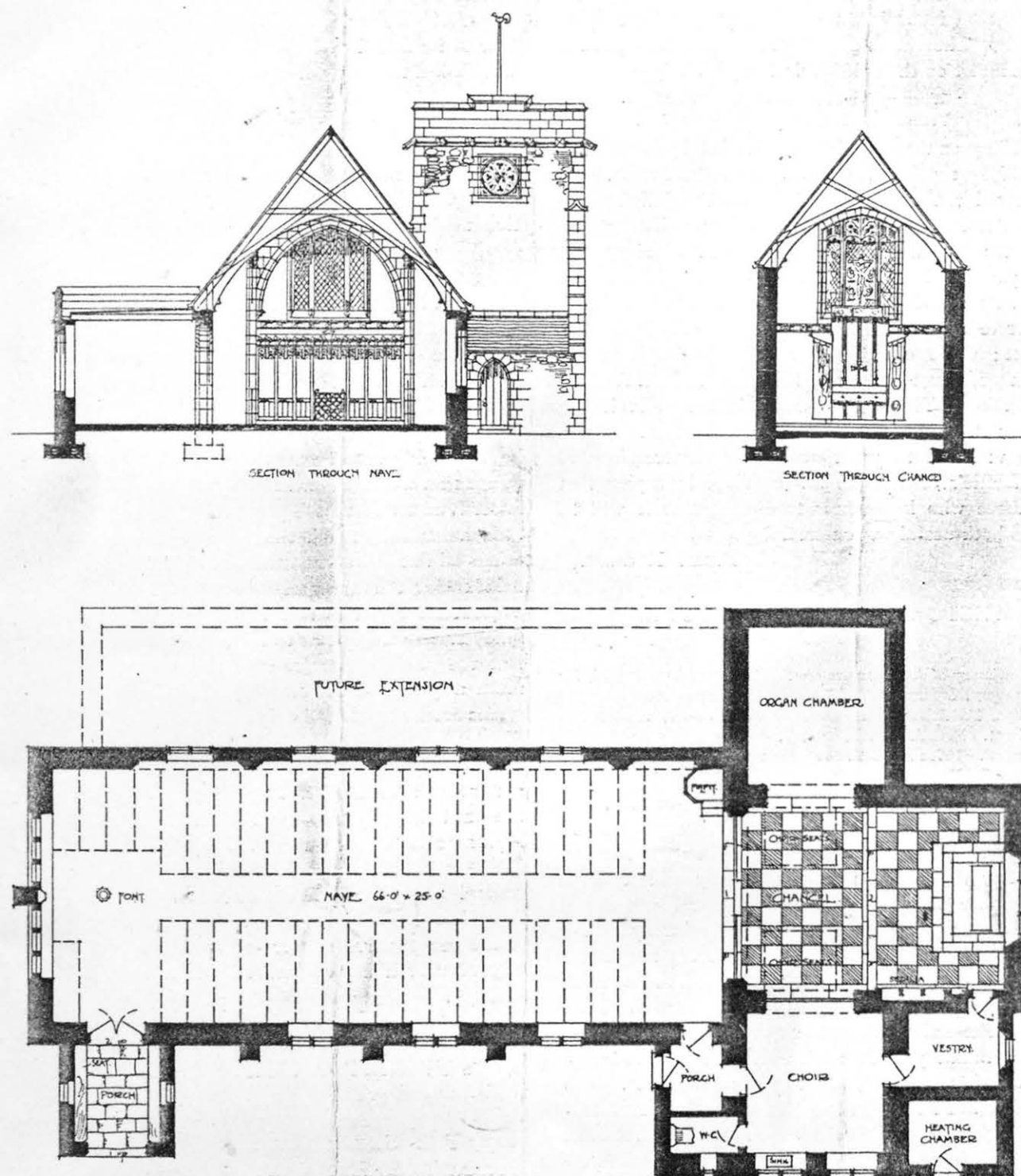


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45





THE CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD, MURRAYFIELD,
EDINBURGH. PLAN AND SECTION.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.



THE CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD, MURRAYFIELD,
EDINBURGH. VIEW OF THE CHANCEL.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

Photo: R. A. Milliken.

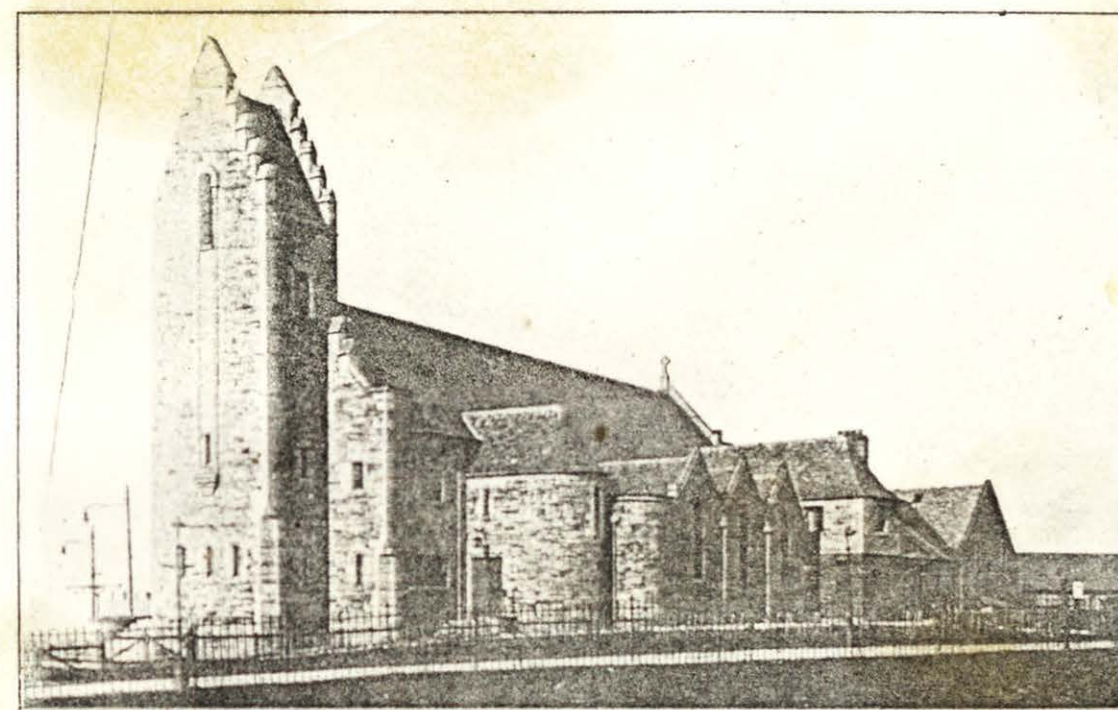
Figure 46: Church of the Good Shepherd, Murrayfield



With its whitened walls and simple structural forms, the St. Peter's interior departed from the traditional elaborations of Roman Catholic churches in Scotland, many of them built and embellished under residual 19th century Irish influences. Here the embellishments suggest the Baroque forms which were gaining ground in England, both in Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic circles. A possible reason for this may have been that the donor was Raffalowich active in the world of art in London, while in the exclusion of Irish ideas Lorimer may have been assisted by the parish priest, Father Gray, who was a Scot. Later, of course, the whitening of churches was propagated by F.C. Eeles and the Alcuin Club, drawing much on Scandinavian ideas, but it is difficult to associate Lorimer directly with that, largely a development of the 1930s.

Chap. 4

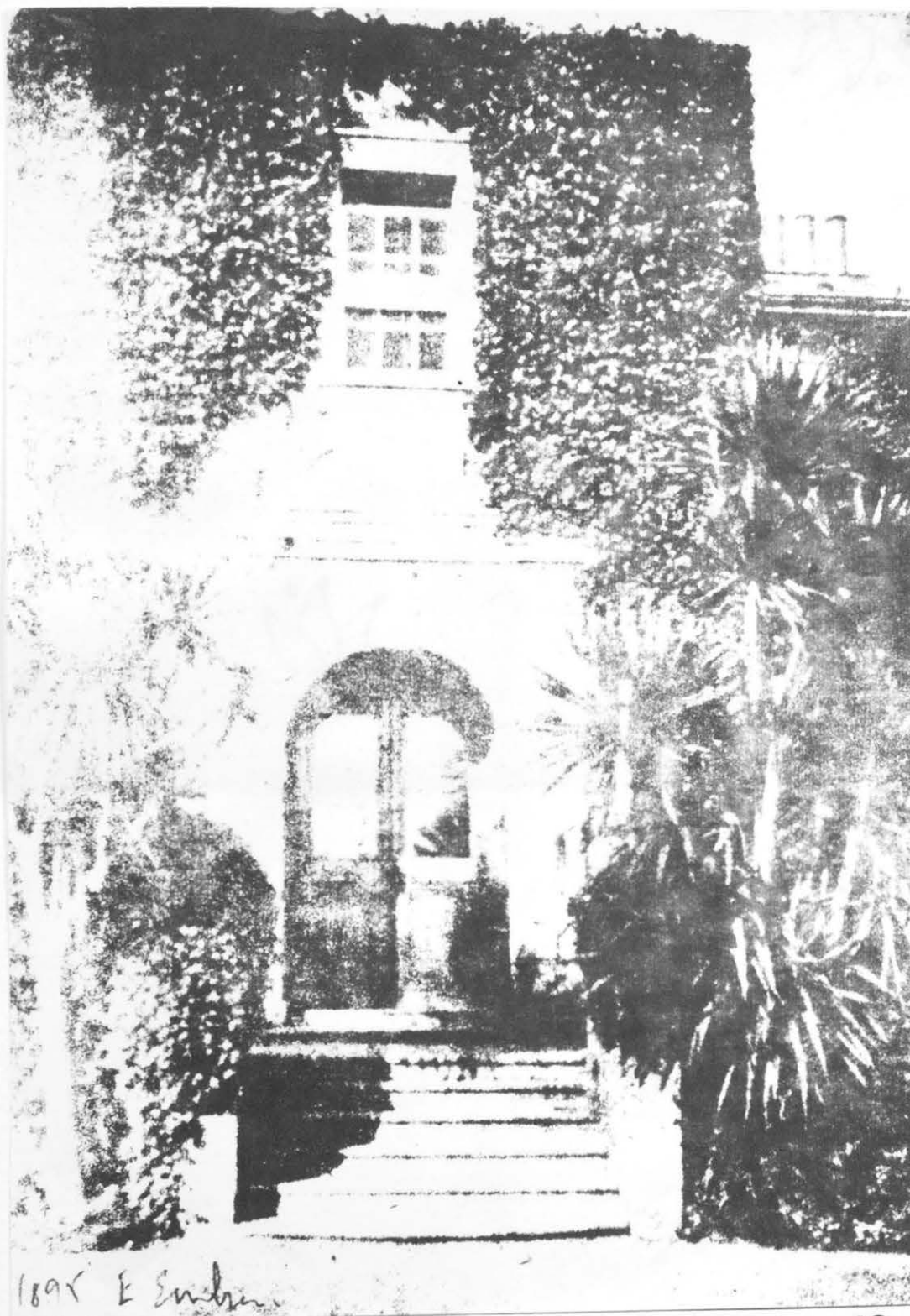
Figure 47: St. John the Evangelist. A Cumberland Church by Lorimer.



ST MARGARET'S, KNIGHTSWOOD.
(Recent Church Extension Charge.)

[To face p. 25]

Figure 47A: St. Margarets, Glasgow.
Another church by Lorimer & Matthew.



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Figures 48 and 49: St. Marnocks, new entrance wing by Lorimer (see also p.45, Vol.2)

Figure 50: See p.50, Vol.2, fig.5.

Figure 51: See p.47, Vol.2, fig.2.

Figure 52: See p.51, Vol.2, fig.6.

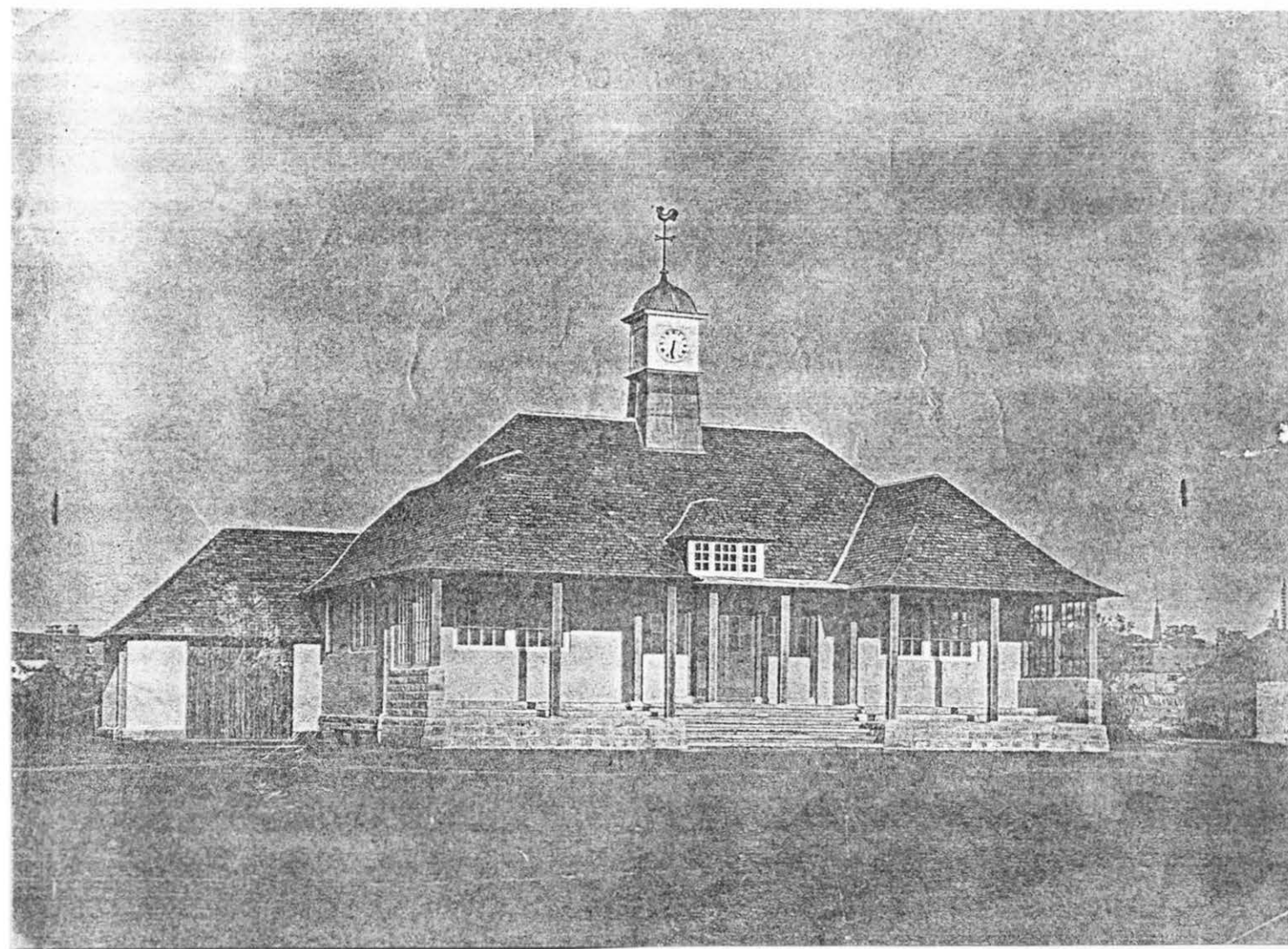
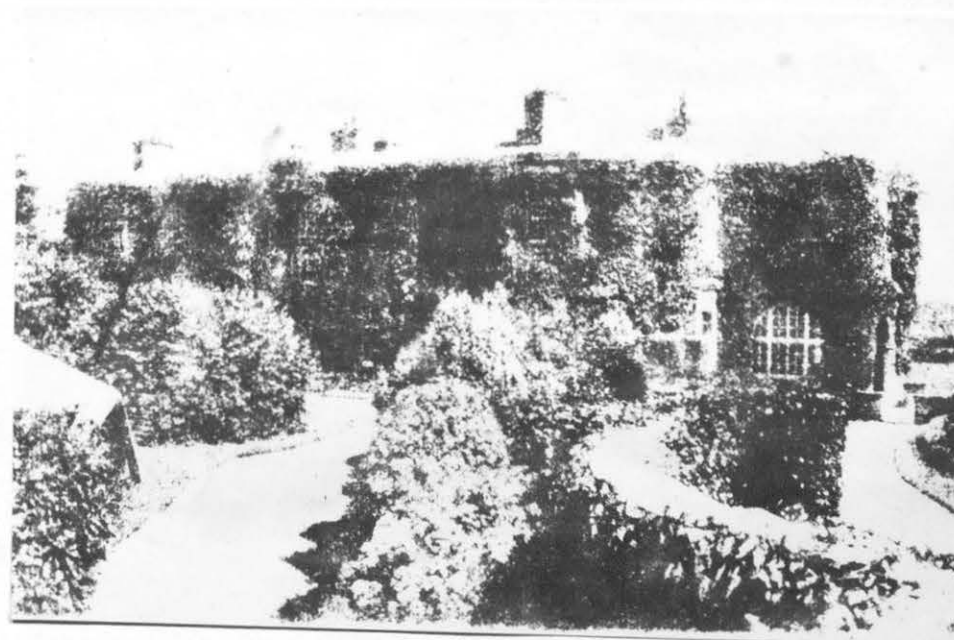
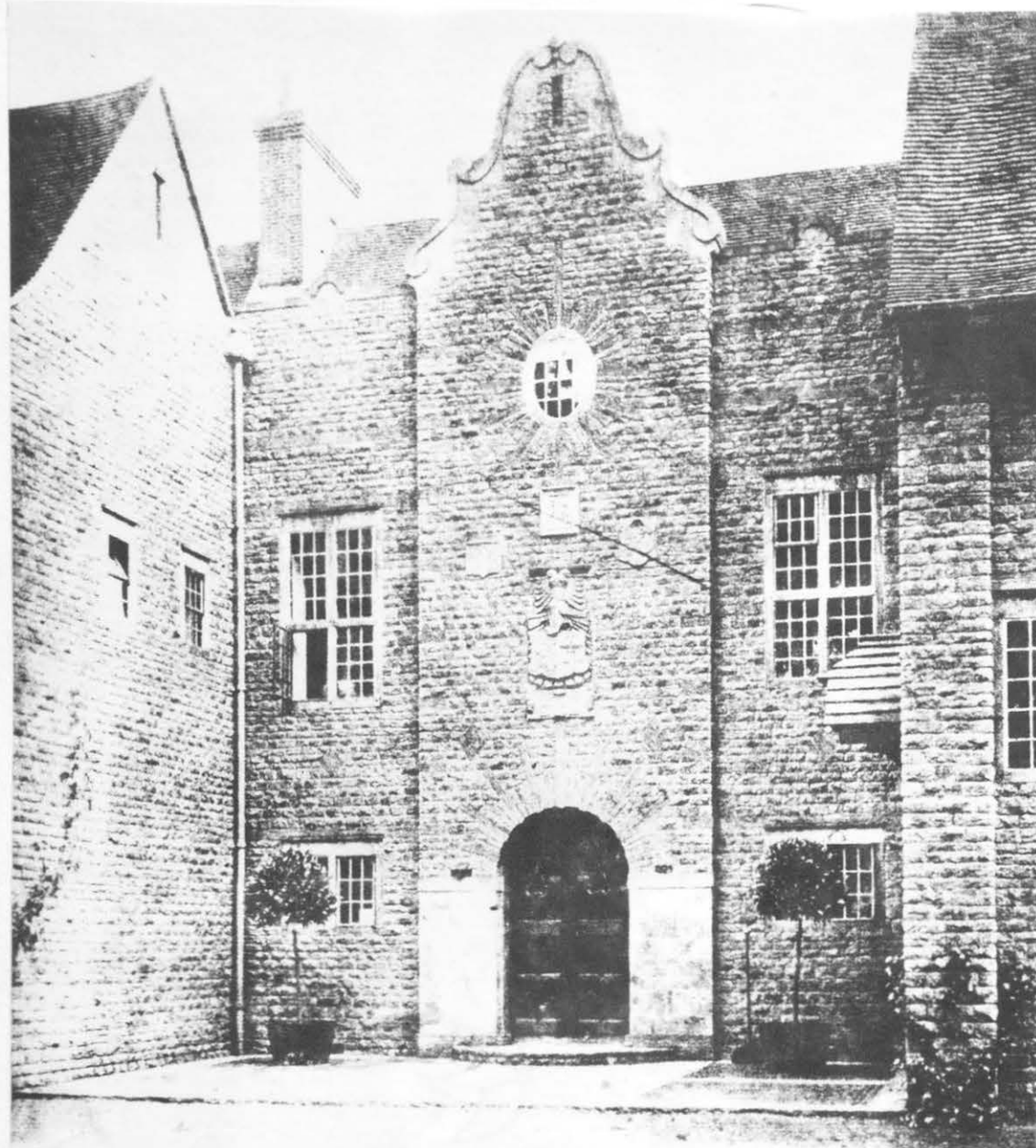


Figure 47A. Sports pavilion, Loretto School.



49

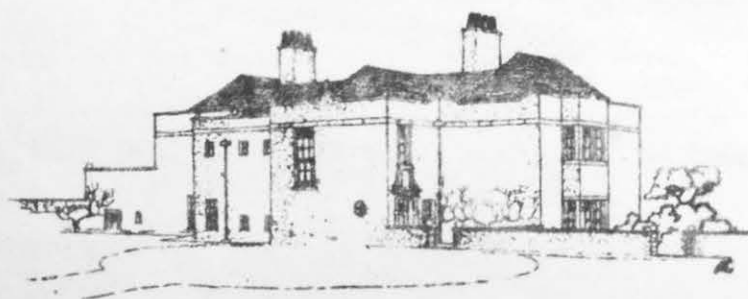


49] HIGH BARN, THE ENTRANCE



[48] HIGH BARN, GODALMING, 1901

Figures 53 and 54: A Surrey house by Lorimer. A pastiche of elements - Norman, Dutch and Tudor.



MR. R. DOUGAL'S COTTAGE AT COLINTON
Div.

R. S. LORIMER, A.R.S.A., ARCHITECT

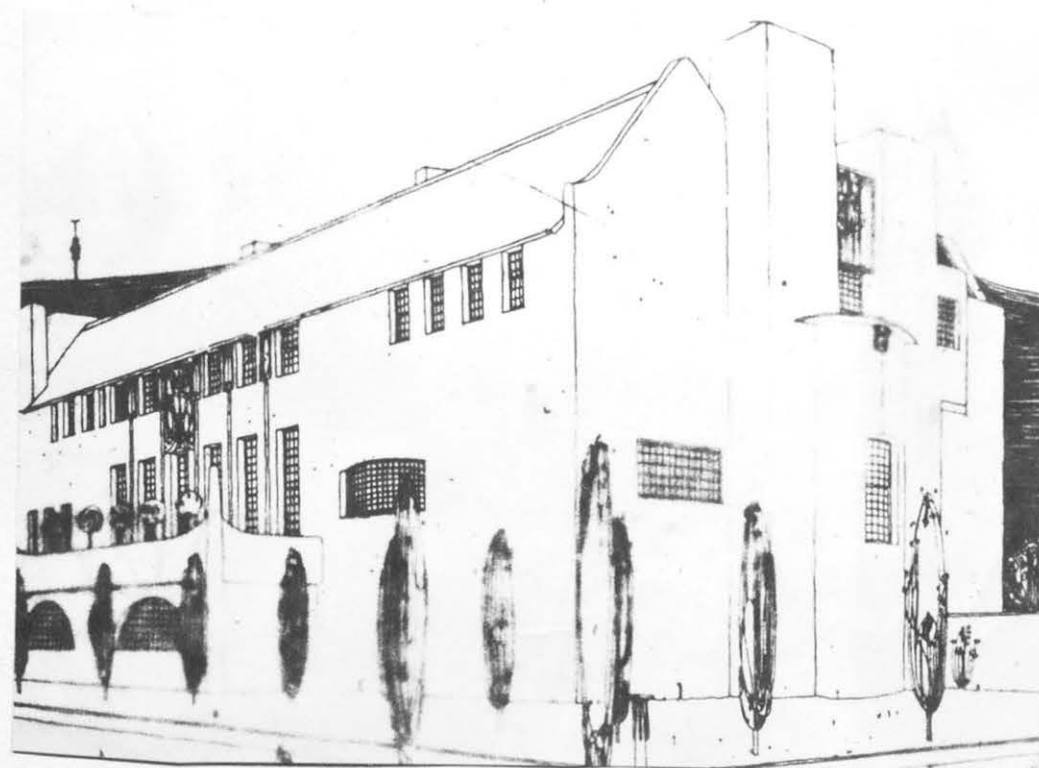
Figure 56: An unusual Colinton Cottage by Lorimer, with influence of his work on St. Marnocks



Figure 55: A Tudor house in Cumberland by Lorimer



Figure 57: Stronachulin by Lorimer compared to a house and project for a house by C.R. Mackintosh. His elimination of copings and sills permitted simpler geometrical effects, but did not overcome satisfactorily the problems of water penetration.



Shanks

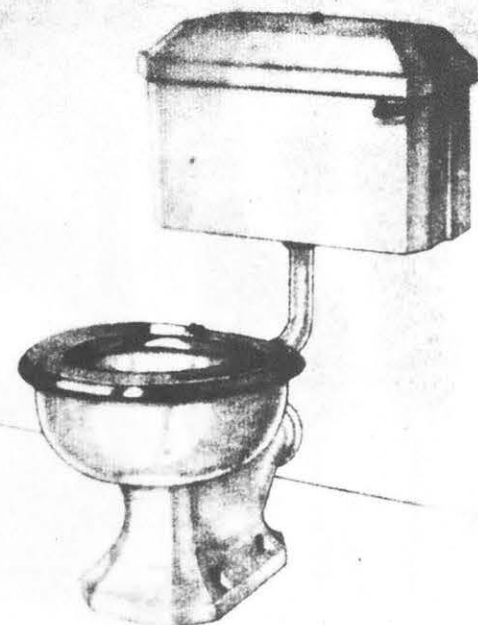


PLATE A7982 - "REMIROL"

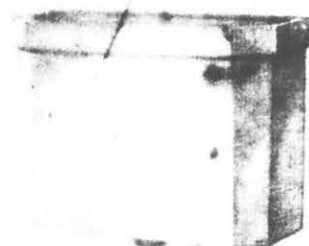


PLATE A7985 - "REMIROLA"

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Shanks

PLATE A7982: SHANKS' "REMIROL" WASHDOWN CLOSET SET, COMPRISING:-

CLOSET, A7986, in white Vitreous China.
SEAT, A9136, hinged, in black plastic.
CISTERN, A8121, low level "Parva", comprising shell and cover in white Vitreous China, lead valveless siphon "Fullflo" fittings, $\frac{1}{2}$ " (1.3 cm) ball-cock with bottom connection screwed $\frac{1}{2}$ " (1.3 cm) B.S.Pipe, male, overflow with bottom connection screwed $\frac{1}{2}$ " (2.5 cm) B.S.Pipe, male, white porcelain enamelled flush bend, supporting brackets.
JOINT, A3541, "Adaptus", rubber.
FITTINGS, chromium plated.

Cistern 2, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 gallons (9, 11 or 14 litres) capacity.

Approximate Height (with 2 gallon cistern) 3'1" (94 cm)
Approximate Height (with 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 gallon cistern) 2'10" (86 cm)
Approximate Projection 2'9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (85 cm)

EXTRAS

Cistern fitted with brass valveless siphon "Fullflo" fittings.
Cistern fitted with A7982 "Zenith" silent-acting ball-cock, recommended when supply comes direct from pressure main.

Coupling connections for inlet and overflow not included, see pages 232 and 233.

PLATE A7985: SHANKS' "REMIROL" WASHDOWN CLOSET SET, COMPRISING:-

CLOSET, A7986, in white Vitreous China.
SEAT, A9136, hinged, in black plastic.
CISTERN, A8130, 3 gallon (14 litres) low level "Neptune", comprising shell and cover in white Vitreous China, "Beta" valve fittings with overflow, $\frac{1}{2}$ " (1.3 cm) ball-cock with bottom connection screwed $\frac{1}{2}$ " (1.3 cm) B.S.Pipe, male, white porcelain enamelled flush bend, supporting brackets.
JOINT, A3541, "Adaptus", rubber.
FITTINGS, chromium plated.

Approximate Height - 2'10" (86 cm) Approximate Projection - 2'9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (85 cm)

EXTRA

Cistern fitted with A7982 "Zenith" silent-acting ball-cock, recommended when supply comes direct from pressure main.

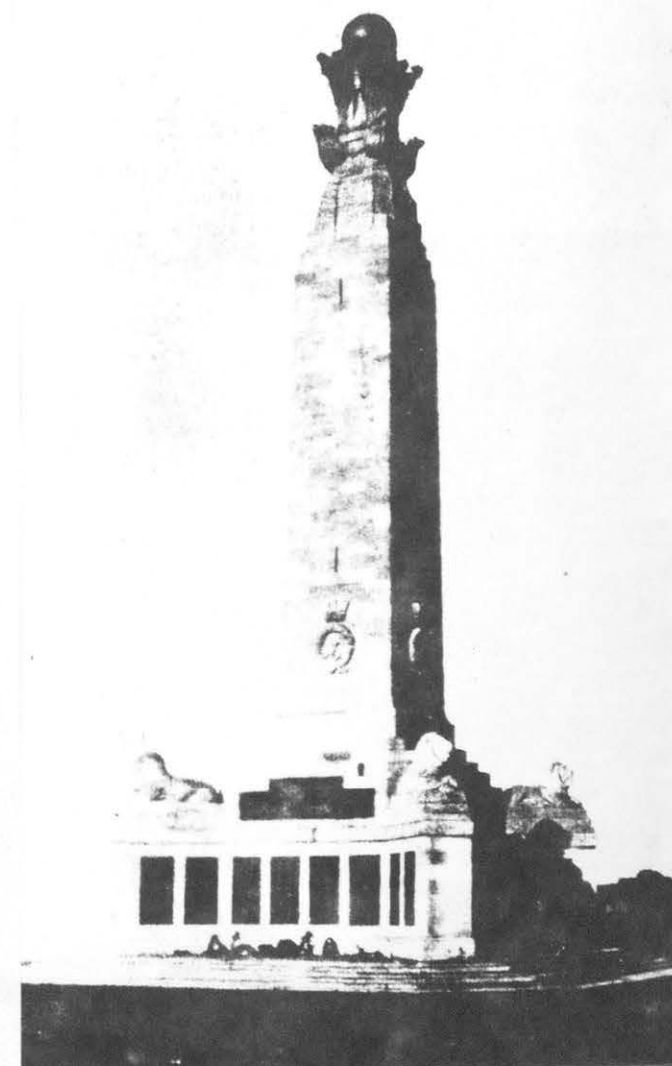
Coupling connections for inlet (and overflow if required) not included, see pages 232 and 233.

Full details of traps and vents to be stated when ordering, see page 176.

State pressure at ball-cock when ordering.

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From Shanks 1949 Catalogue



Chap 6. 3

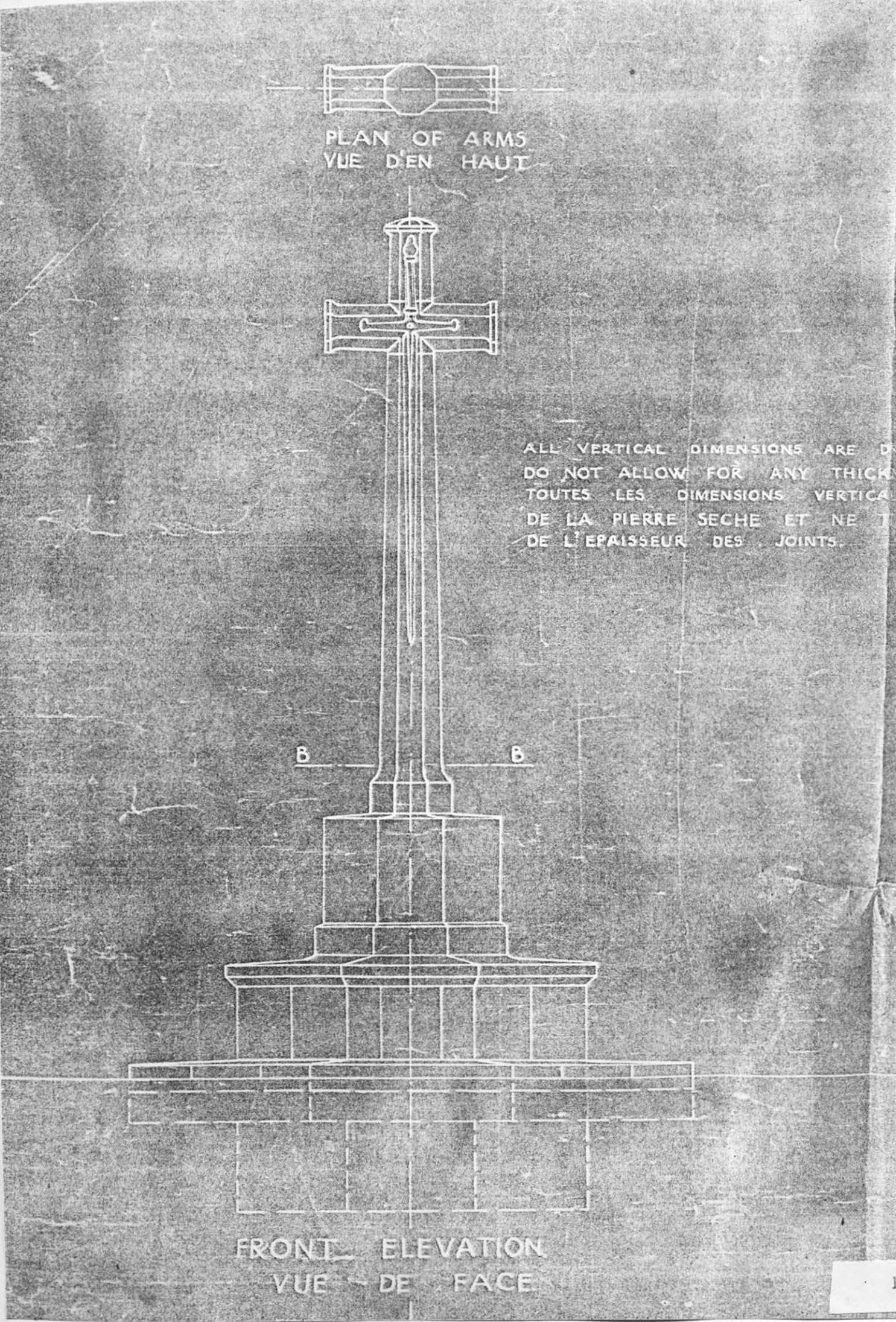
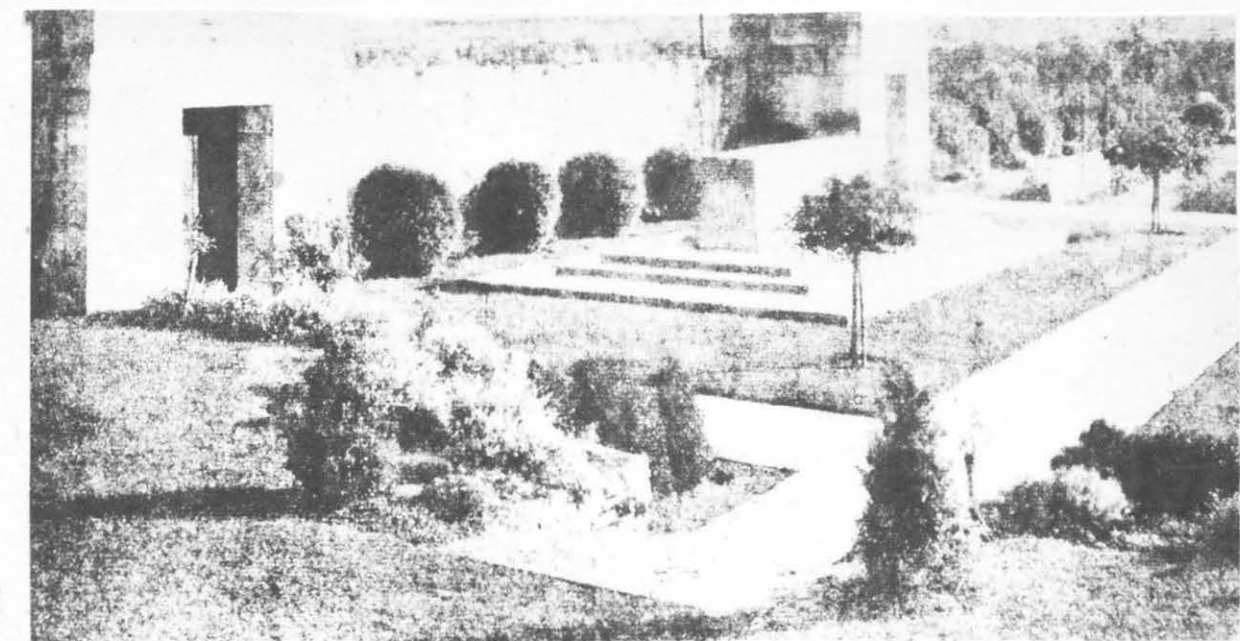
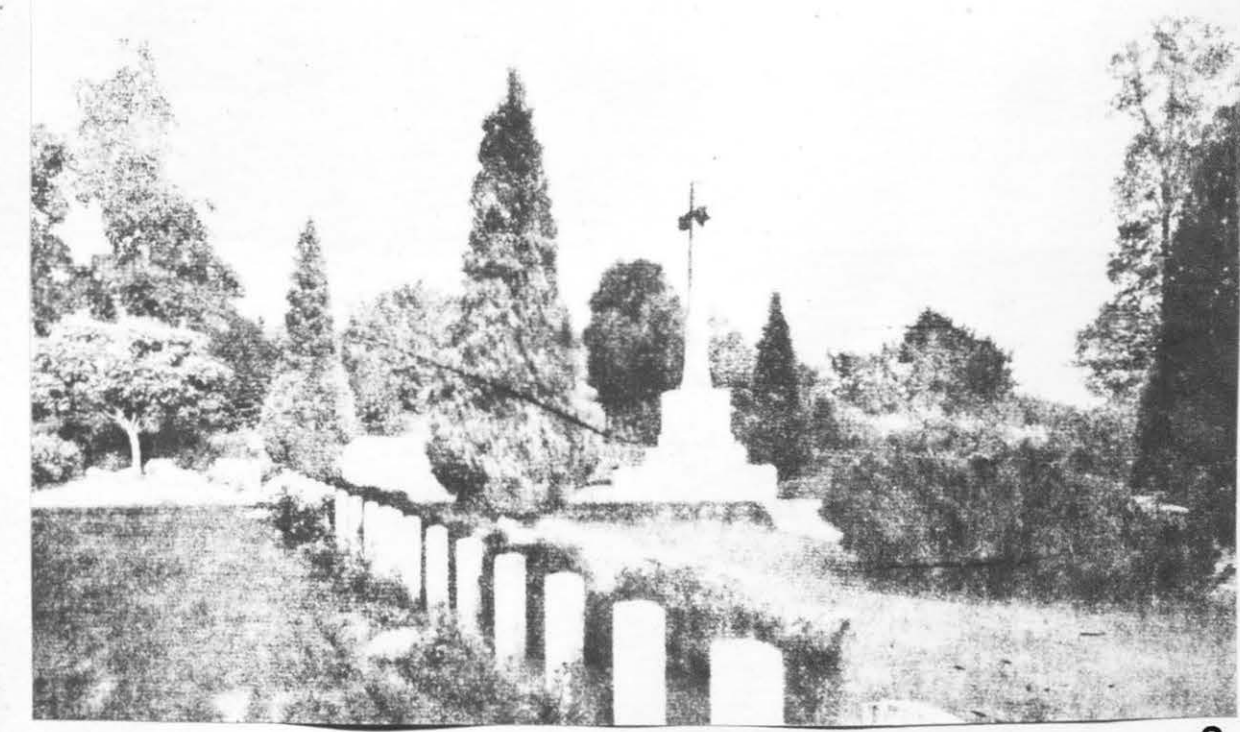


Fig.2A



[31] Corbie Cemetery. *Journal* Charles Holroyd page 38.

1



2

Chap. 6

Figure 1: The stone of remembrance designed by E. Lutyens and placed in nearly every Imperial War Graves Commission cemetery. (Vol.1, p.226).

Figure 2: The Cross of Sacrifice designed by R. Blomfield and placed in nearly all war cemeteries. (Vol.1, p.226).

Figure 3: Chatham Naval War Memorial. One of three pylons designed by Lorimer. (Vol.1, p.226). see over, page 82

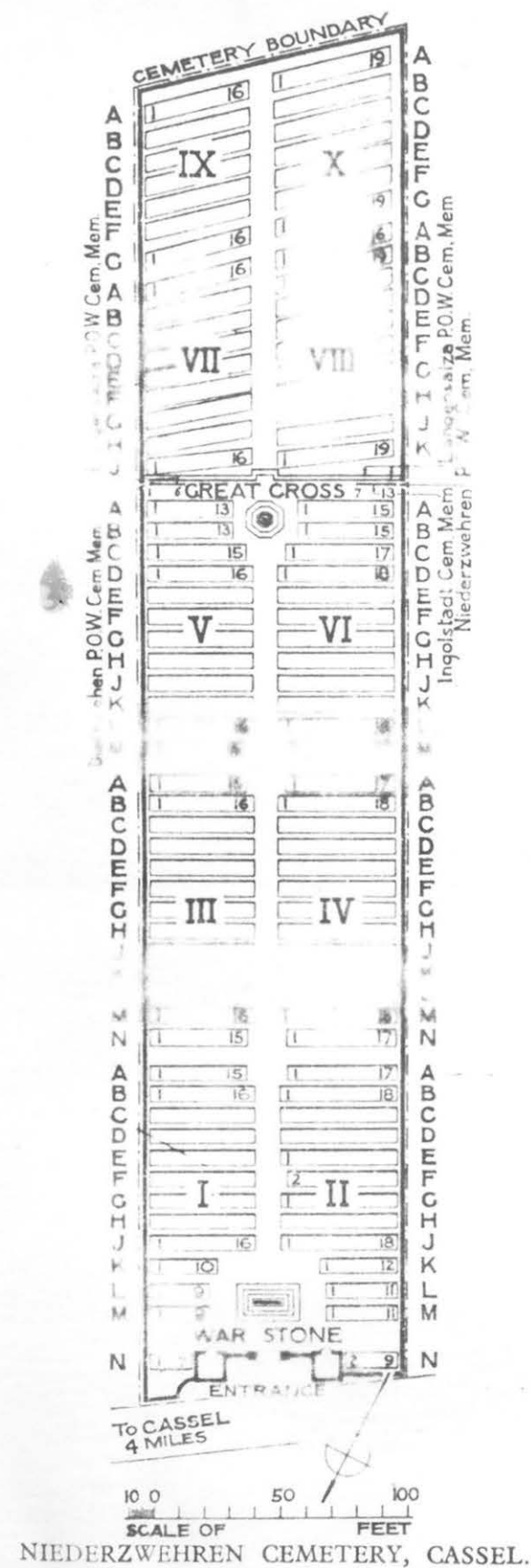
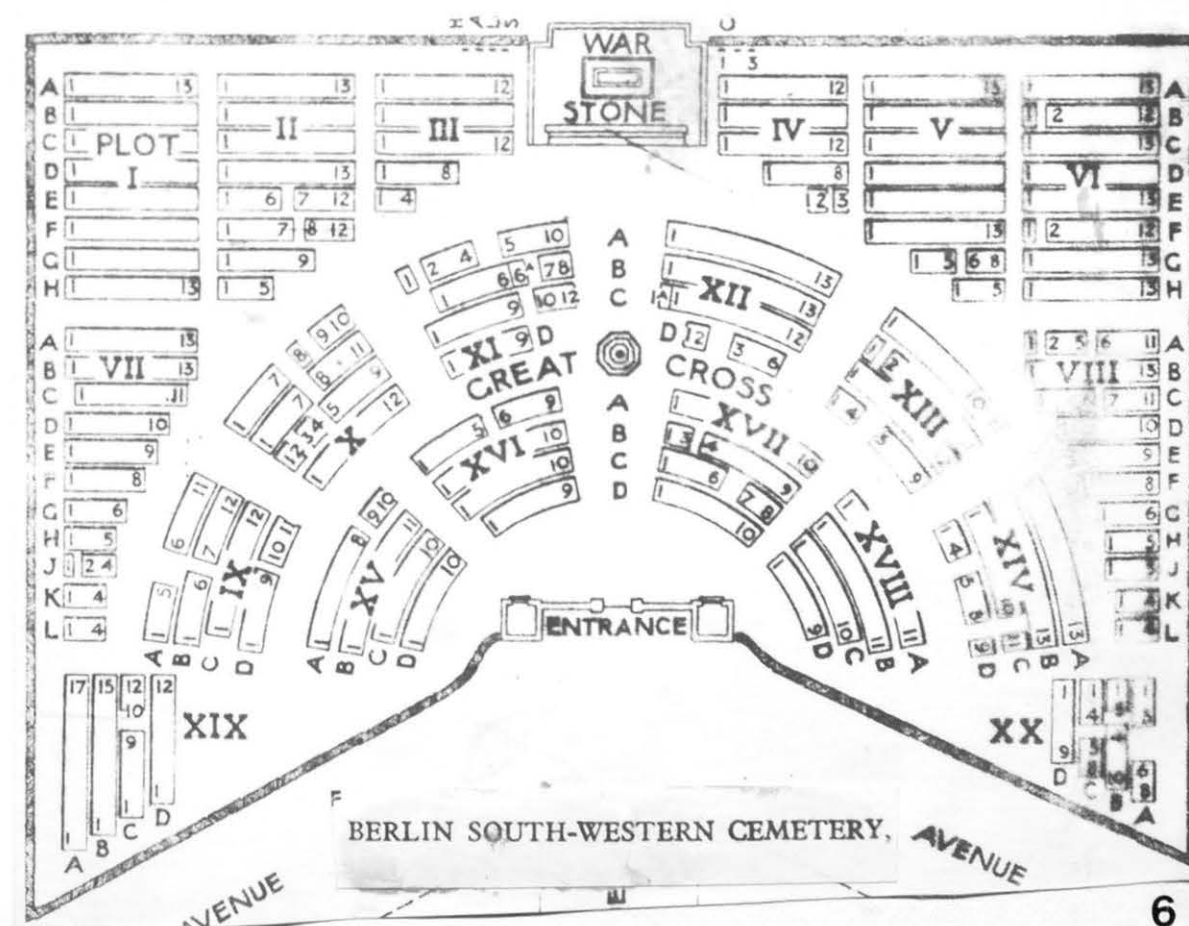
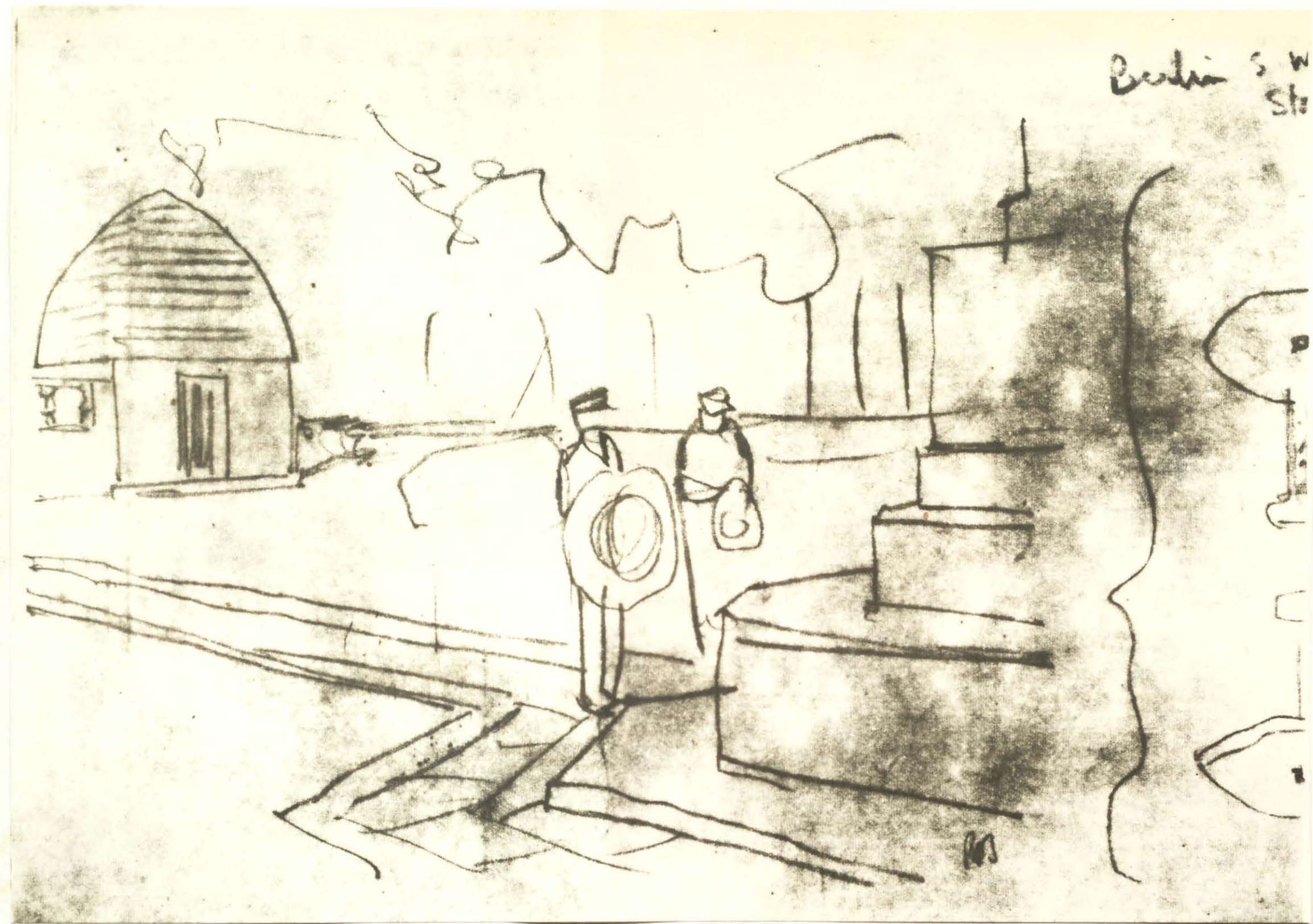


Figure 4: Niederszwheren Cemetery, Germany. A long narrow layout by Lorimer. (Vol. 1, p.227).



Figure 5: Niederszwheren Cemetery. View towards the entrance gates. (Vol.1, p.227).

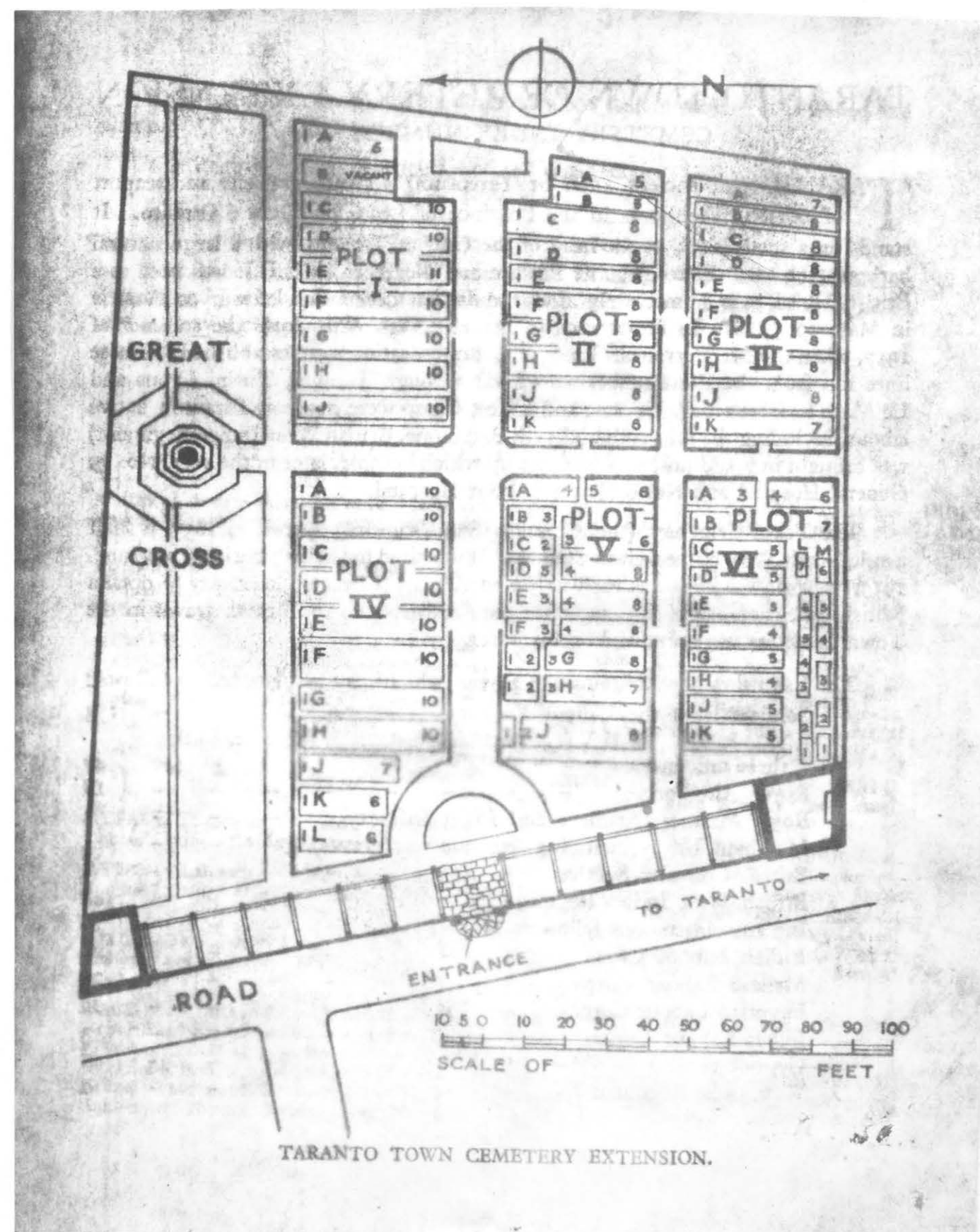




7

← on p. 84 Figure 6: Berlin South West Cemetery layout by Lorimer, in a woodland setting. (Vol.1, p.227).

Figure 7: Berlin South West Cemetery. General view. A narrow plot at the junction of three avenues. (Vol.1, p.228).



CHAP. 6

Figures 9 and 10: Taranto War Cemetery, Italy. An early view as first laid out by Lorimer, and a later view as altered. (Vol.1, pp.232-3).

Figure 22: Plan of layout of Taranto War Cemetery, Italy. (Vol.1, p.238).



8

Figure 8. A typical gatehouse for an Egyptian War Cemetery, designed by Lorimer. (Vol.1, p.228).



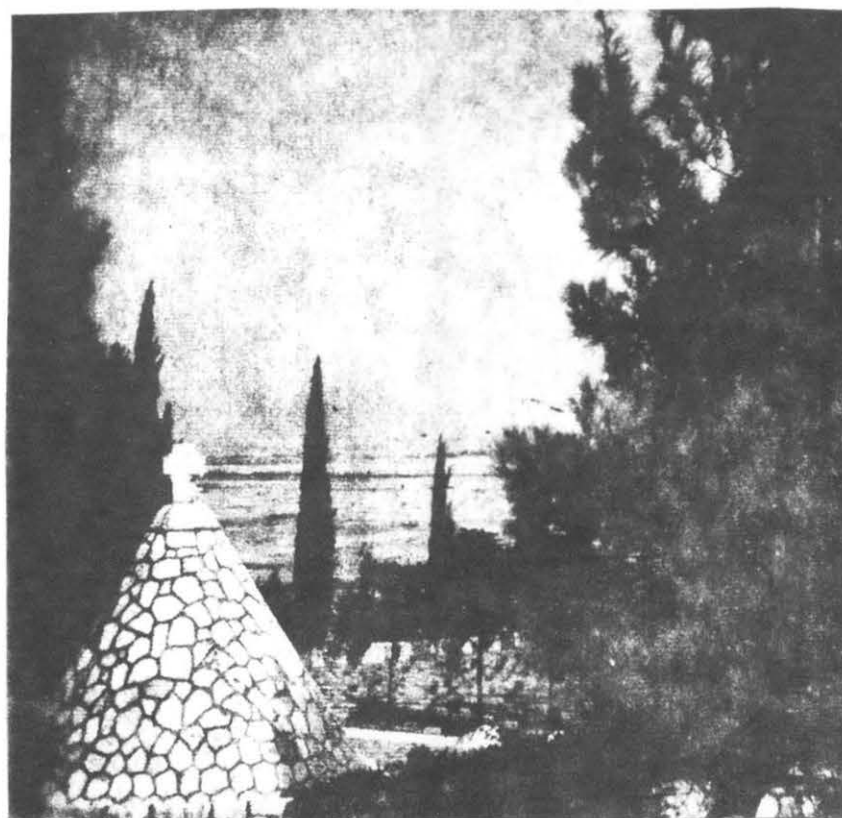
11

Figure 11: Mikro, Macedonia. A general view of a large cemetery by Lorimer. (Vol.1, p.233).



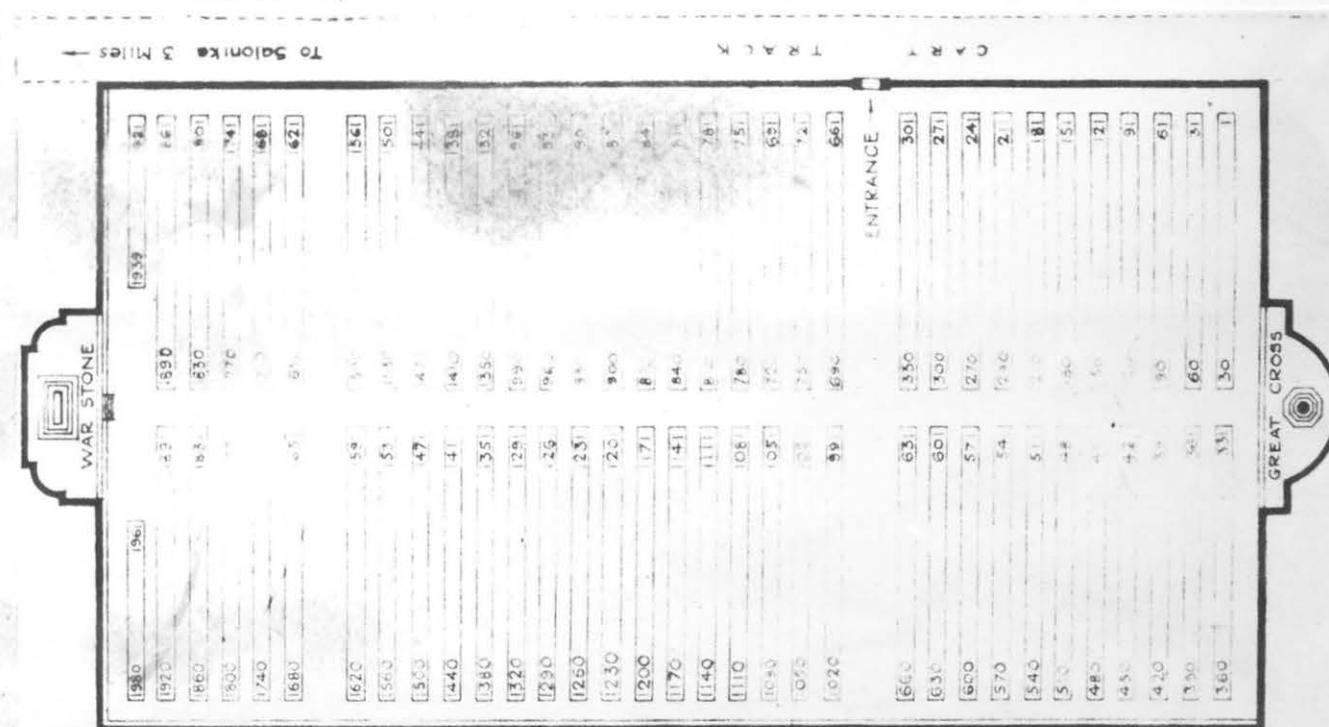
13

Figure 13: The horizontal grave marker used for some Macedonian cemeteries in place of the standard vertical head stone. (Vol.1, p.233).

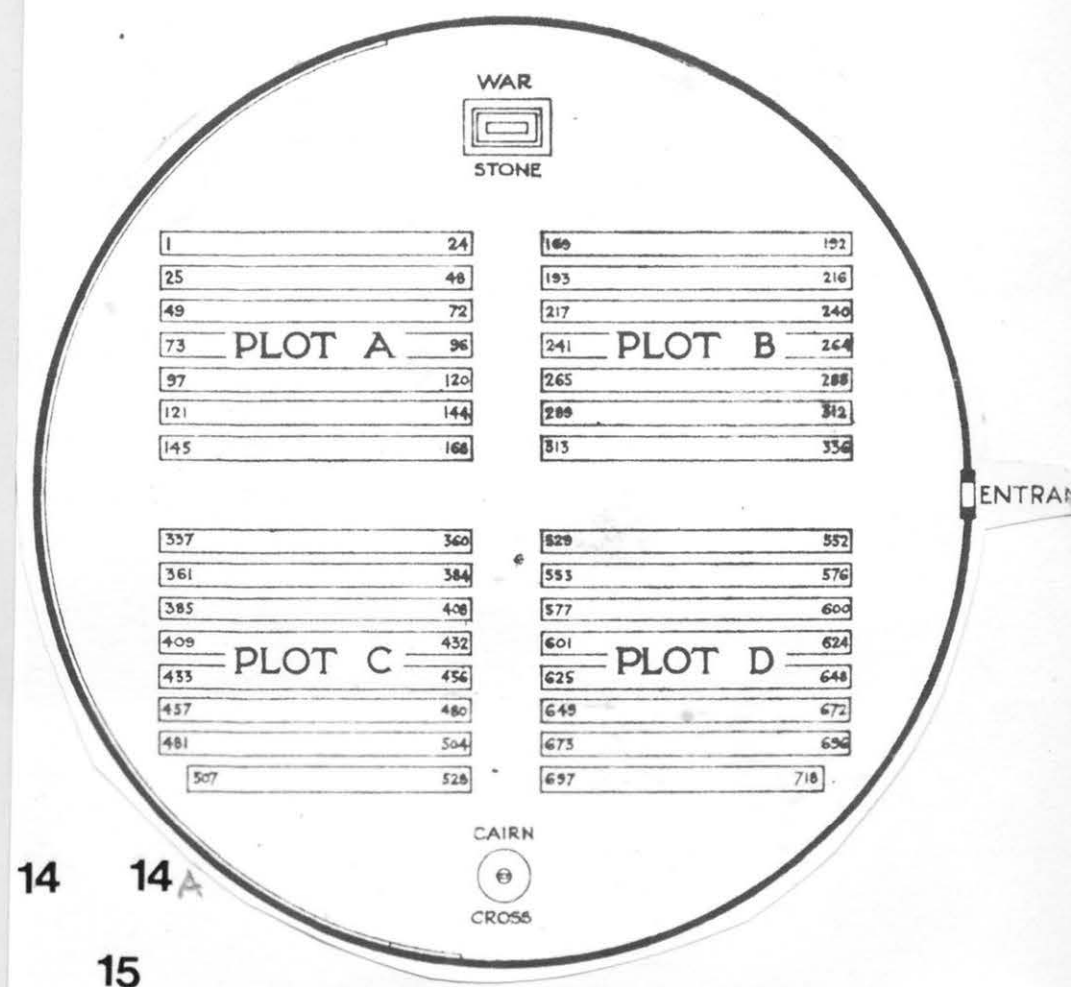


12

Figure 12: The cairn designed by Lorimer for the Macedonian War Cemeteries and used in place of Blomfield's Cross. (Vol.1, p.233).



11A

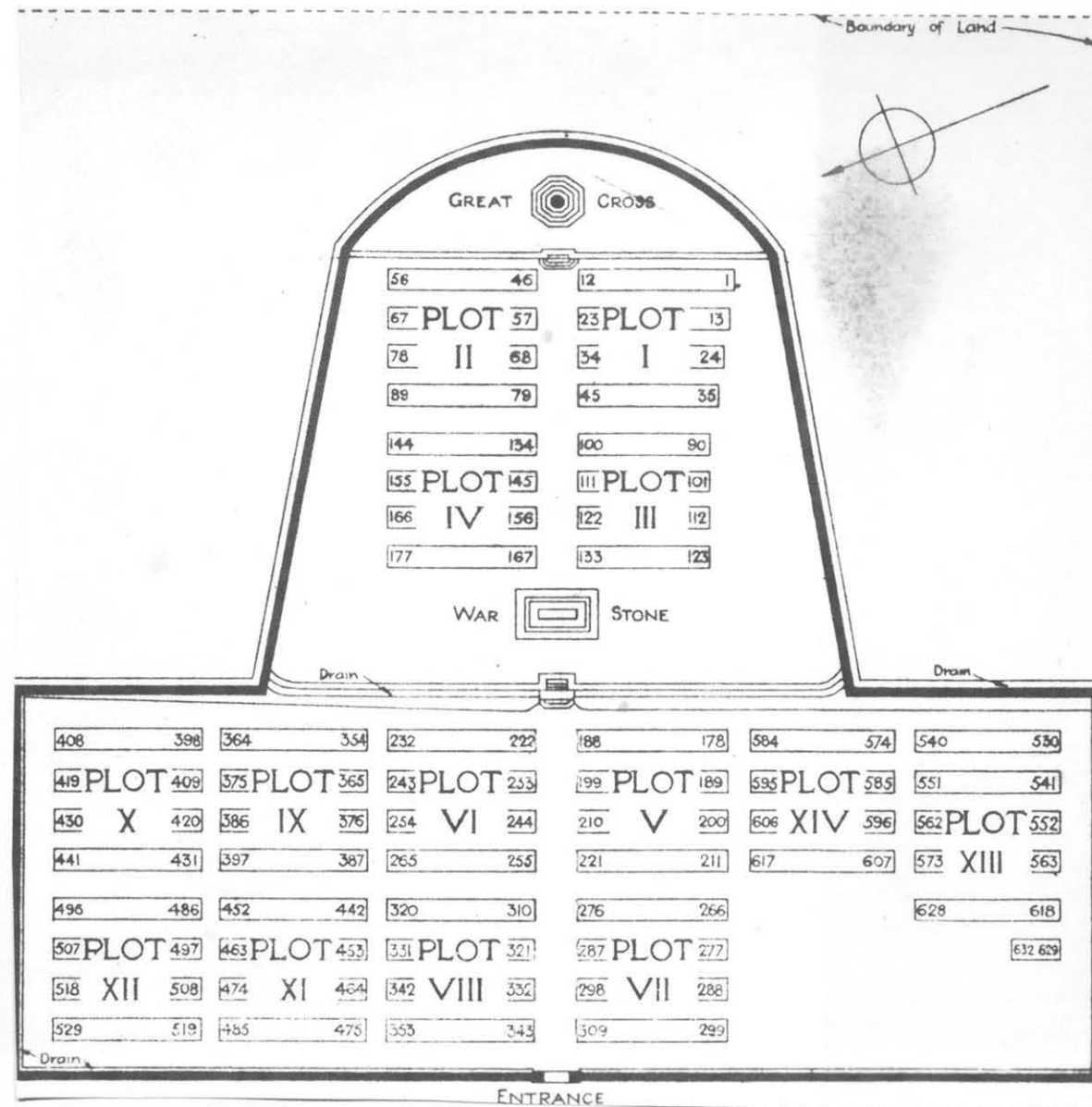


14 14A
15

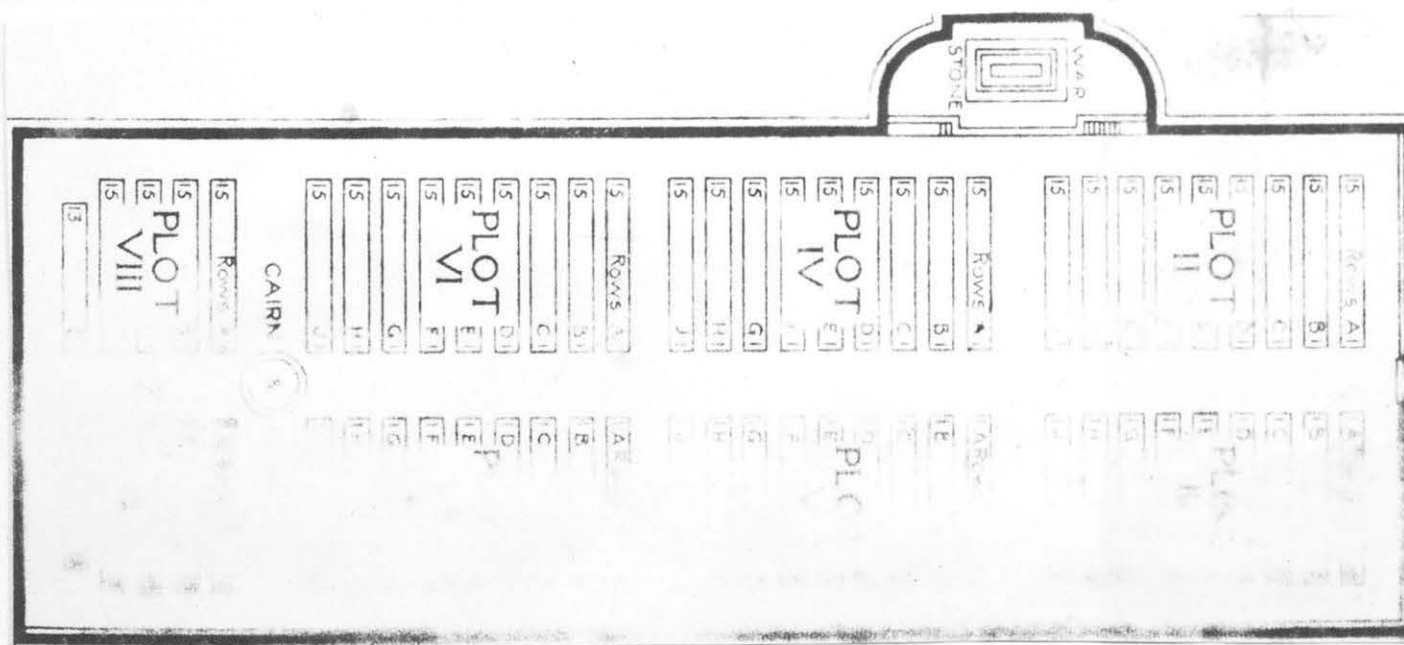


CHAP..6

Figures 14 and 15: Sarigol, Macedonia. An early view and a later one showing the evolution of a woodland cemetery. (Vol.1, p.234).

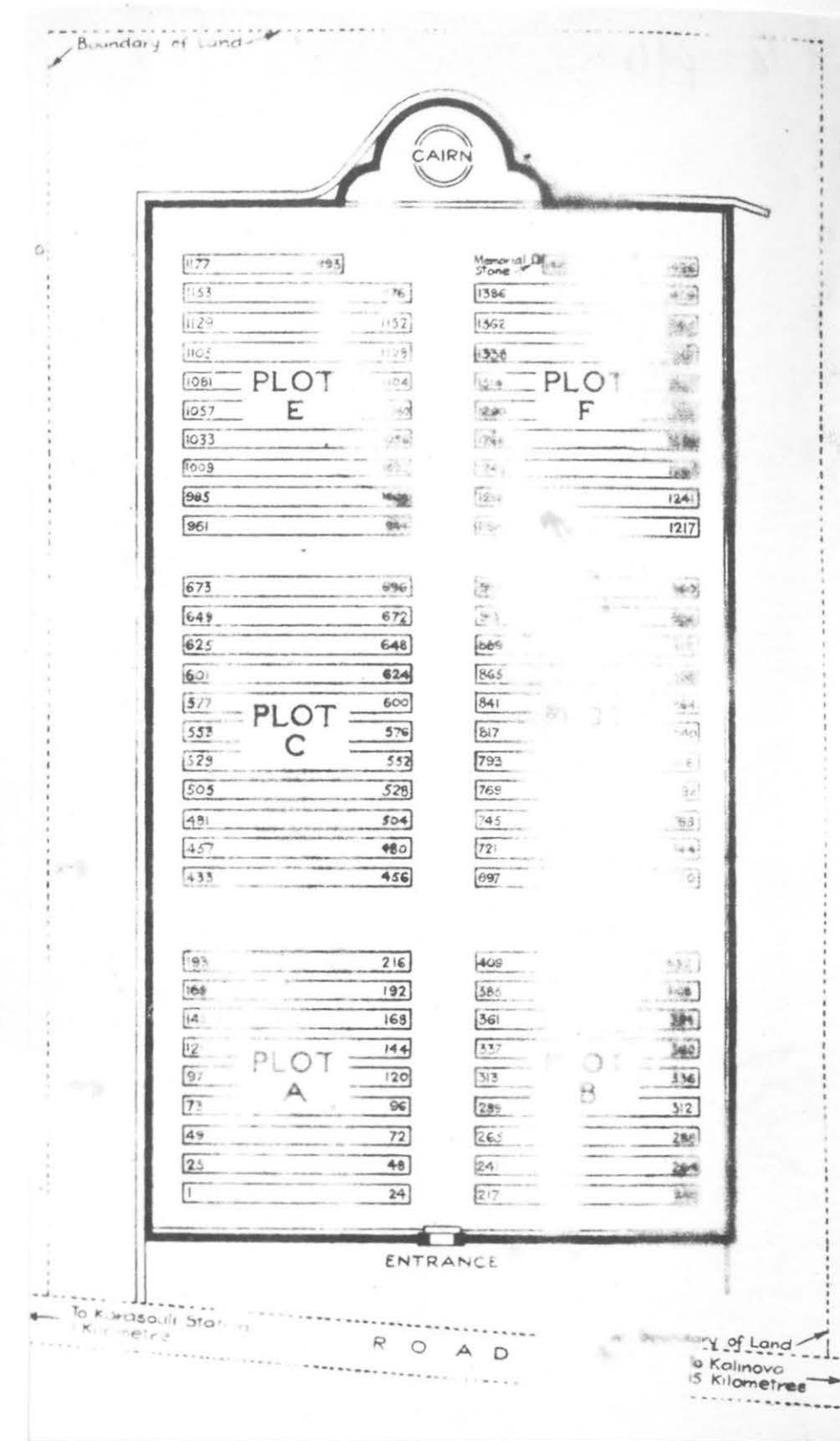


16



17

Figures 16 and 17: Two Macedonian cemeteries, Kirechkoi-Hortakoi and Struma. Precise simple outlines on irregular sites. (Vol.1, p.235).



LAHANA MILITARY CEMETERY

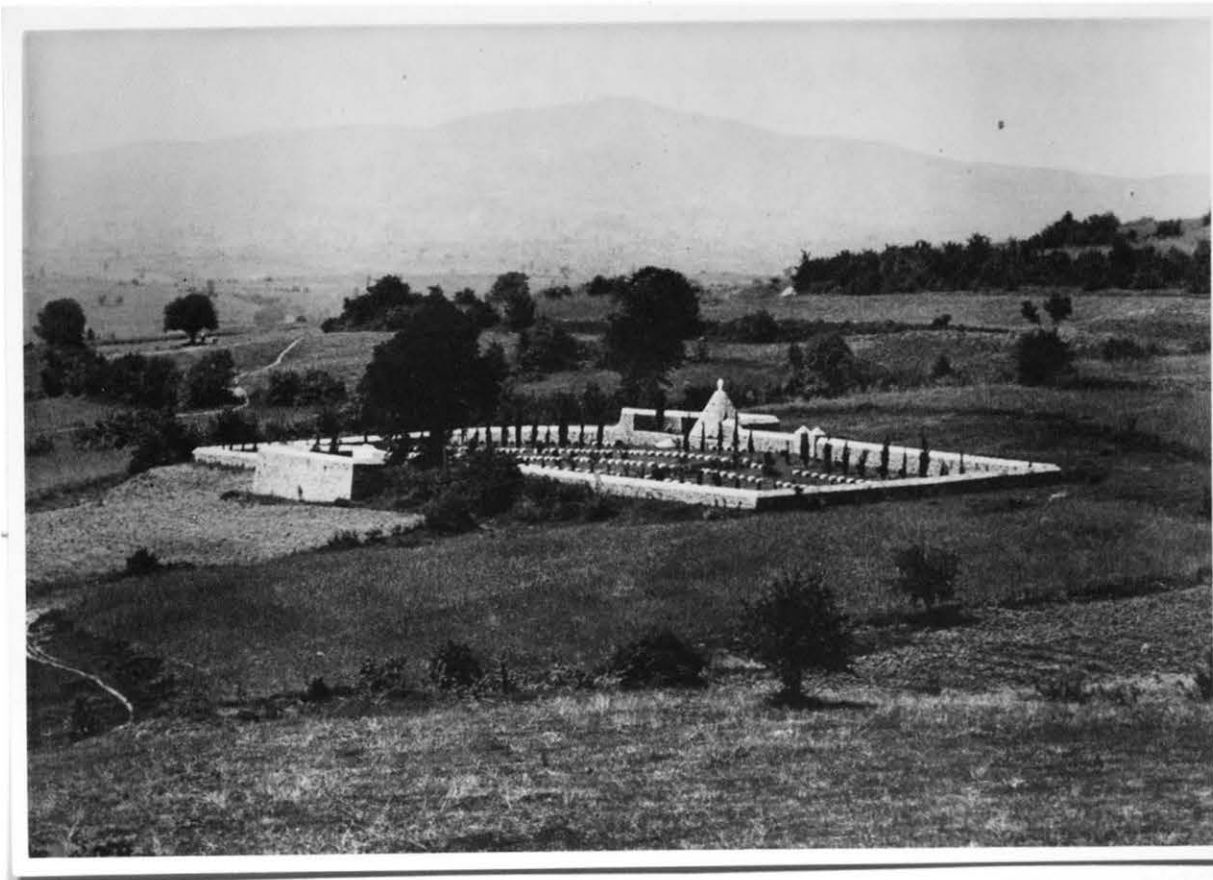
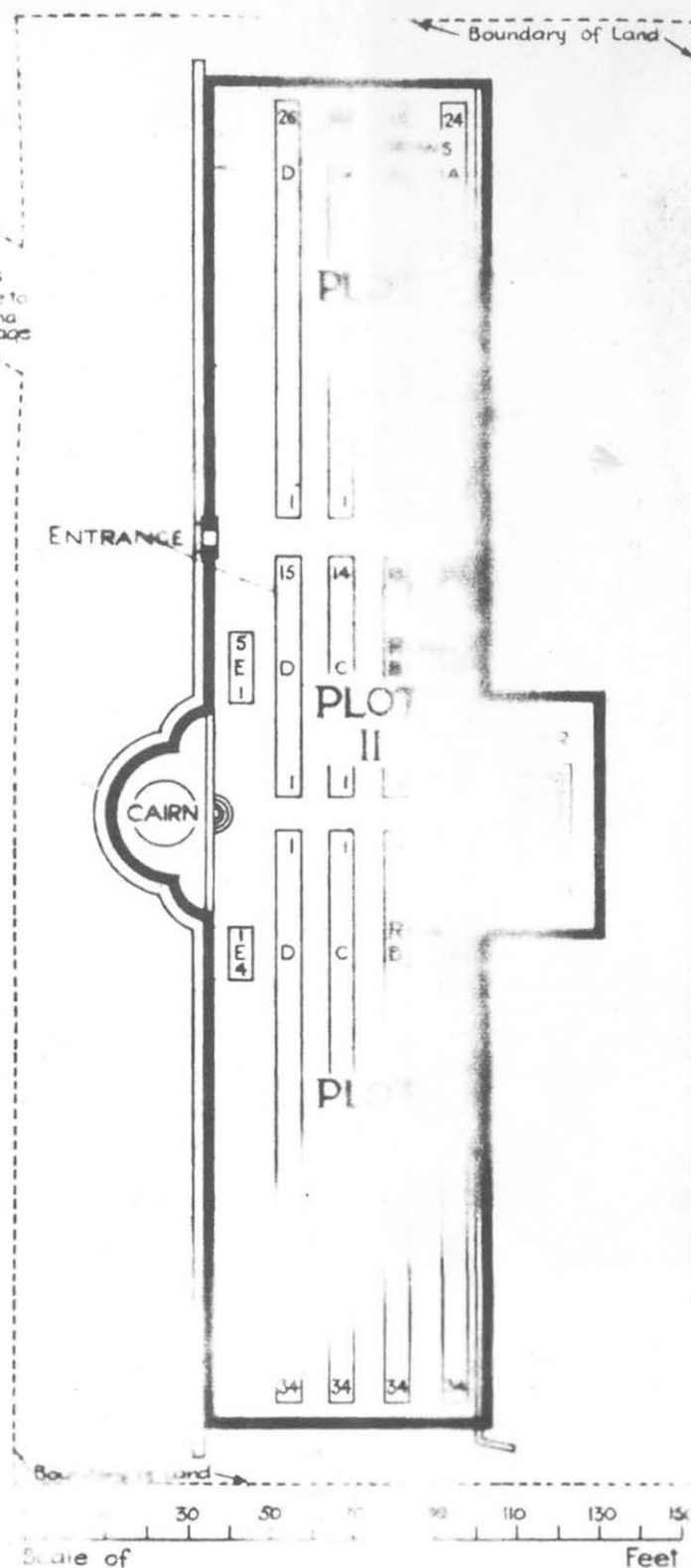
Right of Way
to Road
120 Metres
1 Kilometre to
Lahana
Village



KEY MAP



0 1 2
Scale of Miles

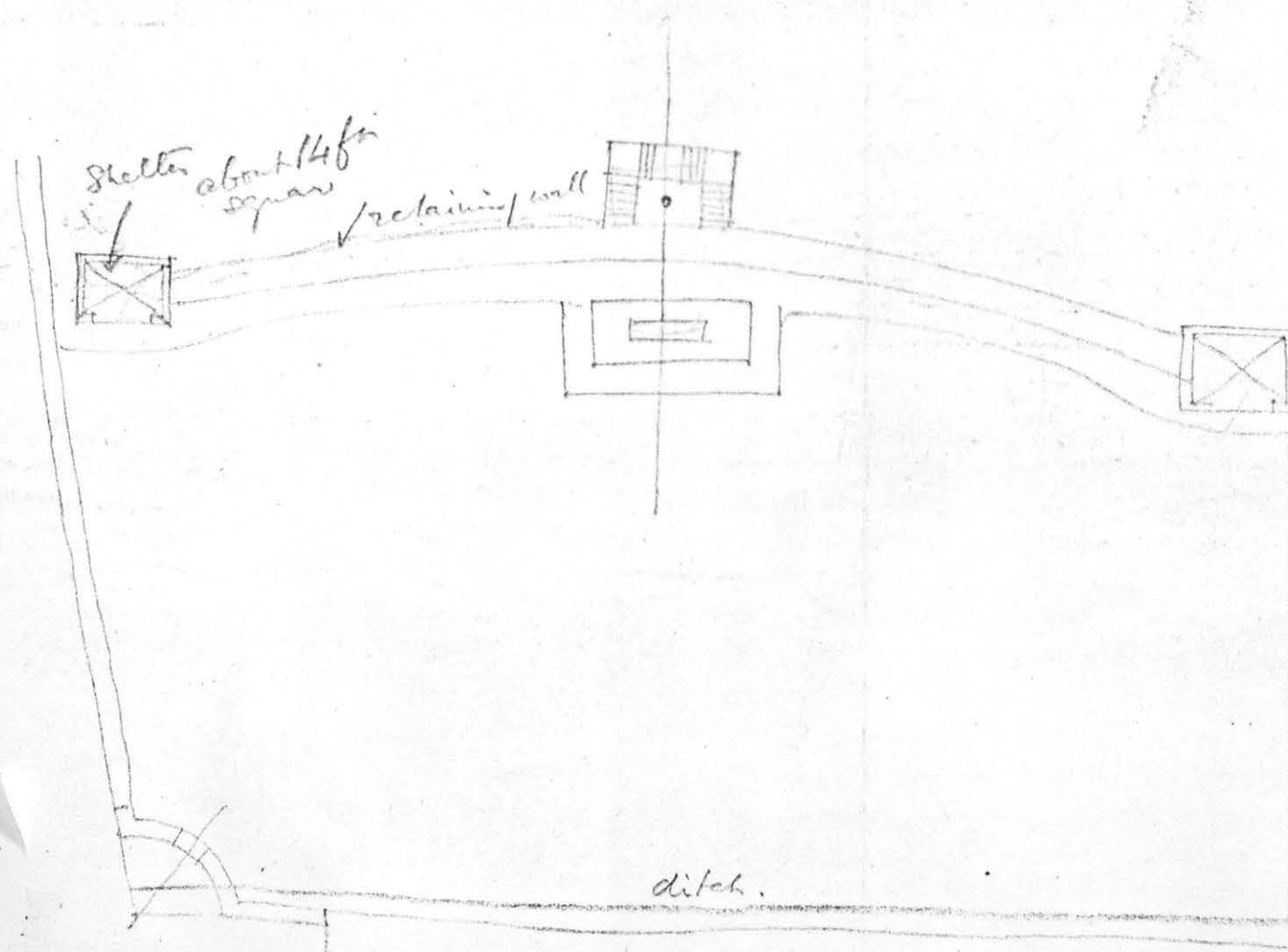


Figures 20 and 21: Lahana, Macedonia. An assymetrical layout well tailored to the levels of this acropolis site. (Vol.1, pp.235-6).



Montecchio Pre
11-X-18

300



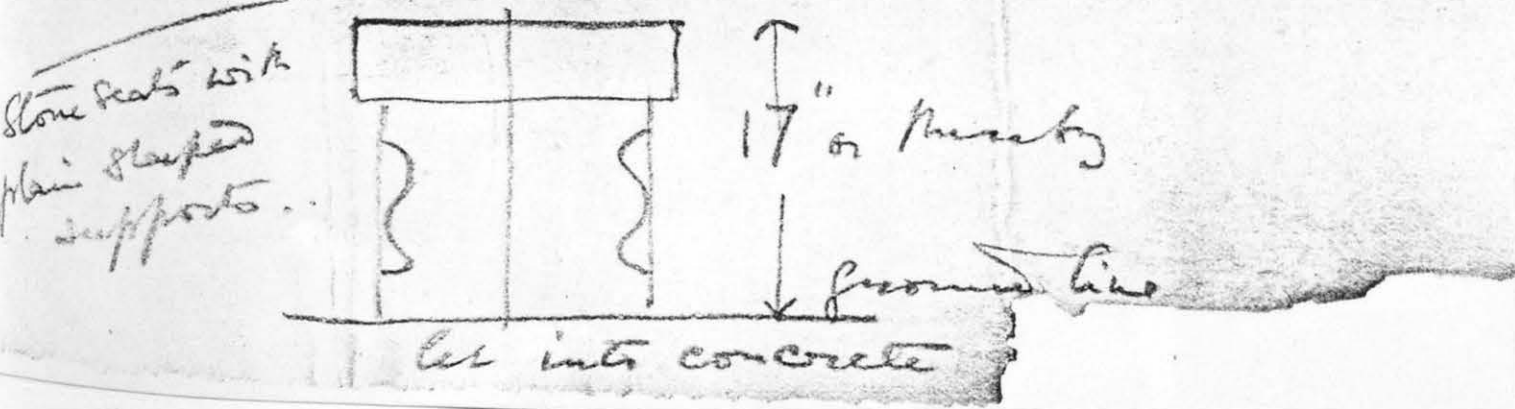
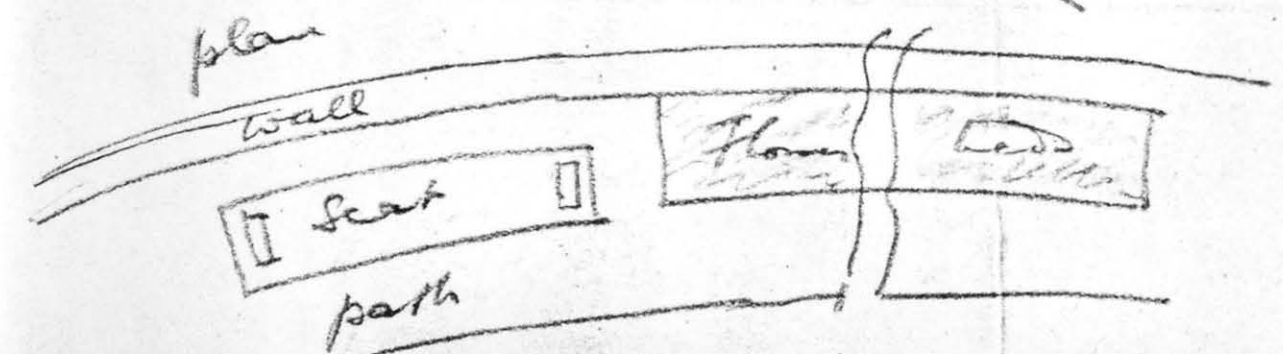
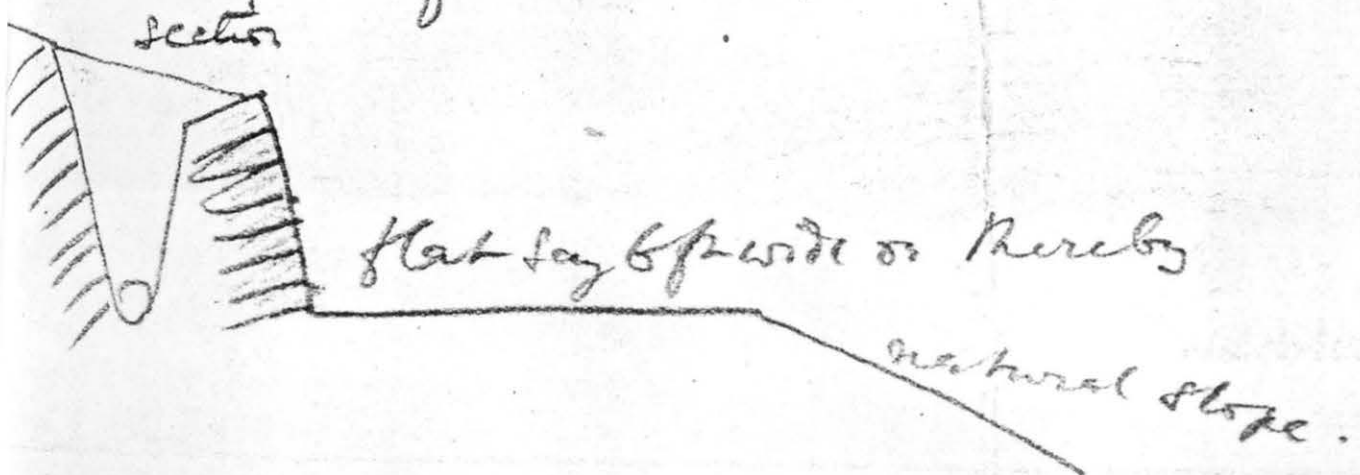
CHAP. 6

Figure 22: Taranto, see overpage. (Vol.2, p.26).
Figures 23 and 24: Montecchio, Italy. General view, and Lorimer's sketch plan. The sketches which are shown on the following pages are from the office correspondence. (Vol.1, pp.239-40).

Montecchio Pre 11.X-18.

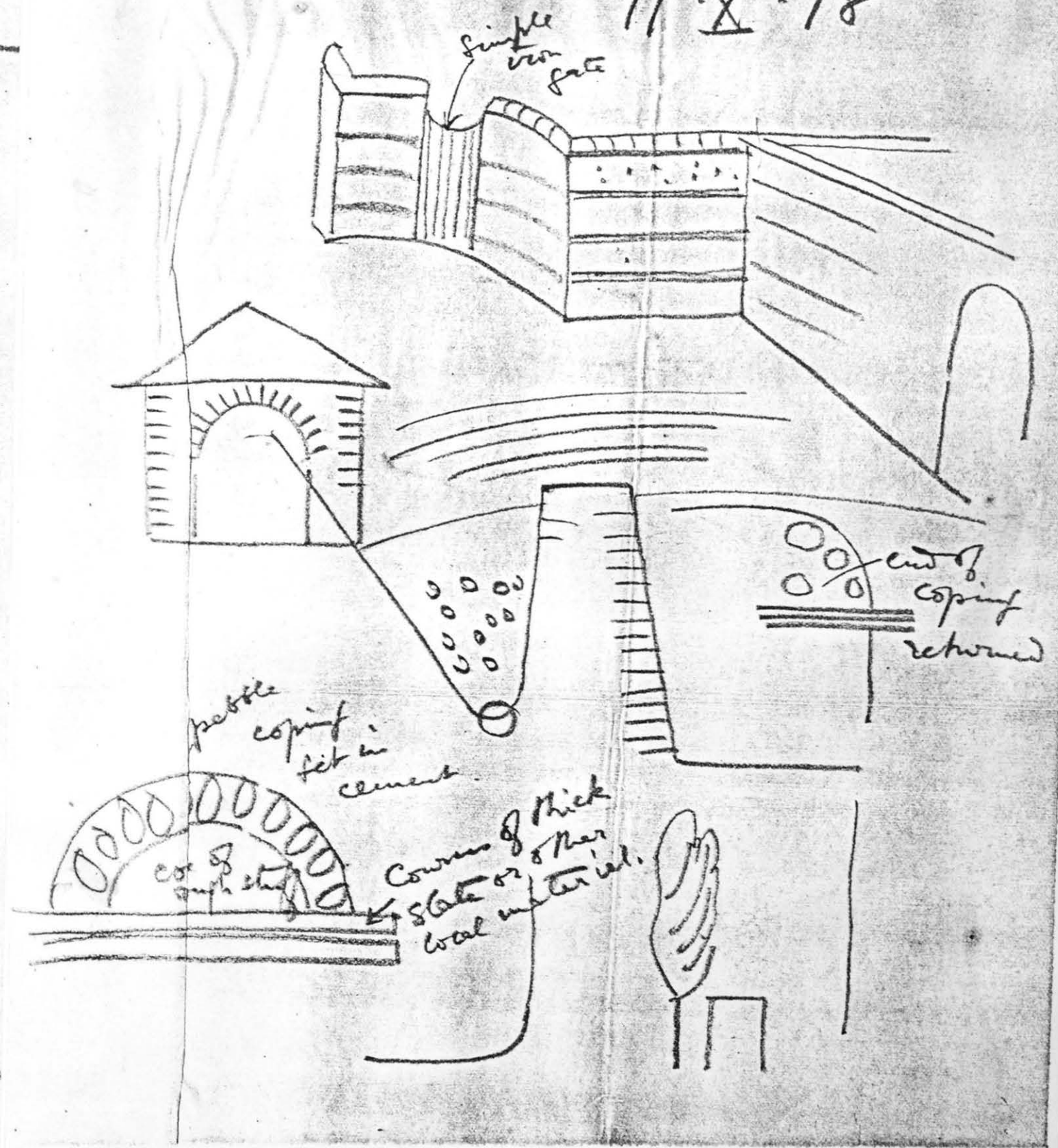
30.

after accurate levels have been taken & set out - it will be ascertained if a scheme on the lines roughly sketched out is feasible
The intention of the retaining wall is thus



Montecchio Pre 11.X-18

93
3000



Figures 25 and 26: Montecchio. Two sketches by Lorimer. (Vol.1, p.240).

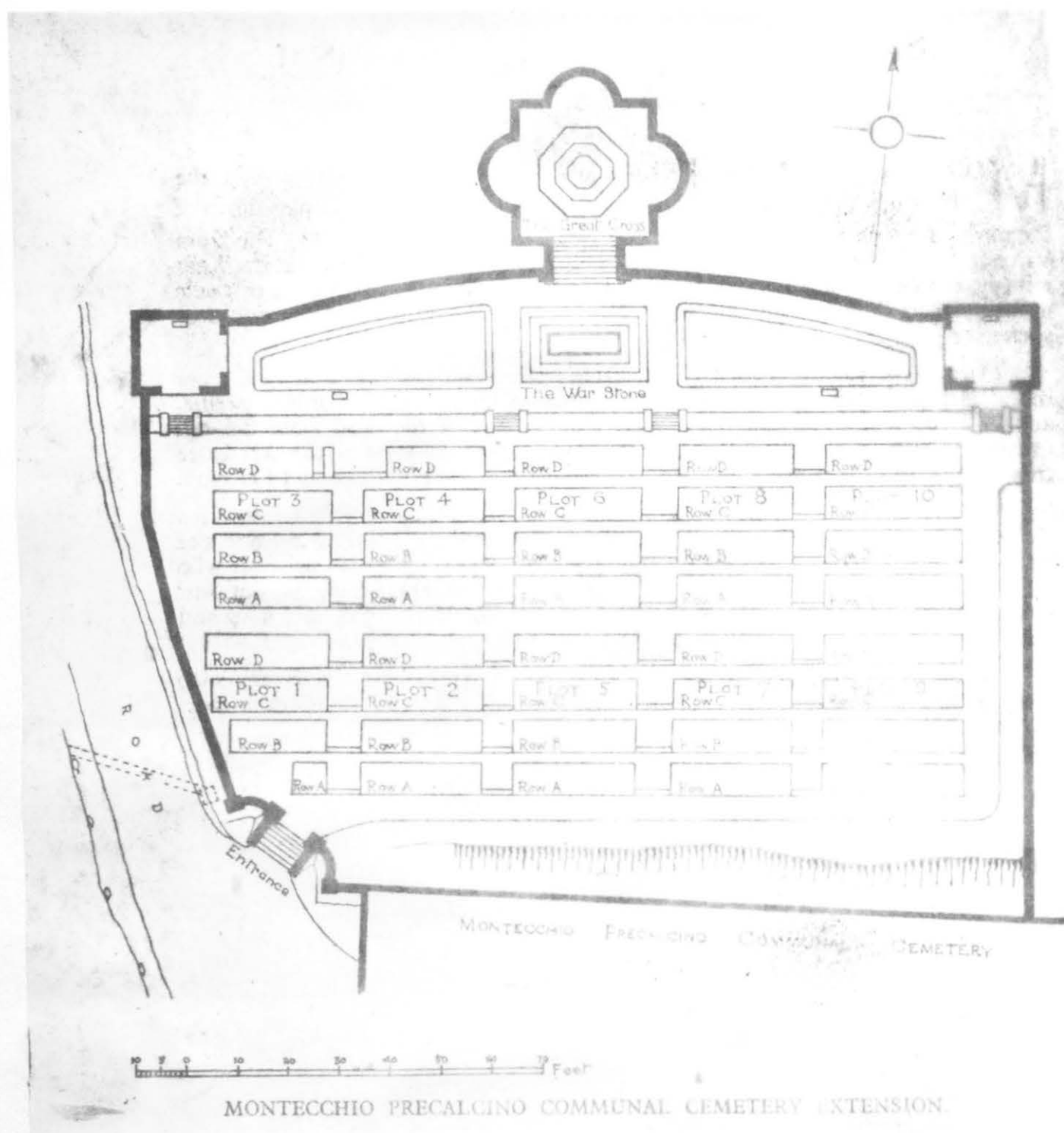


Figure 24A: See also Fig.24, page 92

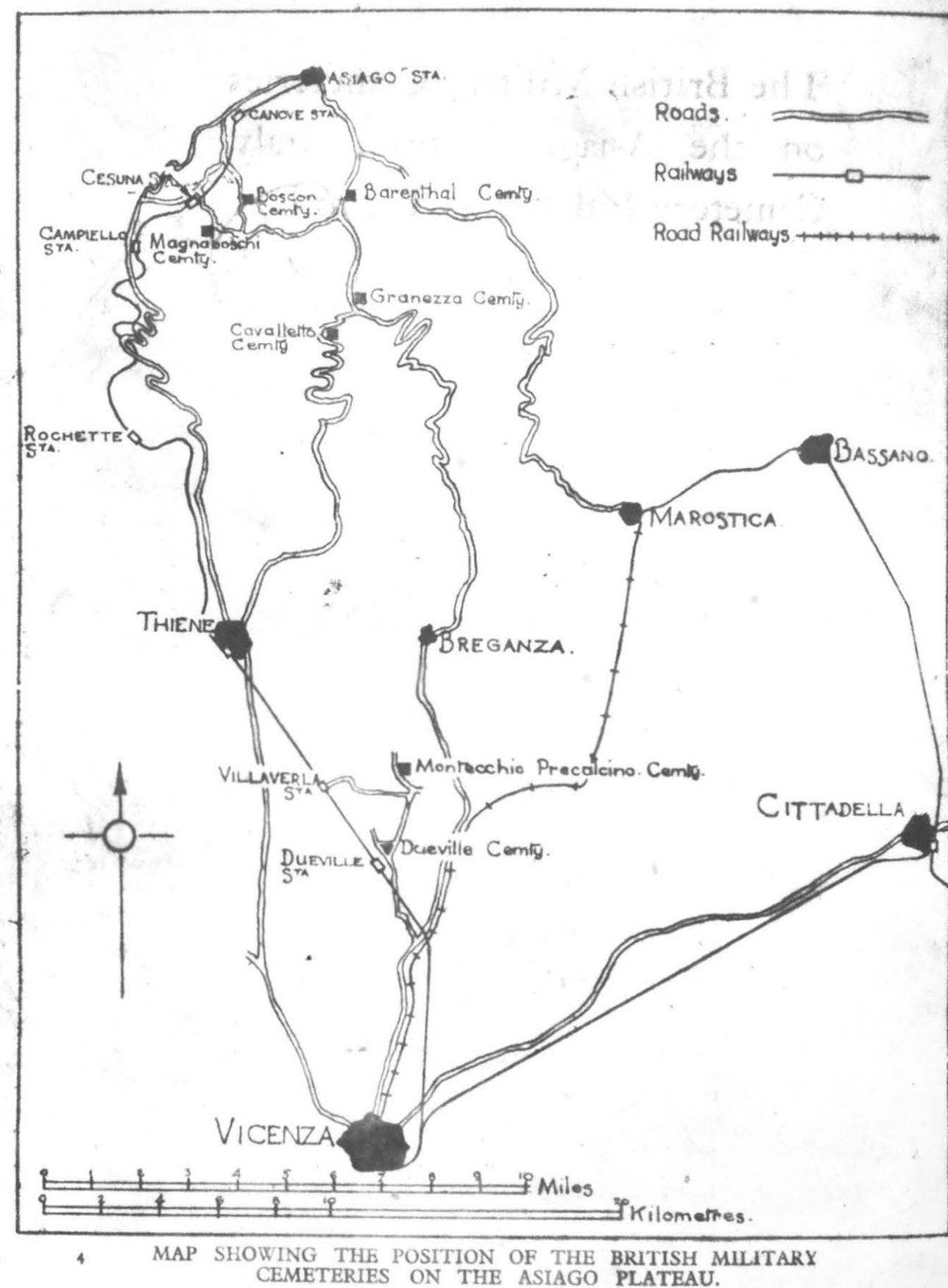
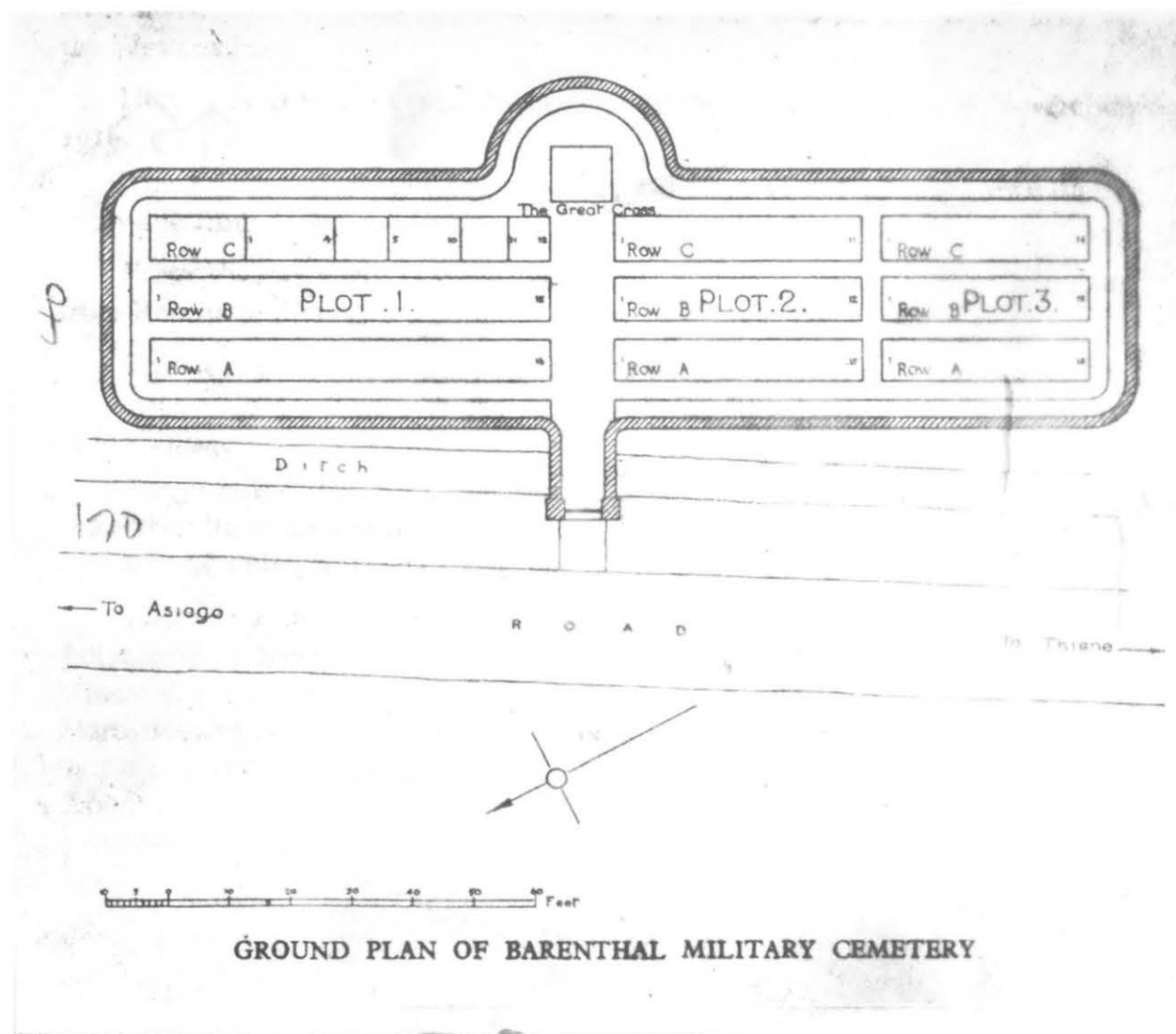


Figure 27: The location of war cemeteries on the Asiago front, Northern Italy. (Vol.1, p.240).



Figures 28 and 29: Layout plan and general view of Barenthal Cemetery, Northern Italy. A small asymmetrical layout. (Vol.1, pp.244-5).



Granegza 11.X.18

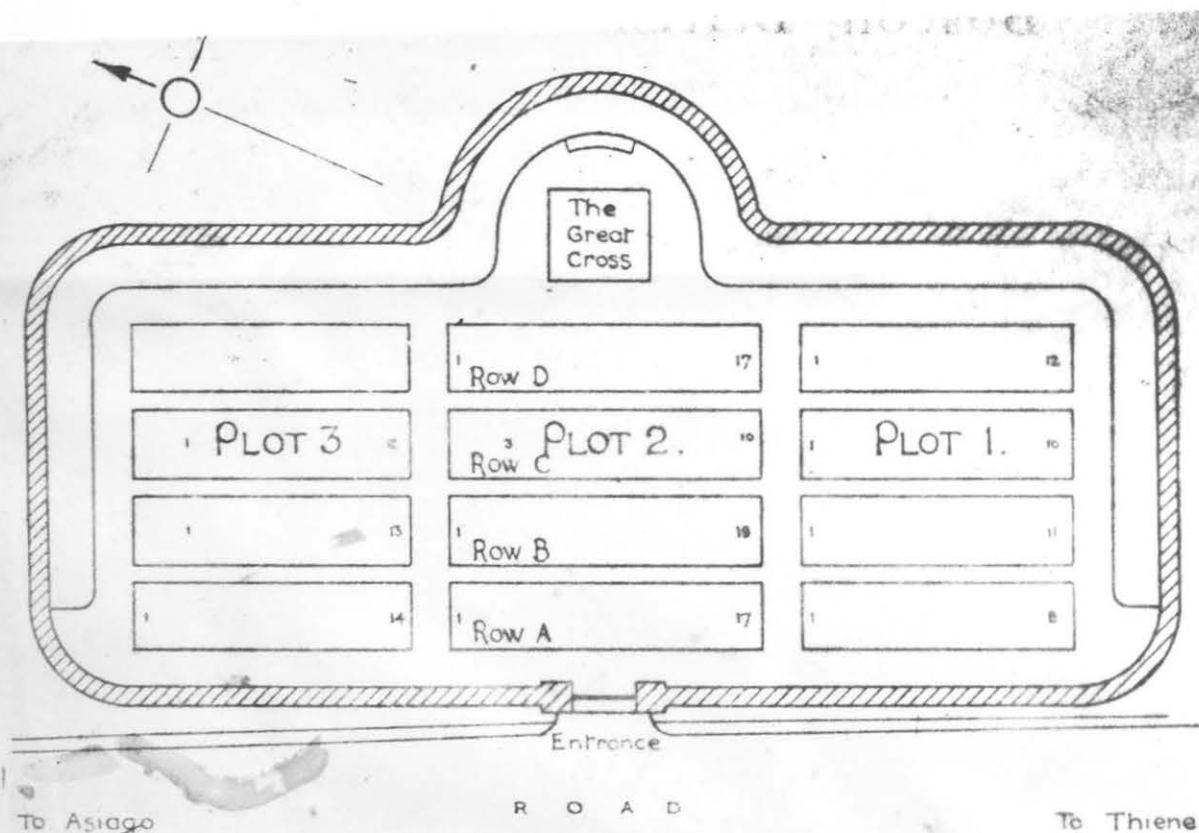
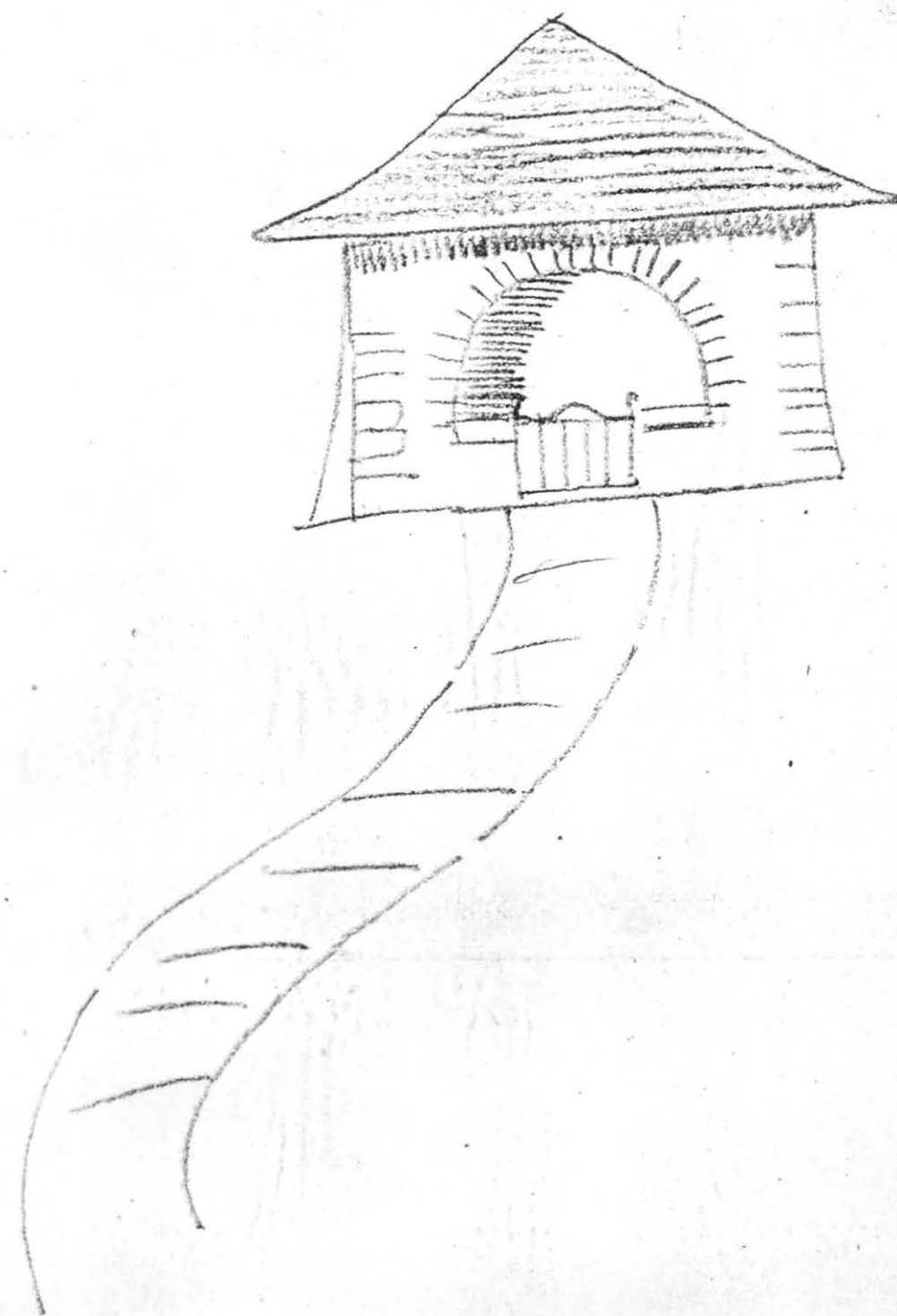
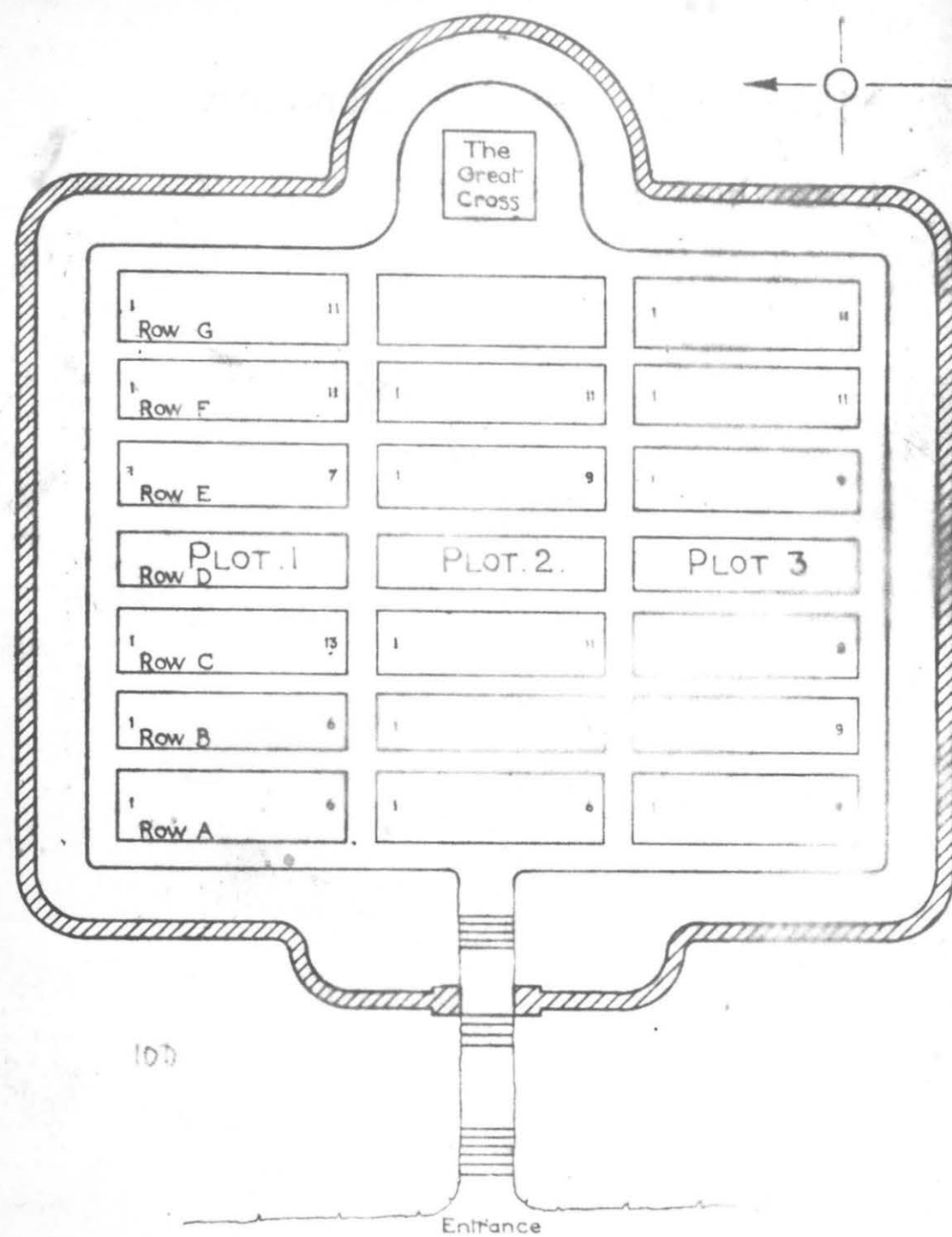


Fig.35A, see also page 98.

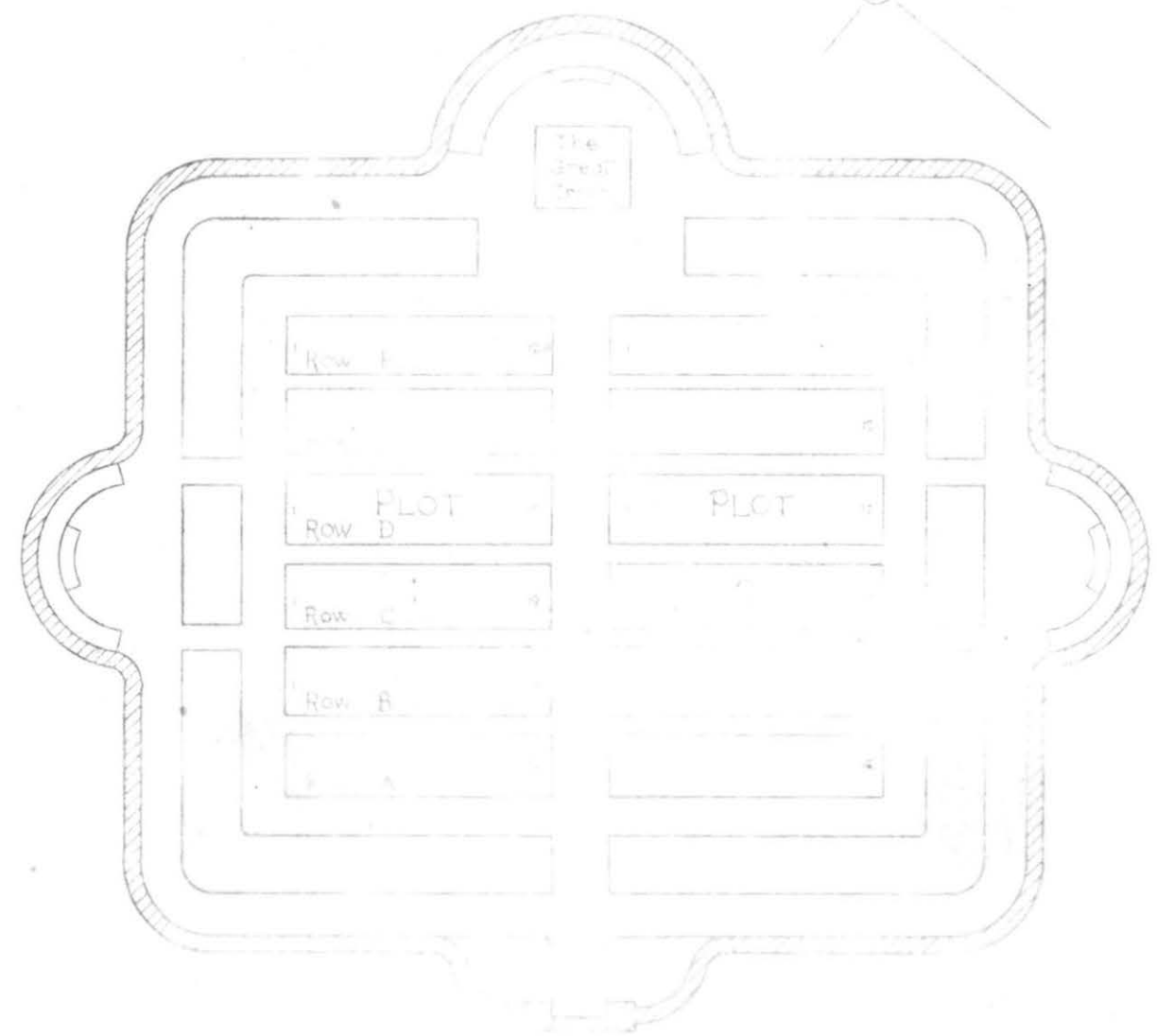
Figures 30 and 31: Layout plan and general view of Boscon Cemetery, Northern Italy. A regular slightly dull layout. (Vol.1, p.246).



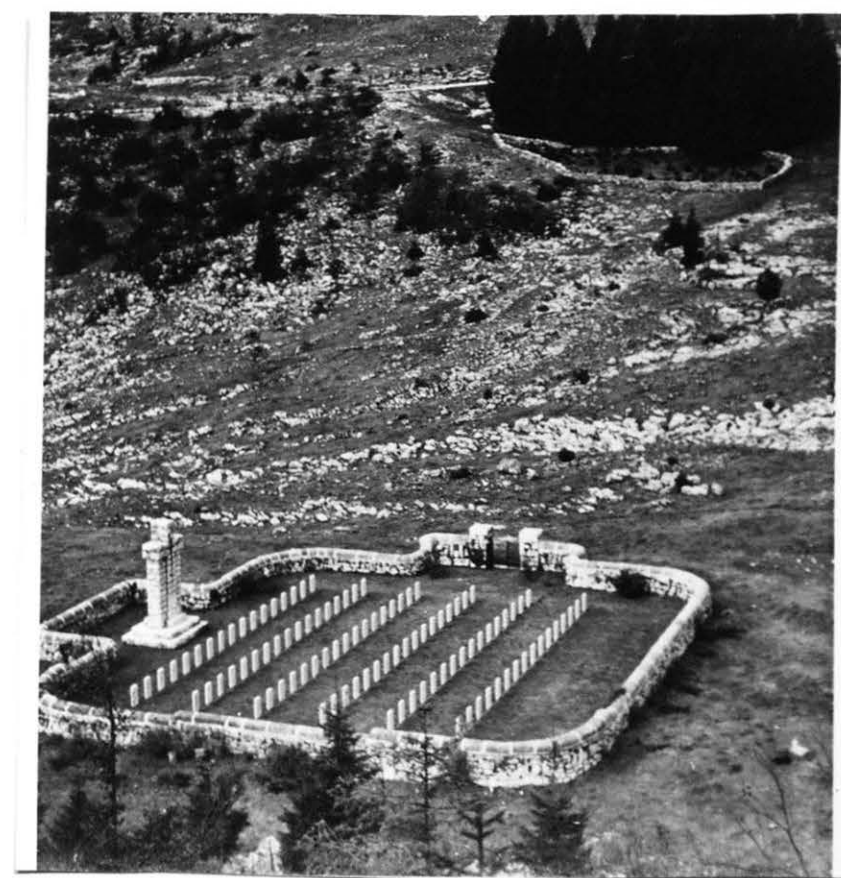
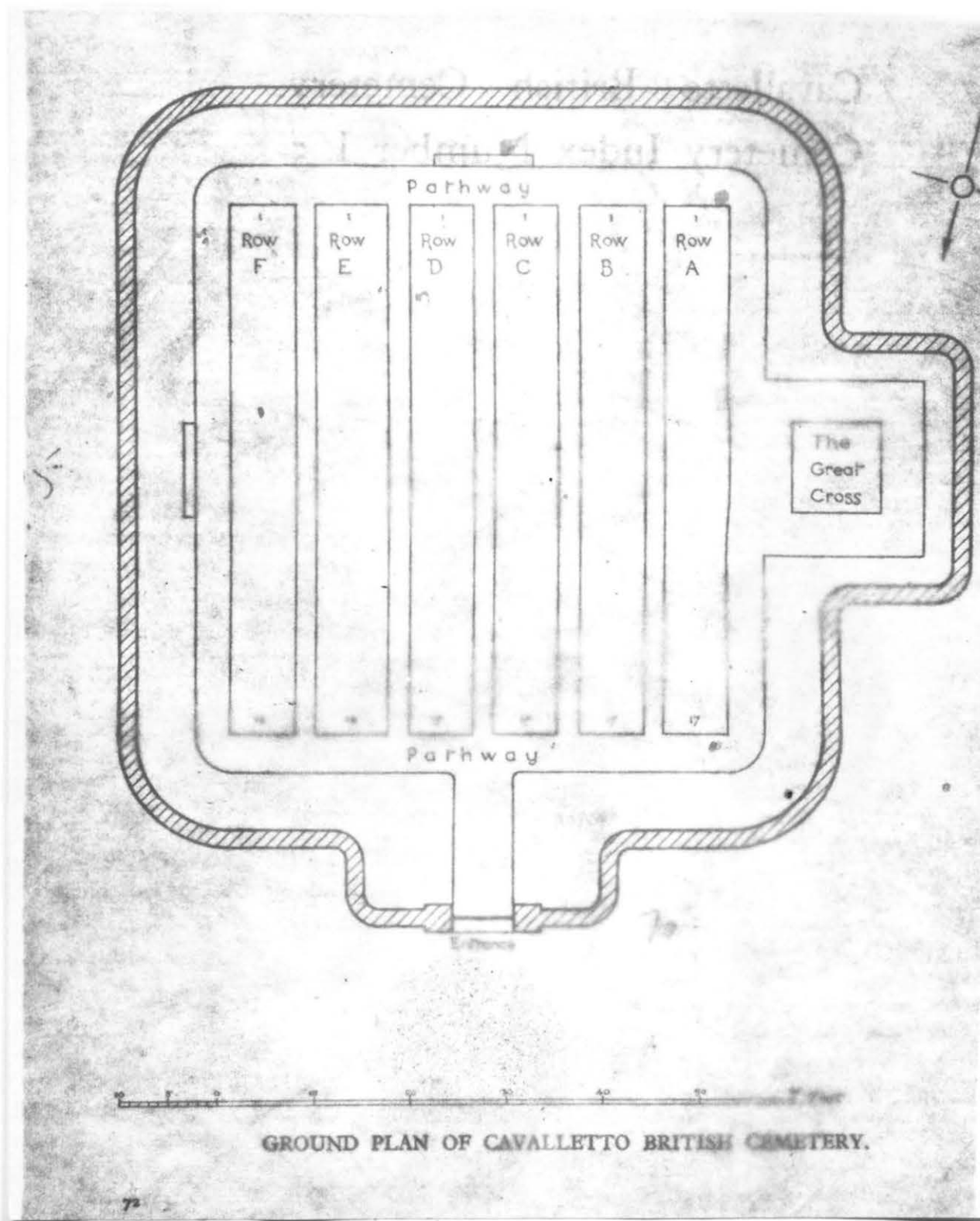
GROUND PLAN OF MAGNABOSCHI BRITISH CEMETERY.



Figures 32 and 33: Layout plan and general view of Magnaboschi Cemetery, Northern Italy. A regular, square shaped plot. (Vol.1, pp.247-8).



GROUND PLAN OF GRANEZZA BRITISH CEMETERY.



Figures 36, 37 and 38: Layout plan and 2 views of Cavaletto Cemetery, Northern Italy. An asymmetrical layout on the roughly level floor of a large upland hollow. (Vol.1, p.250).

↑
North

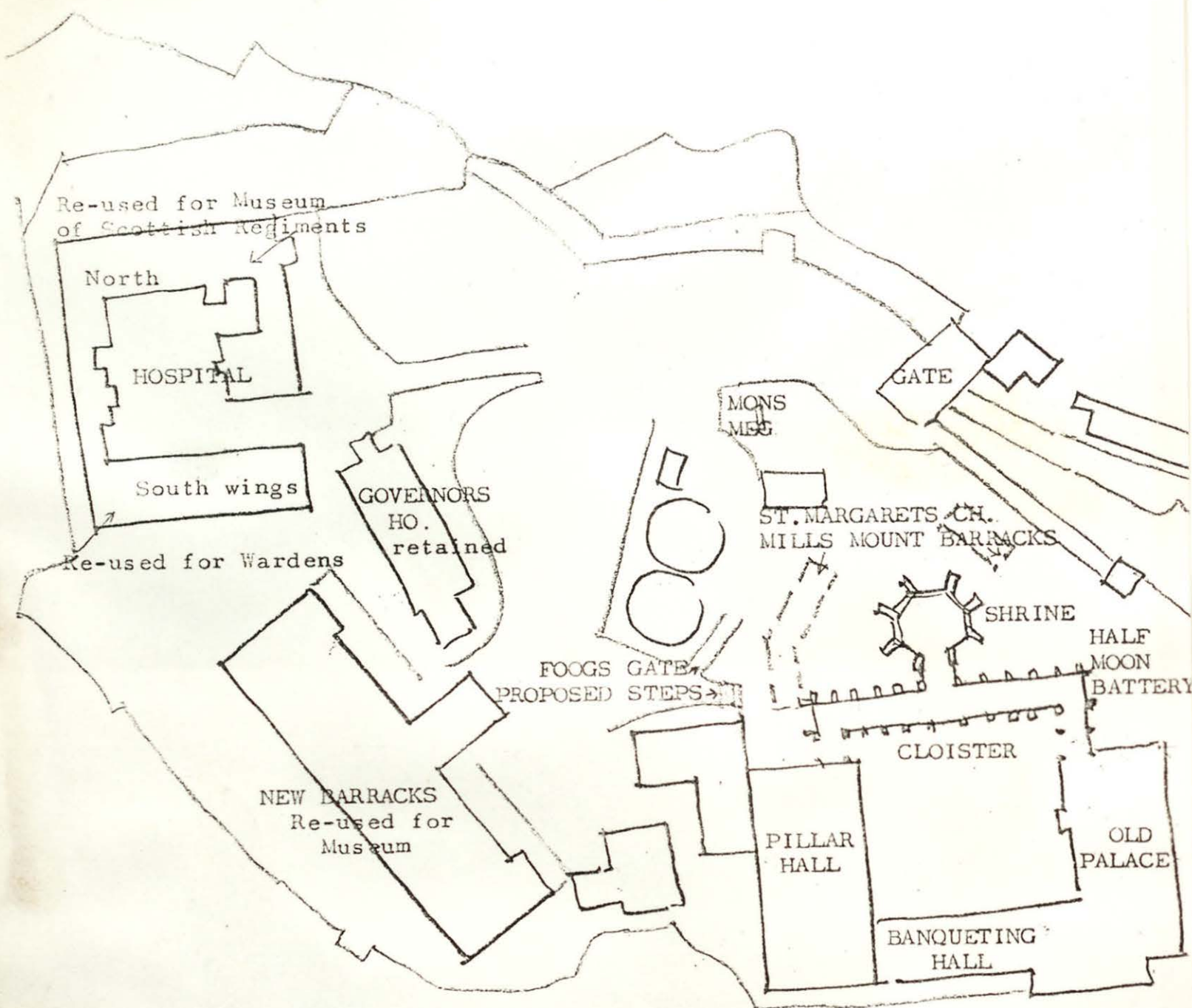


Figure 2: Edinburgh Castle.

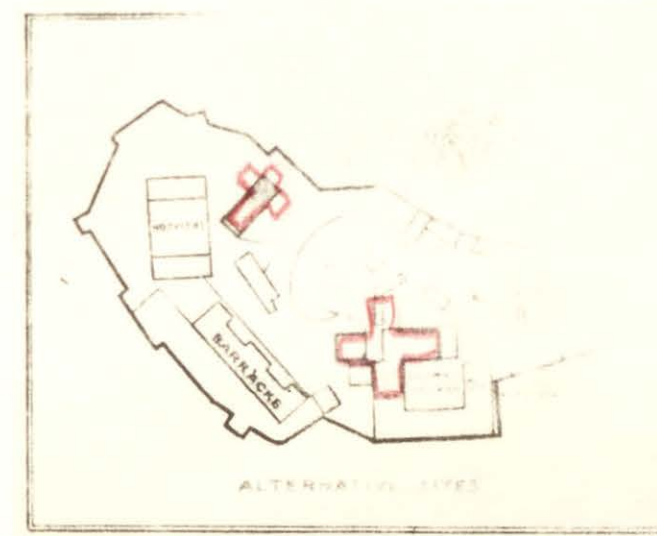


Figure 2: Edinburgh Castle layout plan of the committee's first report showing three feasible sites for the Memorial. (Vol.1, p.281).

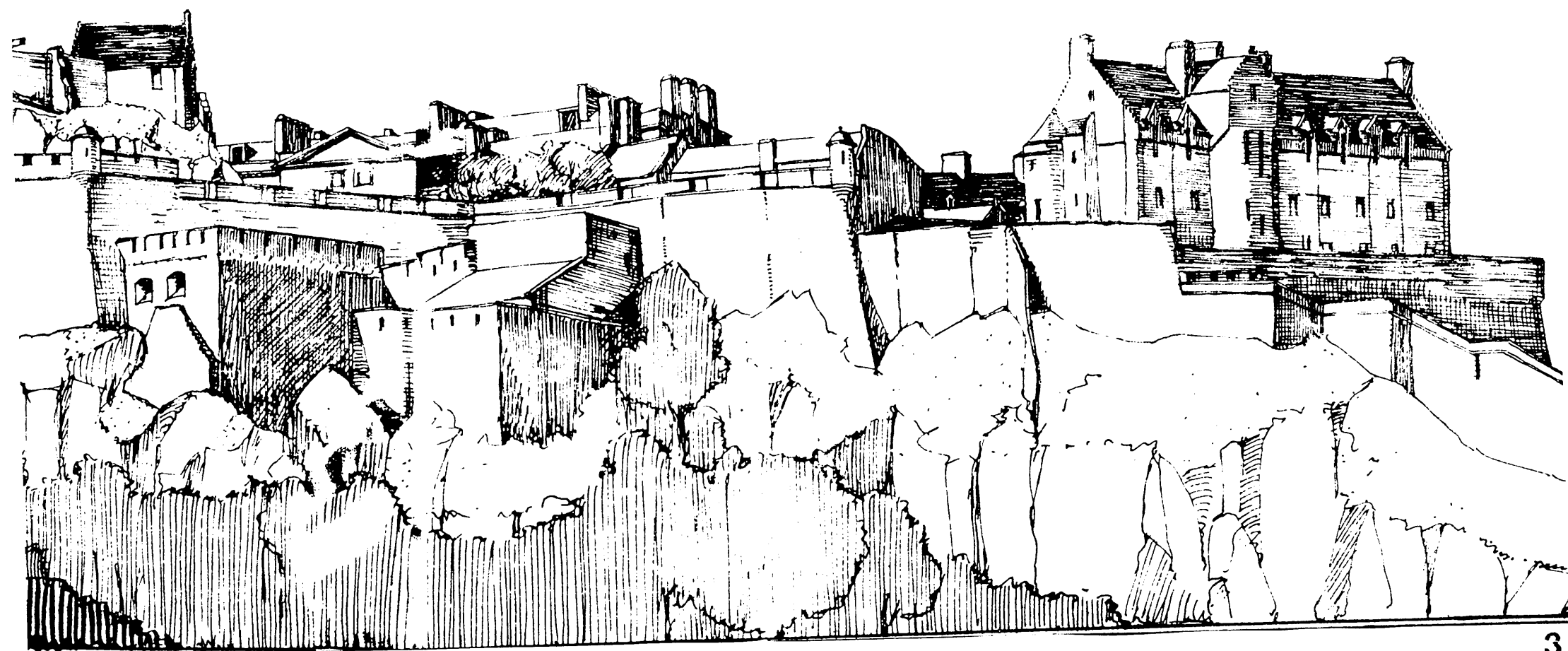


Figure 3: View of the lower ward of Edinburgh Castle. (Vol.1, p.282).

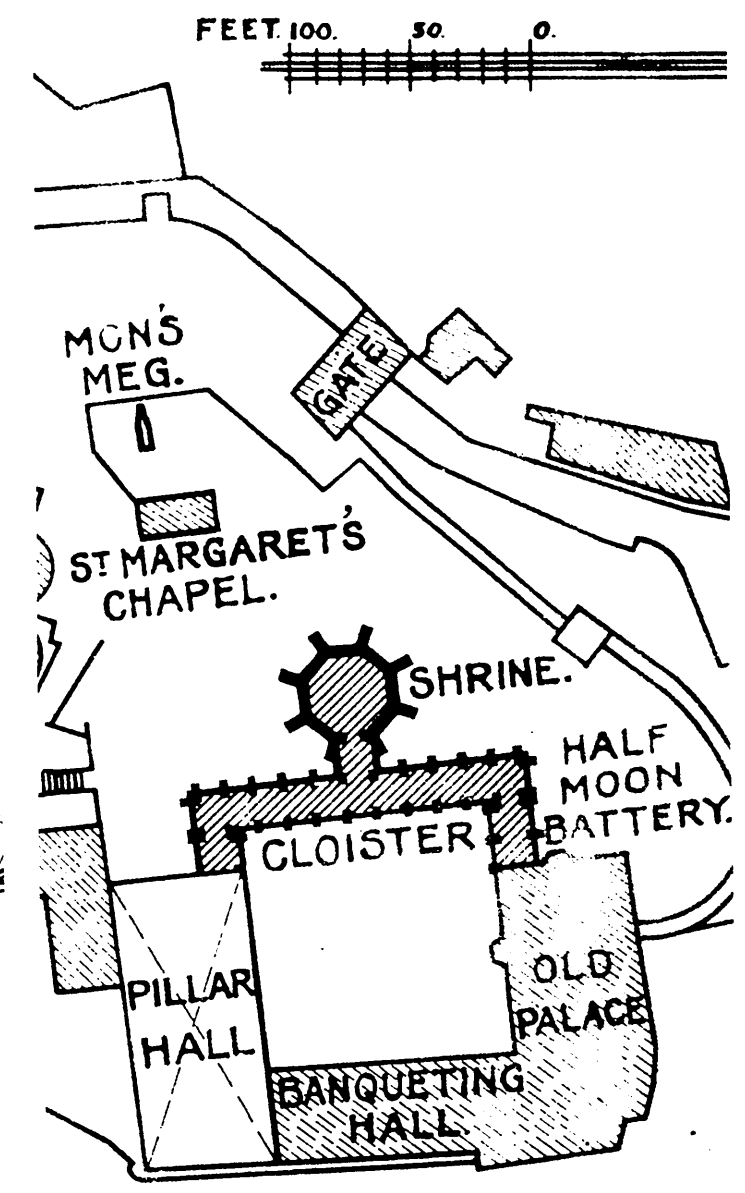


Figure 4: Plans of the first design proposals of the Scottish National War Memorial (by Lorimer). (Vol.1, p.286).

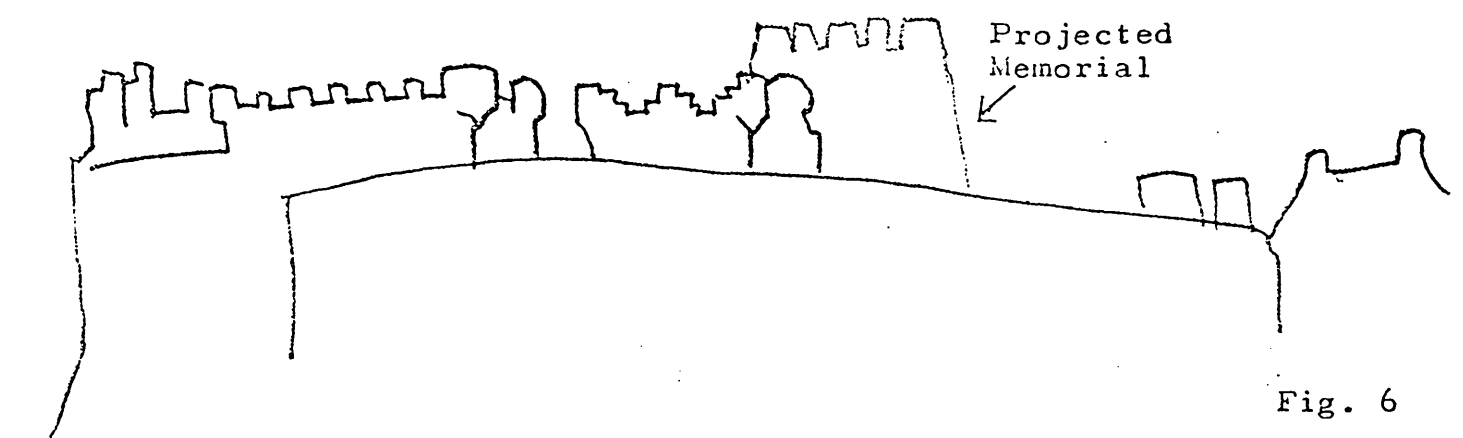


Fig. 6

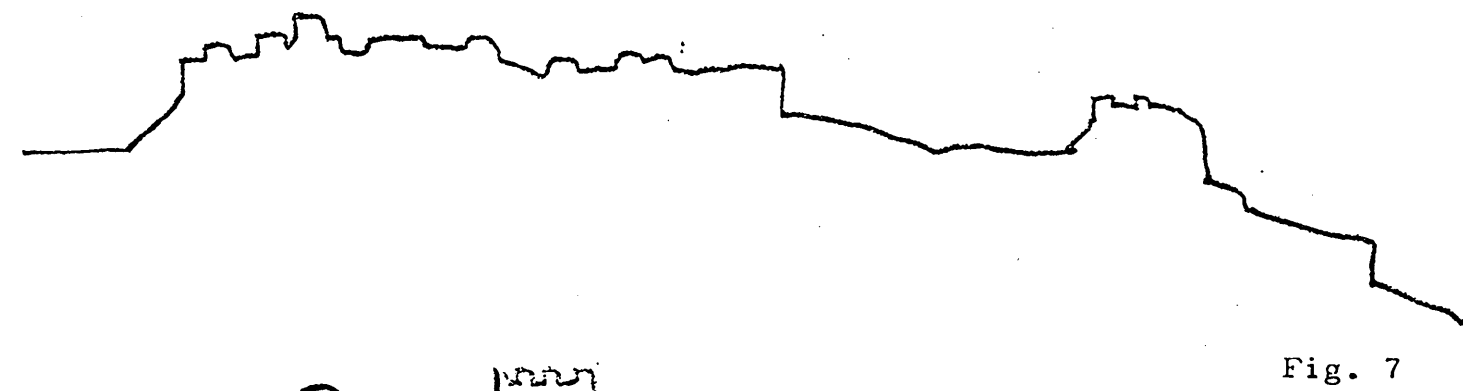


Fig. 7

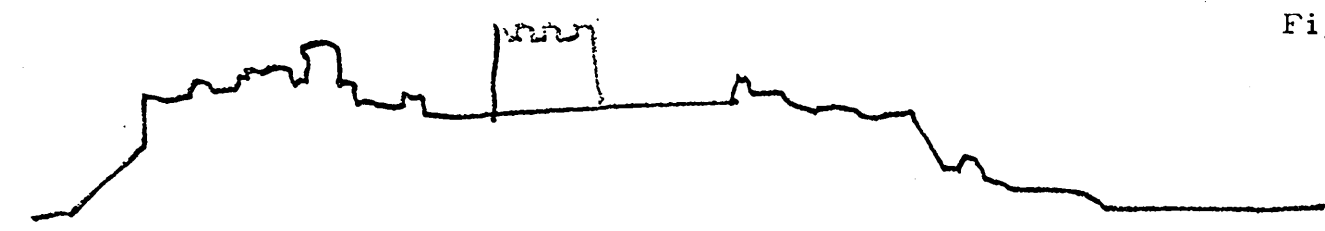


Fig. 8

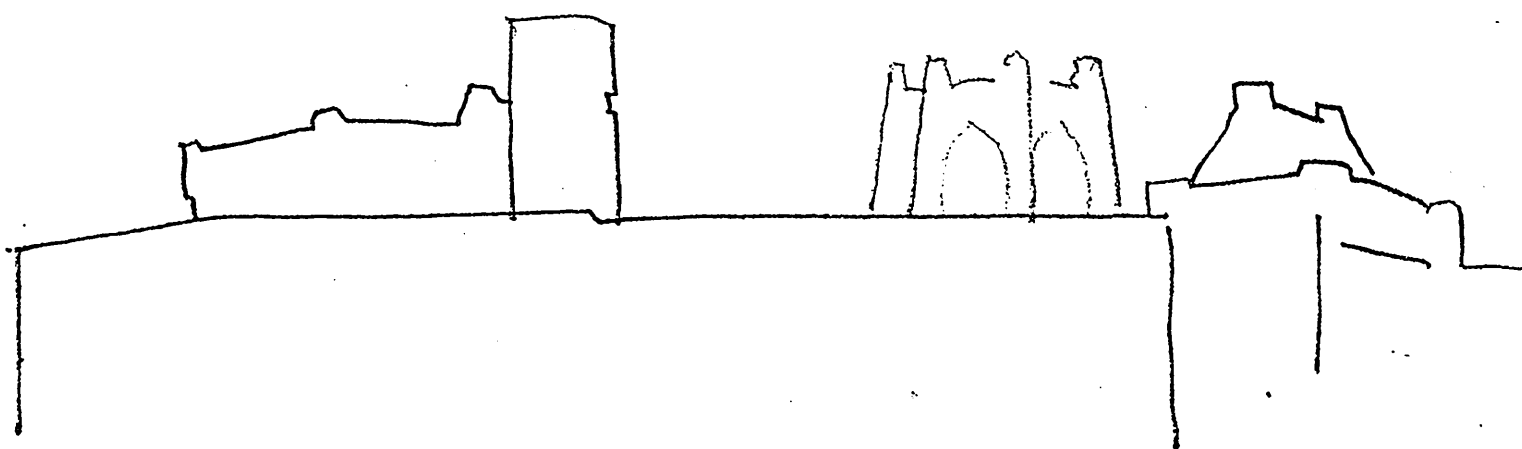


Fig. 9

CHAP. 7

Figures 6 - 8: Profiles from photos in Scotsman 13.12.1922.

Figure 9: Profile from sketch in Lorimer's report, following p.10 report of the Committee H.M.S.O. London 1919.

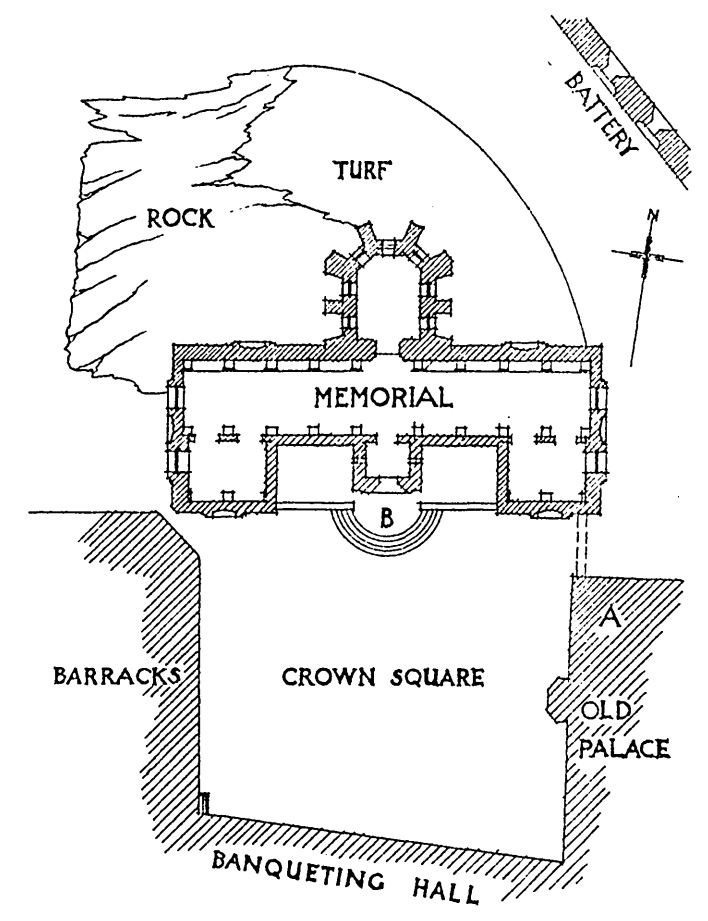
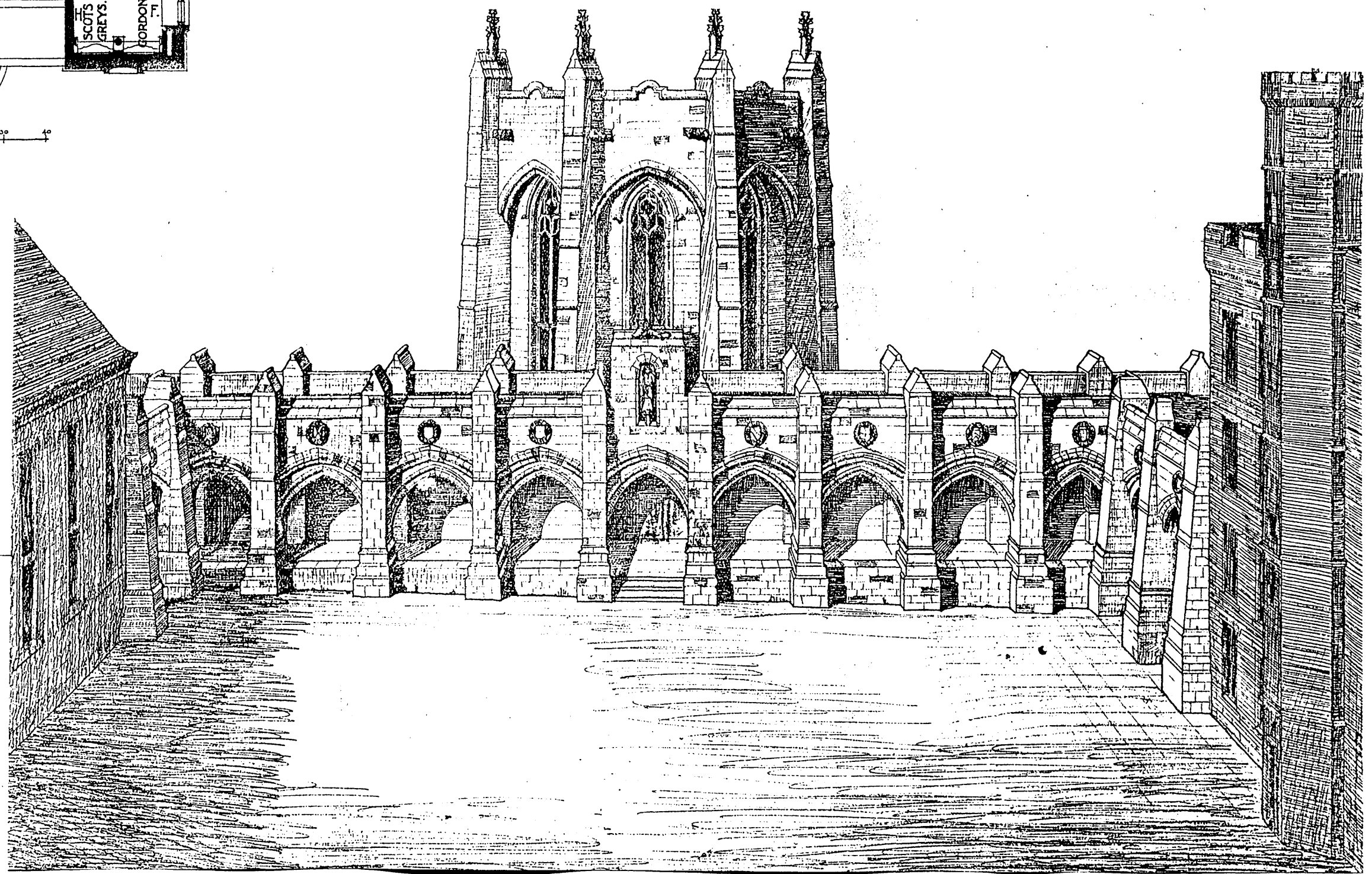
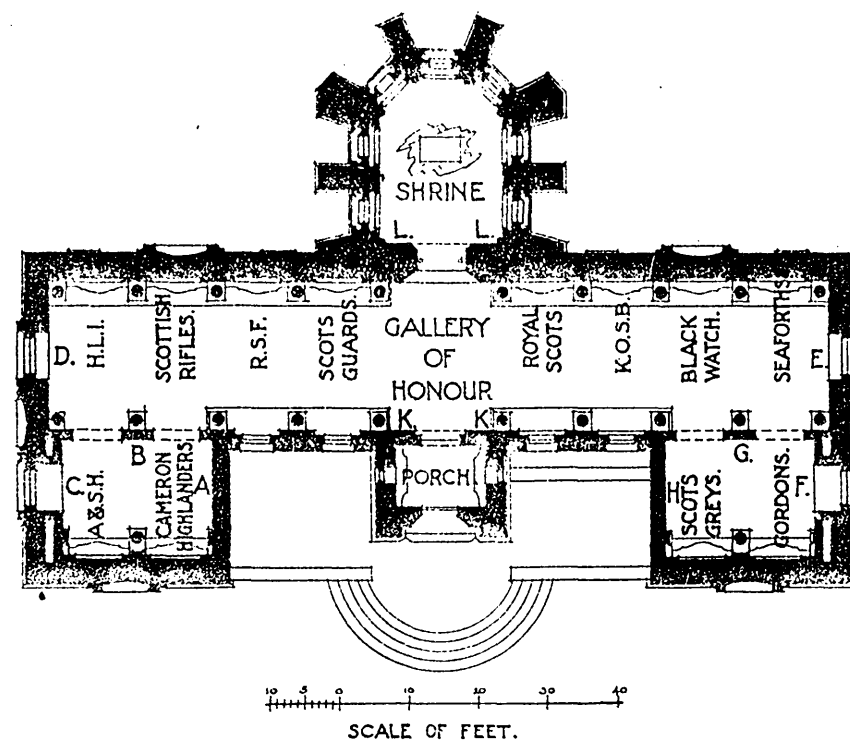


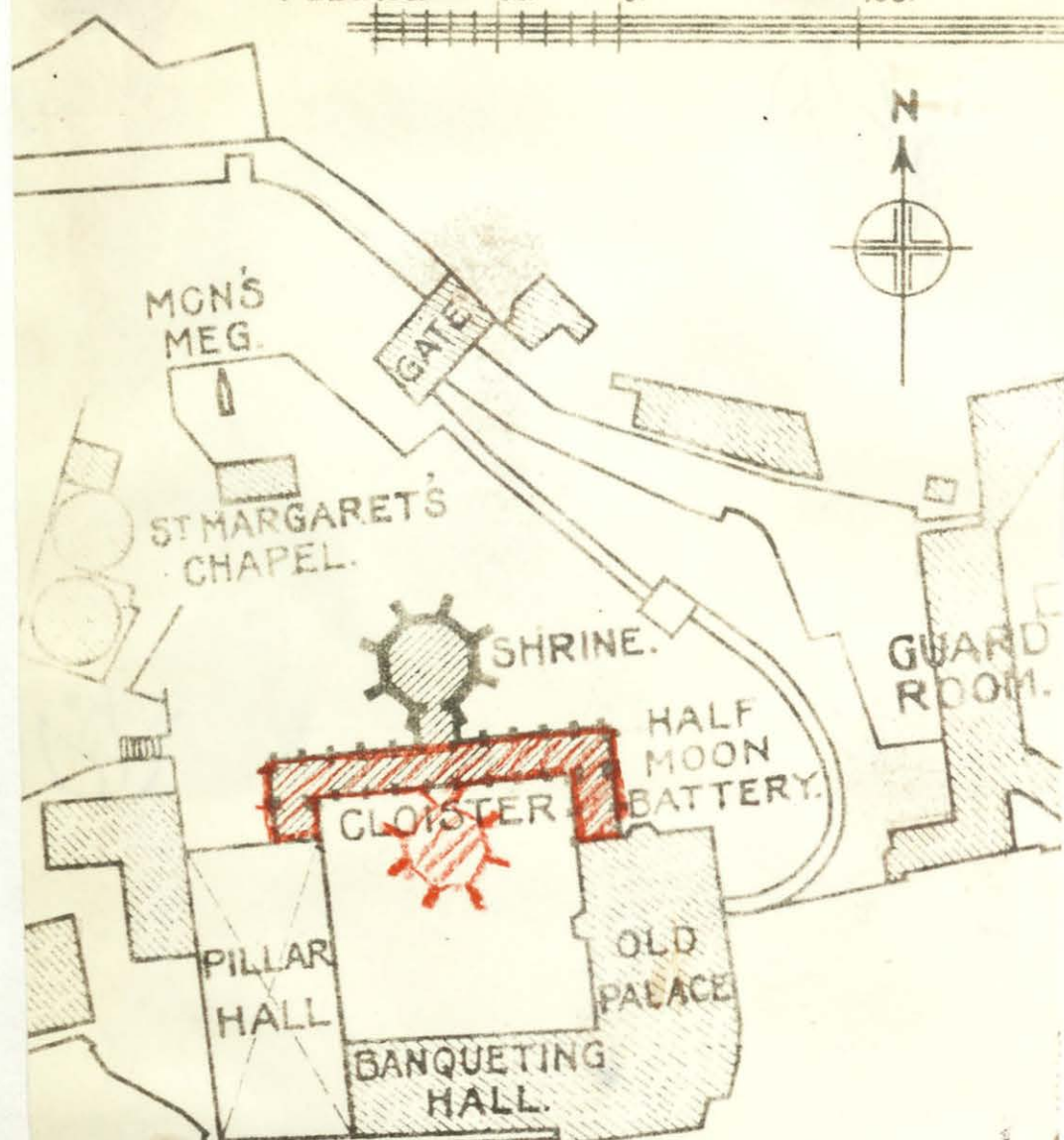
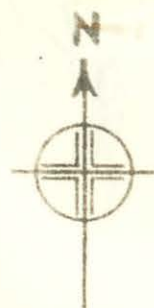
Figure 5: View of cloister and shrine of the first design for the Scottish National War Memorial. (Vol.1, p.287).

Figures 6, 7, 8 and 9: Four profiles compared. (Vol.1, pp.308-9).

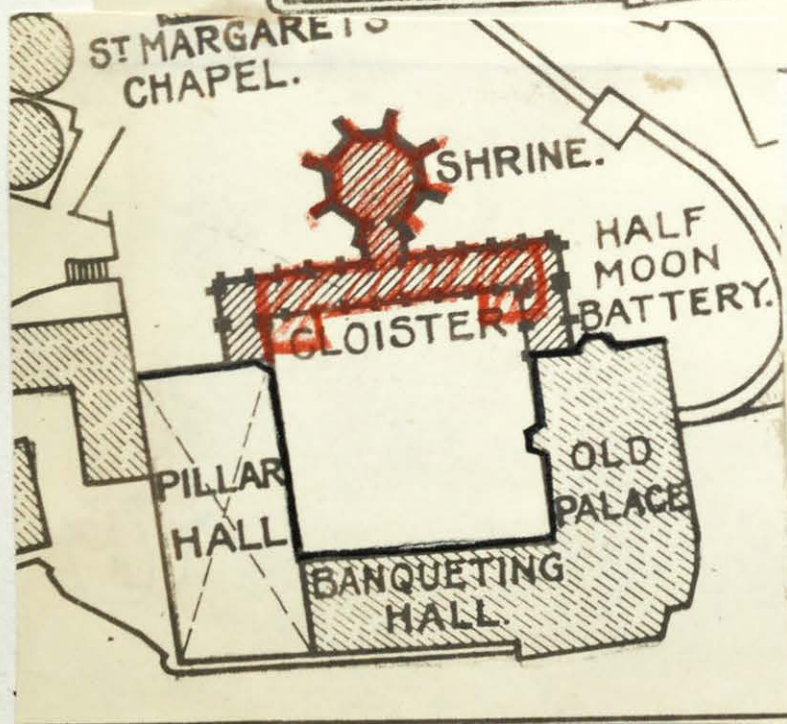


KEY PLAN.

FEET. 100. 50. 0 100.



1



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CHAP. 7

Figure 10: The Edinburgh Architectural Association suggest three alternative positions for a memorial. (Vol.1, p.315).

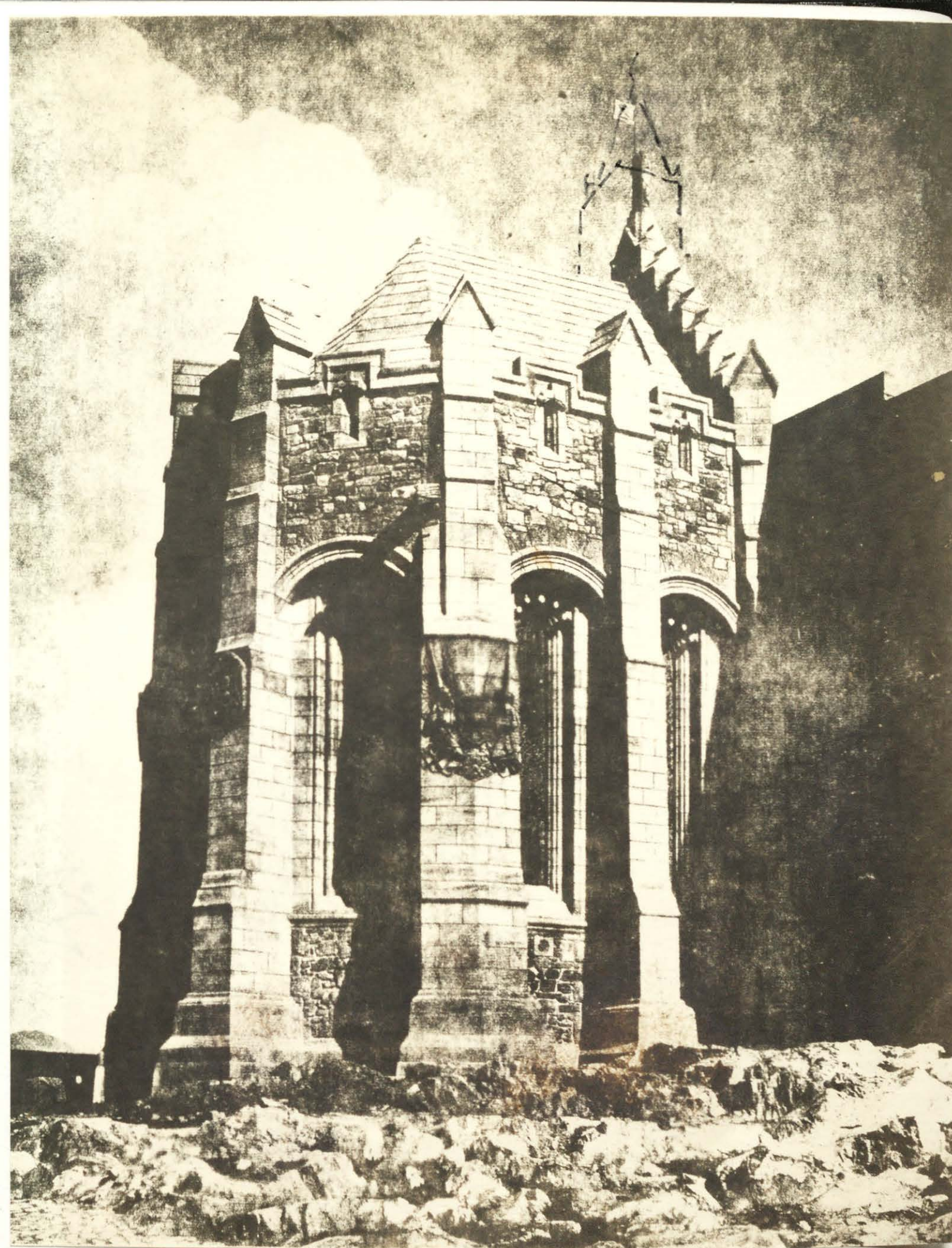


Figure 11: An abortive proposal for a turret. (Vol.1, p.321).

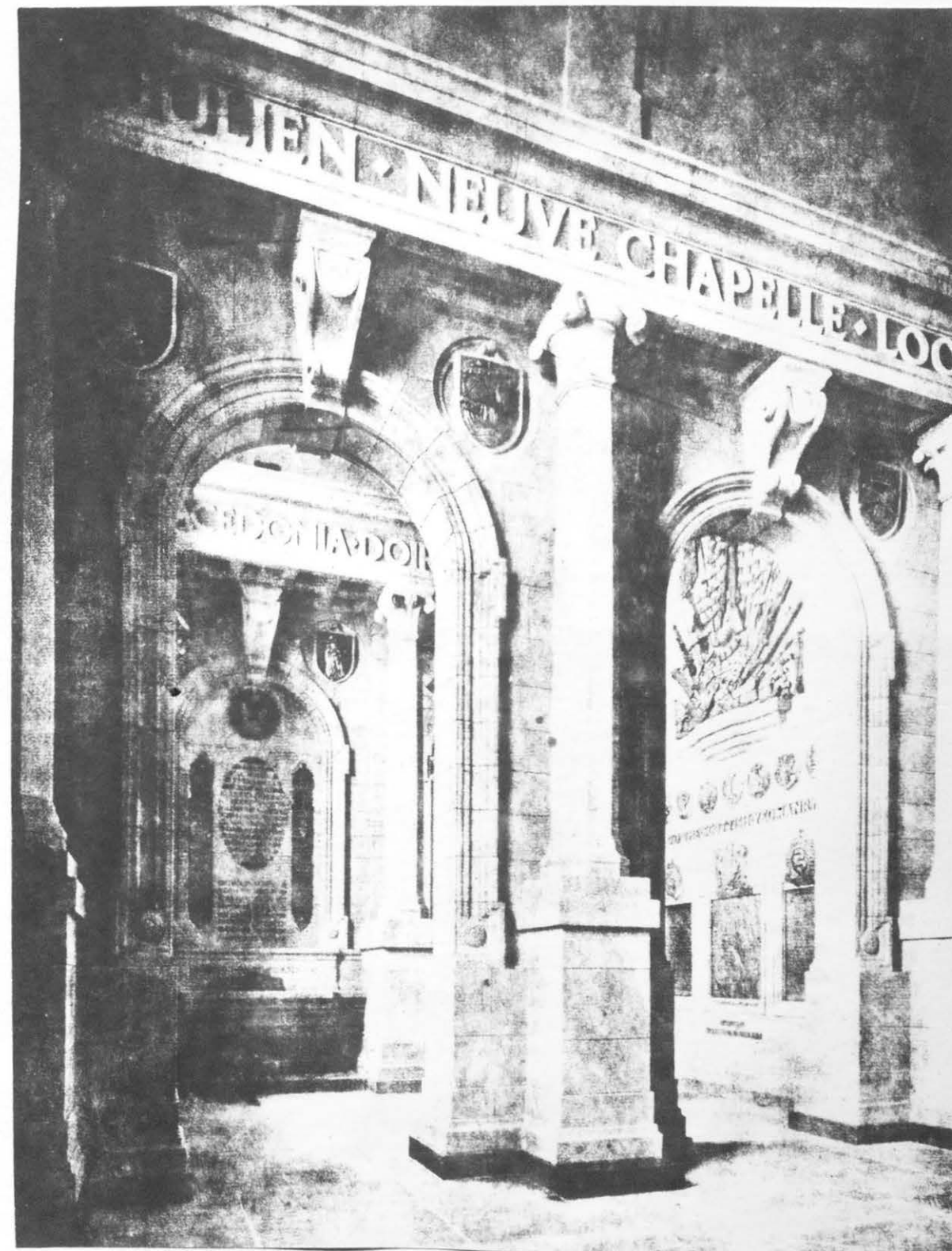


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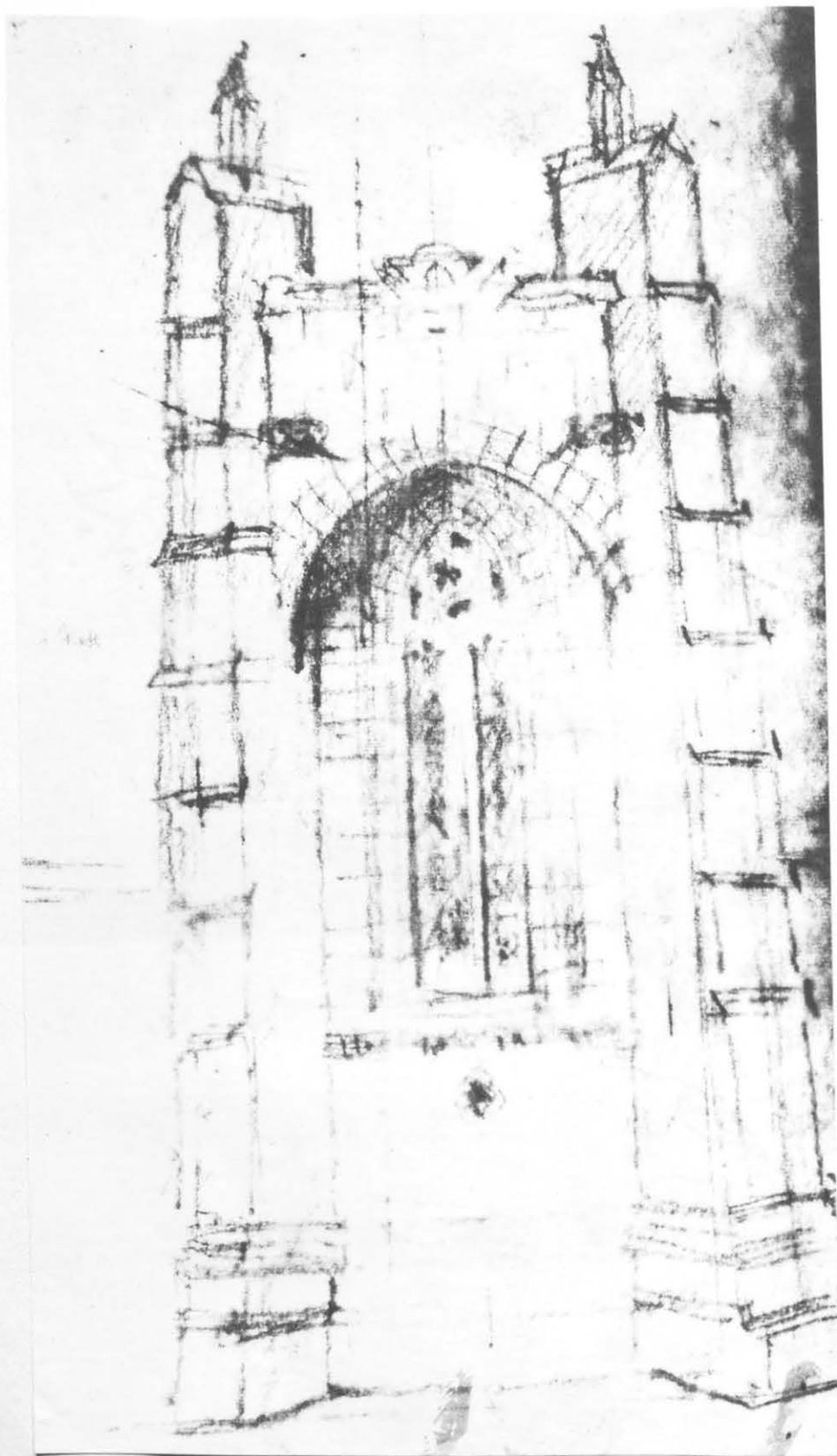
Figure 12: The Shrine springing from the highest point of the rock. (Vol.1, p.327).



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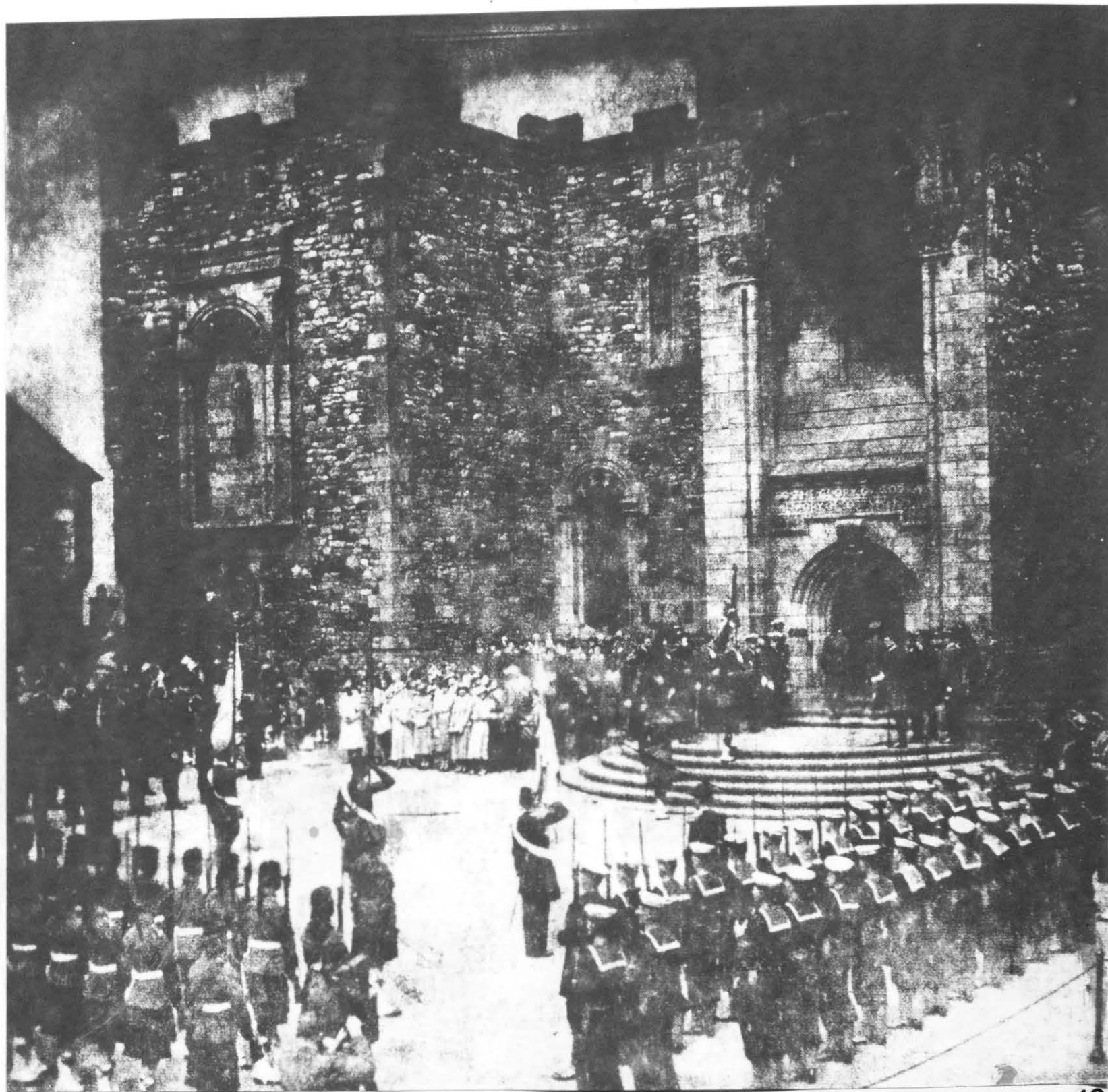
Figure 13: Lettering by Morton Cowie. (Vol.1, p.333).

Figure 14: Lettering by Lorimer for the Hall of Memory. (Vol.1, p.334).



15

Figure 15: The buttresses of the Shrine. (Vol.1, p.345).

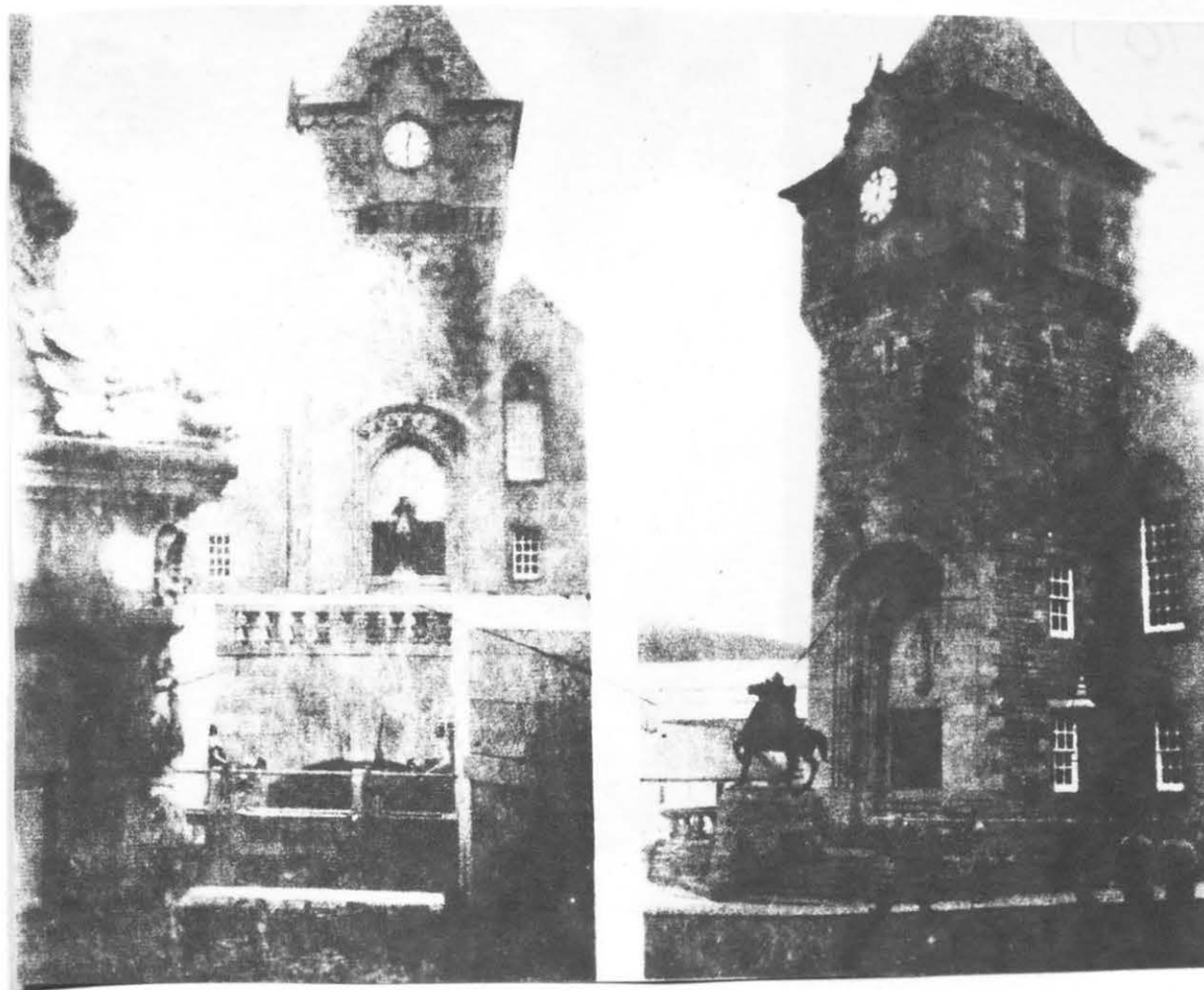


16

Chap. 7

Figure 16: The entrance facade. (Vol.1, p.345).

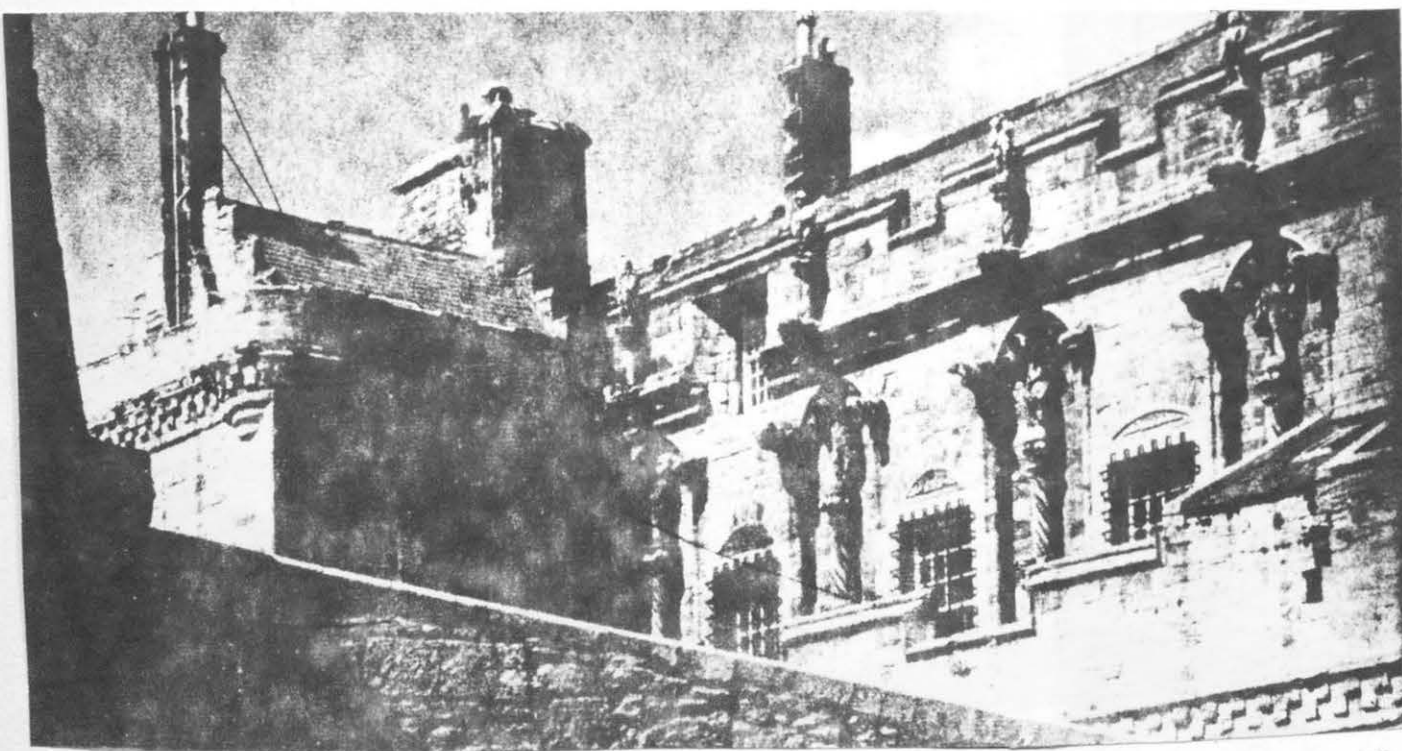
Figure 17: The columns in the Hall of Honour.
(Vol.1, p.346).



18



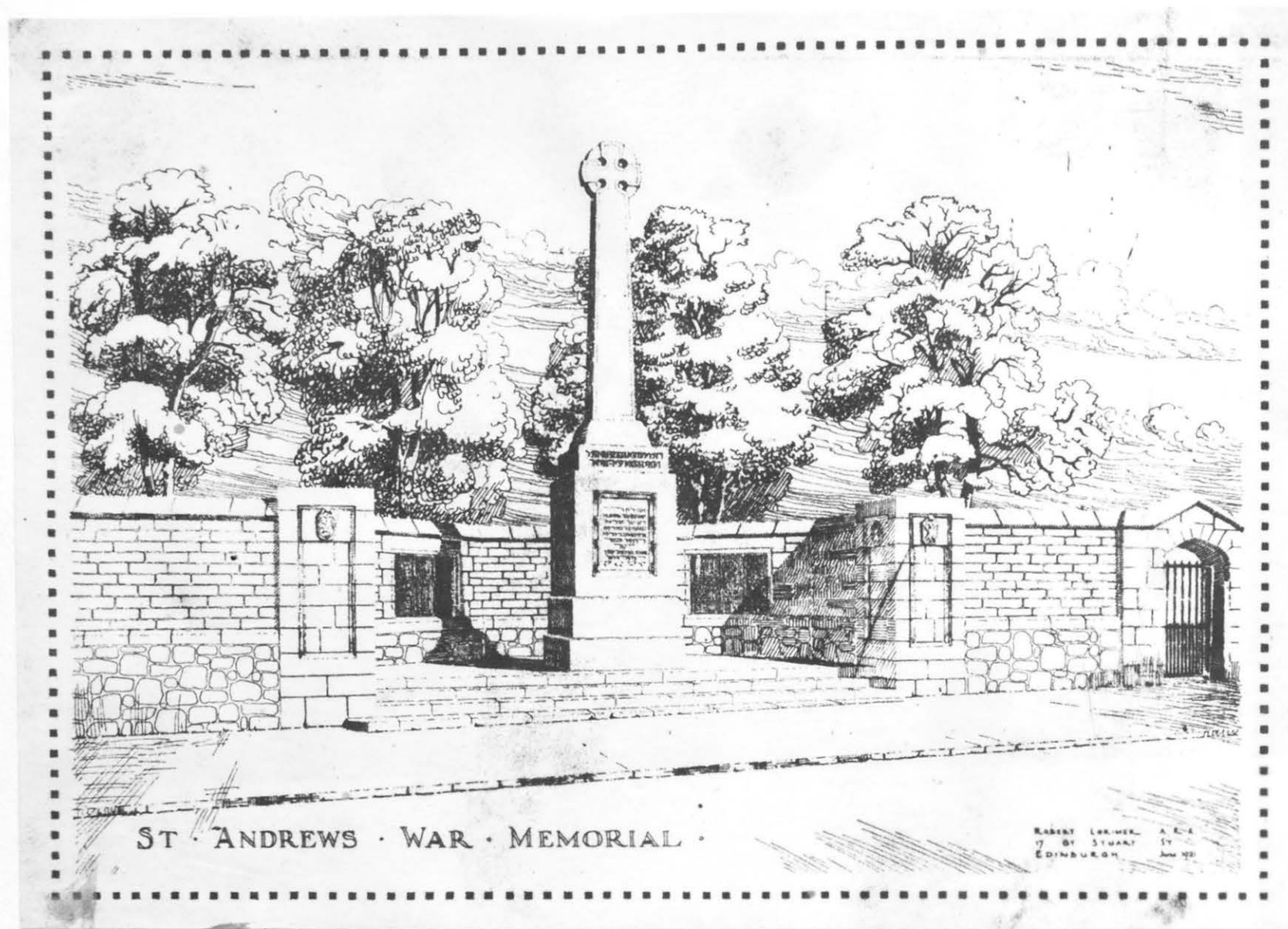
17



19

Figure 19: Stirling Castle. (Vol.1, p.349).

Figure 18: Galashiels Burgh Buildings. (Vol.1, p.348).



A decade of Memorials

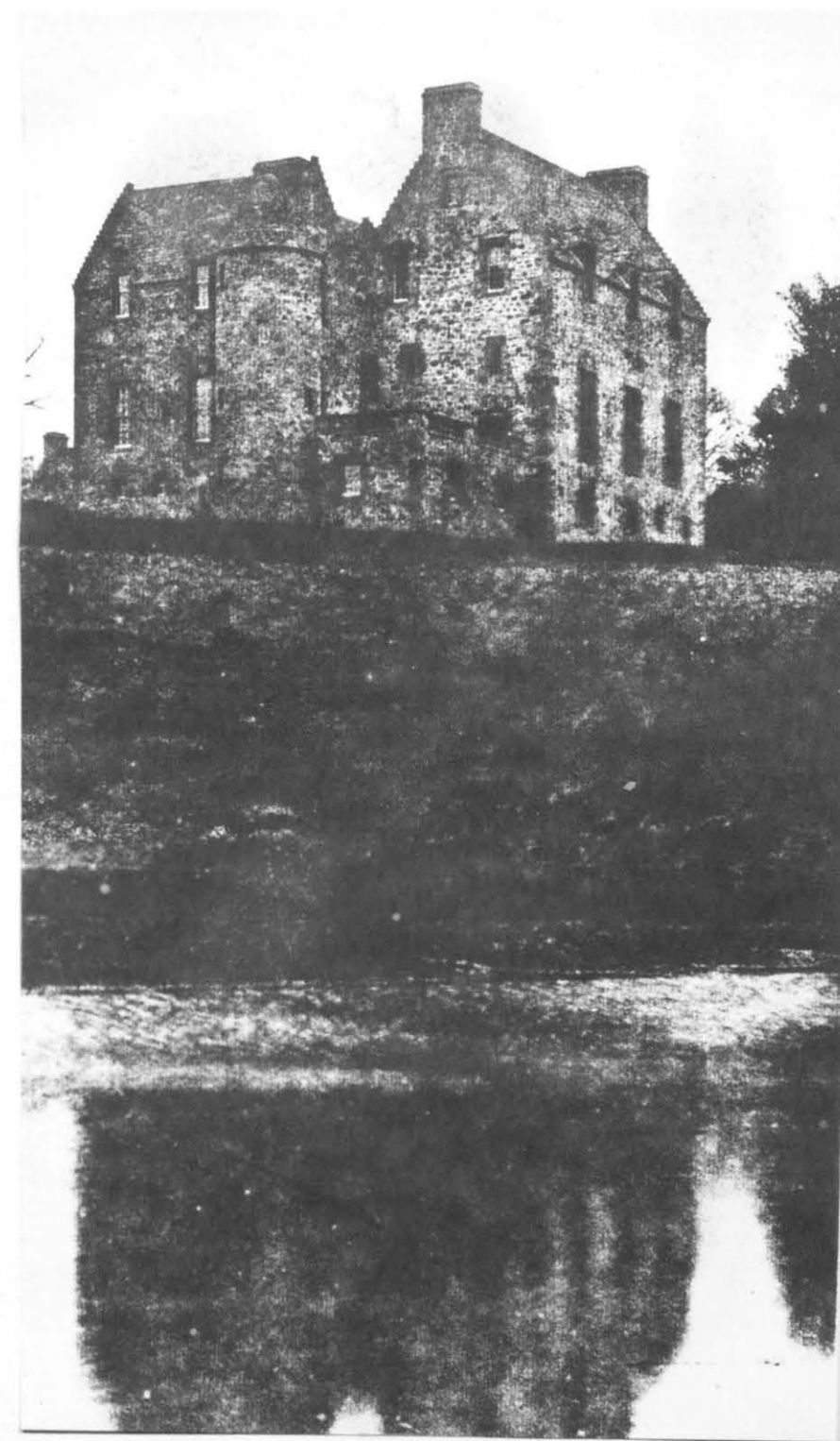
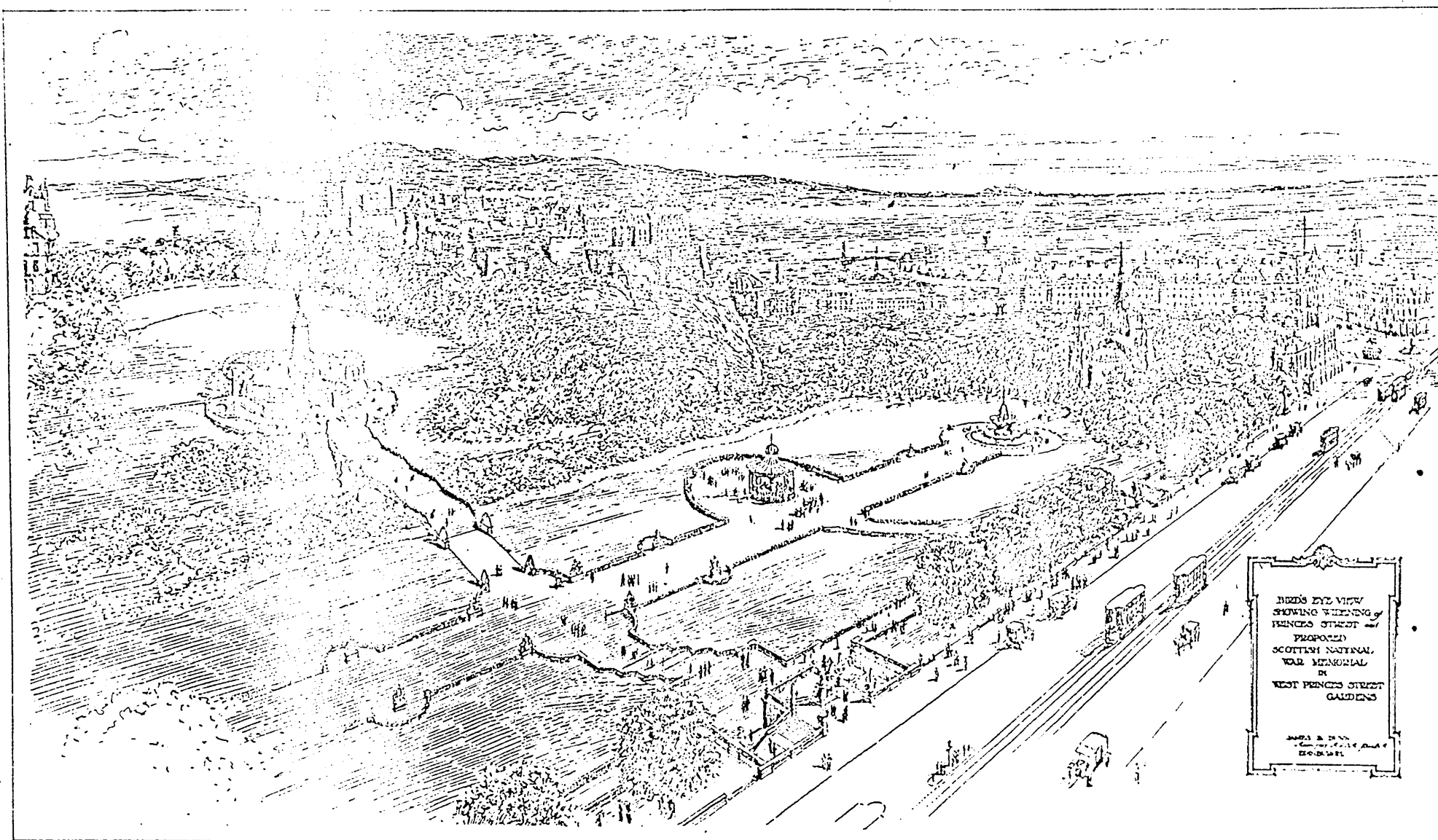




Figure 1: An architectural fantasy on the stylistic excesses of the late 19th century. (Vol.1, p.381).

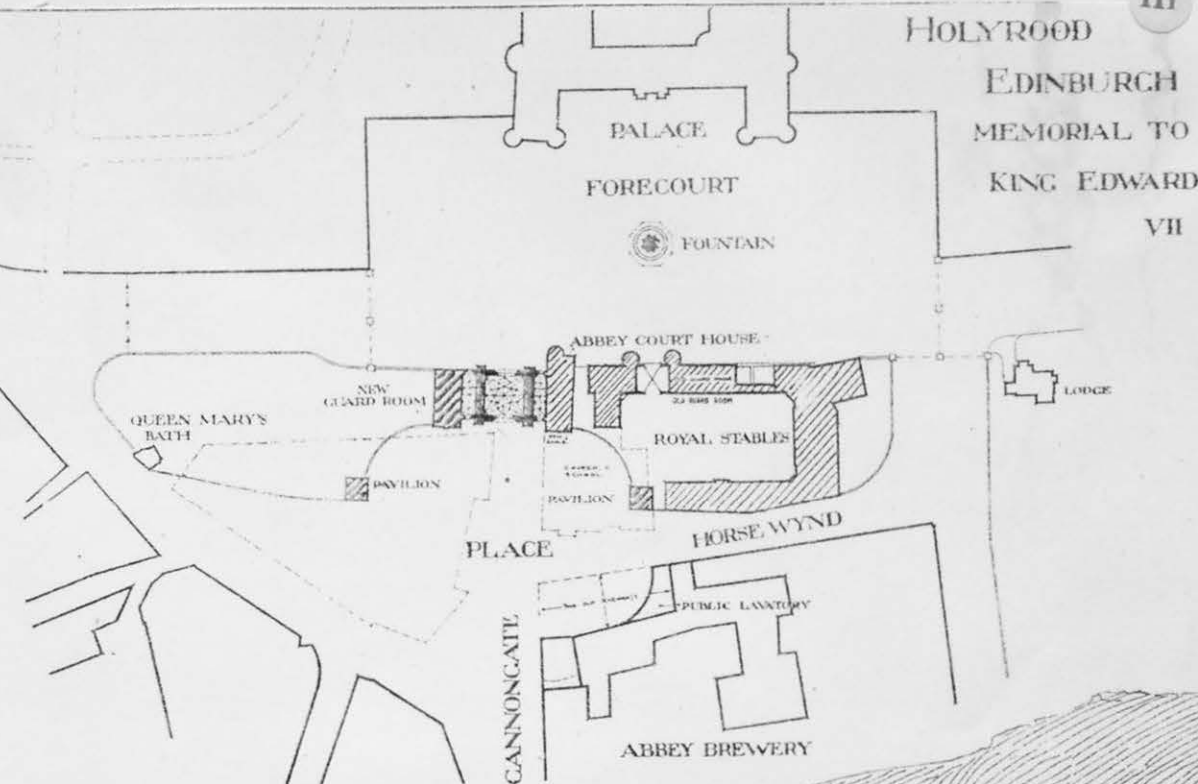


THE BUILDER, DECEMBER 19, 1919.

MR. JAMES B. DUNN, A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., ARCHITECT.

Page 110. Lorimer's achievement in the design of the Scottish National War Memorial is brought out by comparing it with other proposals. How his own design had matured is shown by his earlier unrealised design for a Scottish National Memorial to King Edward VII which is shown on page 111.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO KING EDWARD.
R. S. LORIMER A.R.S.A. F.R.I.B.A. ARCHT. E.C.T.



THE SOURCES OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Preface Jekyll & Weaver. Op.cit. (reference 3, preface)
pp.75,85: for figs 1 and 2.

Chapter 1 P. SAVAGE, photos of: for figs 1, 2 and 3.

EDINBURGH ARCH. ASSOC. Sketchbook Vol.1. 1883-6:
for fig.4.

ARCH. ASSOCIATION, London. Sketchbooks. Vol.12:
for fig.5.

Vol.9: for figs 6 and 8.

Vol.8: for fig.7.

Vol.11: for figs 9,10 and 11.

OFFICE, Sketch: for fig.12.

THE BUILDER. 23.7.1892: for fig.13.

14.9.1901: for fig.14

THE STUDIO. Vol.XXI. p.126: for figs 12A and 12B.

Chapter 2 THE BUILDER. 13.7.1895: for fig.1.

13.7.1896: for fig.2.

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25.9.1880 : for fig.6.

16.8.1883 : for fig.7.

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11.2.1886 : for fig.14.

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18.7.1896 : for fig.19.

Chapter 2 (contd)

THE BUILDER. 28.9.1895 : for figs 25, 26 and 28.

1.11.1902 : for fig.27.

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THE BRITISH ARCHITECT. 25.1.1899 : for fig.20.

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22.2.1899 : for fig.24.

Chapter 3

THE BUILDER. 12.2.1898 : for fig.1.

22.12.1900 : for fig.3.

1.8.1904 : for fig.5.

MRS. KILLICK, photo of: for fig.2.

LORD SALVESEN. Op.cit. (ref. 16 chap.3): for fig.2A.

SHAW SPARROW, W. Op.cit. (ref.49, chap.8) p.81:
for fig.4.

Chapter 4

P. SAVAGE, drawings by: for figs 1, 2, 15 and 18.

ORDNANCE SURVEY, 6. Edinburgh V11/1895/1908/1915:
for figs 3, 4 and 5.

L. WEAVER. Small country houses of today. Country
life, London. 1919: for fig.6.

W. SHAW SPARROW. Op.cit. (above for fig.4 chap.3):
figs 7, 11 and 30.

W. SHAW SPARROW. Op.cit. (reference 2, preface Vol.1):
for figs 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 19 and 56.

P. SAVAGE. Sketches by: for figs 12, 13 and 28.

OFFICE Sketch: for fig.20.

THE BUILDER. 17.2.1900 : for fig.21.

12.2.1898 : for figs 31 and 48.

9. 1.1904 : for fig.32.

11.8.1915 : for figs 35 and 35A.

Chapter 4 (contd)

ACADEMY ARCHITECTURE 1908 p.71: fig.22.

ABERDEEN DAILY JOURNAL Op.cit. p.415 Vol.1: for fig.23.

STUDIO. Book of Decorative Art 1908, p.31: for fig.24.

P. SAVAGE, Photos of: for figs 25, 26 and 52.

MESSRS. HOPES Catalogue c.1921: for fig.29

: for figs 53-4.

P. SAVAGE, Sketches by: for figs 53, 54, 55.

COUNTRY LIFE, 27.9.1913: for figs 43, 44, 45.

Chapter 5 MESSRS SHANKS CATALOGUE 1949: for fig.1.

Chapter 6 COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION: For all photographs of cemeteries.

COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION: For all layouts, taken from the grave register for each cemetery.

COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION: 'THEIR NAME LIVETH' Vol.VI, Pt.1: for figs 12 and 13.

A. WHITTICK, 'War Memorials', Country Life, London 1946: for figs 1 and 2A.

R.S. LORIMER, Sketches of: for figs 15A, 24, 25, 26 and 31.

Chapter 7 P. SAVAGE, Sketches of: for figs 2, 6, 7, 8, 9.

MEMORANDUM TO SERVING FORCES (undated p.9 Mrs. Swan's scrapbook): for fig.1.

COMMAND 279, 1919: figs 3, 4, 5 and 10.

ARCHITECTURE. Aug. 1927: for figs 12, 17.

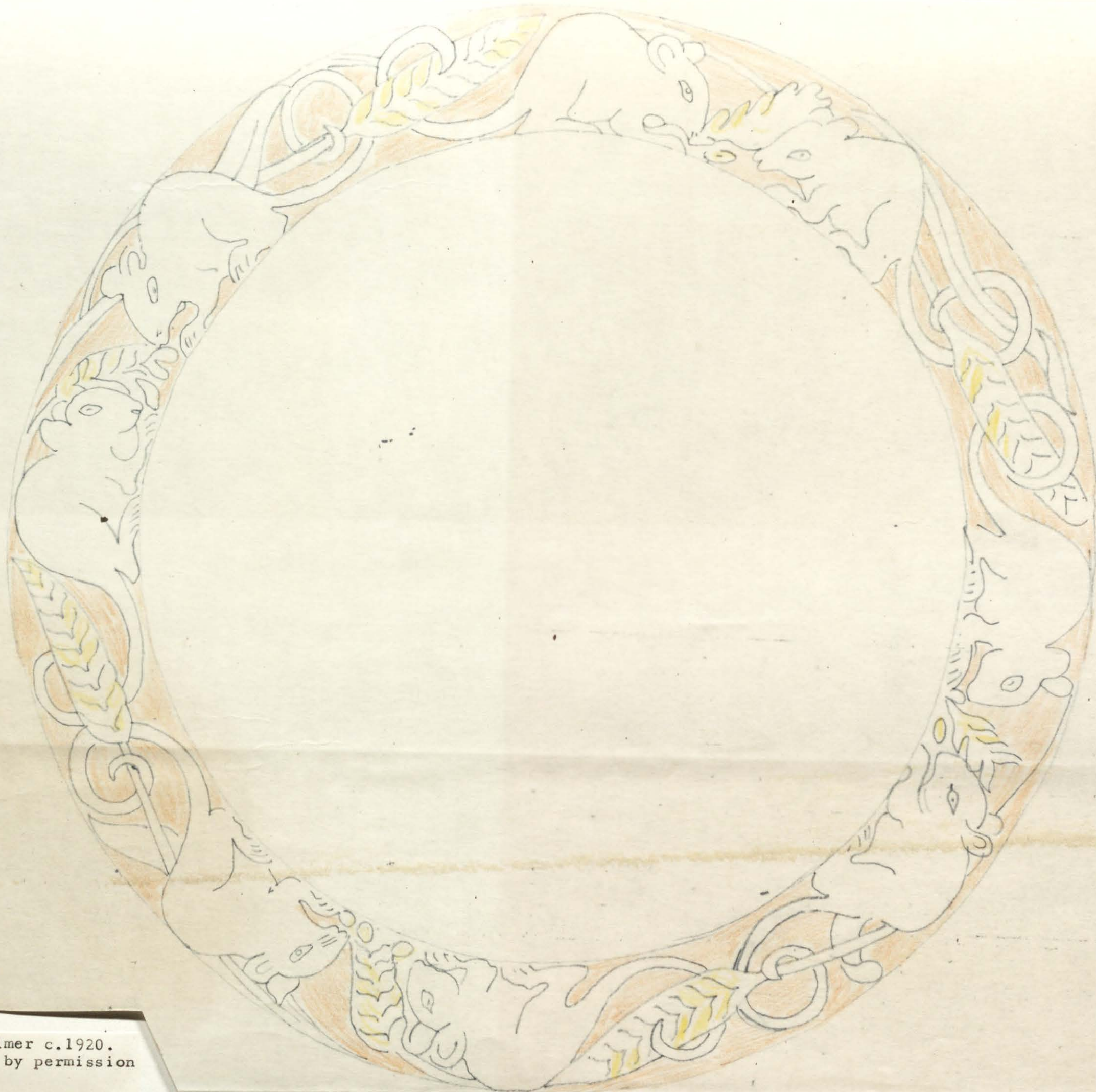
ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW. Sep. 1937: for fig.15.

Chapter 8 THE BUILDER. Vol.39; 1880 p.262: for fig.1.

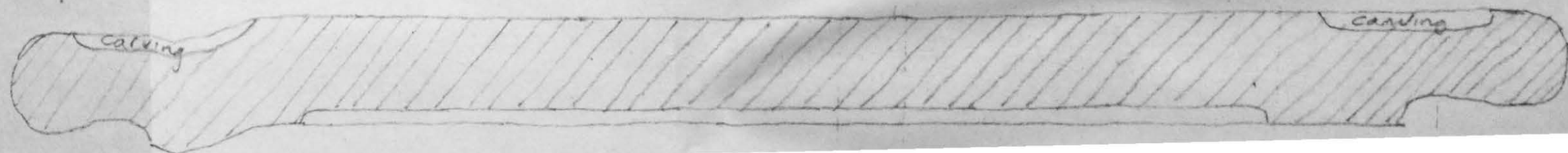
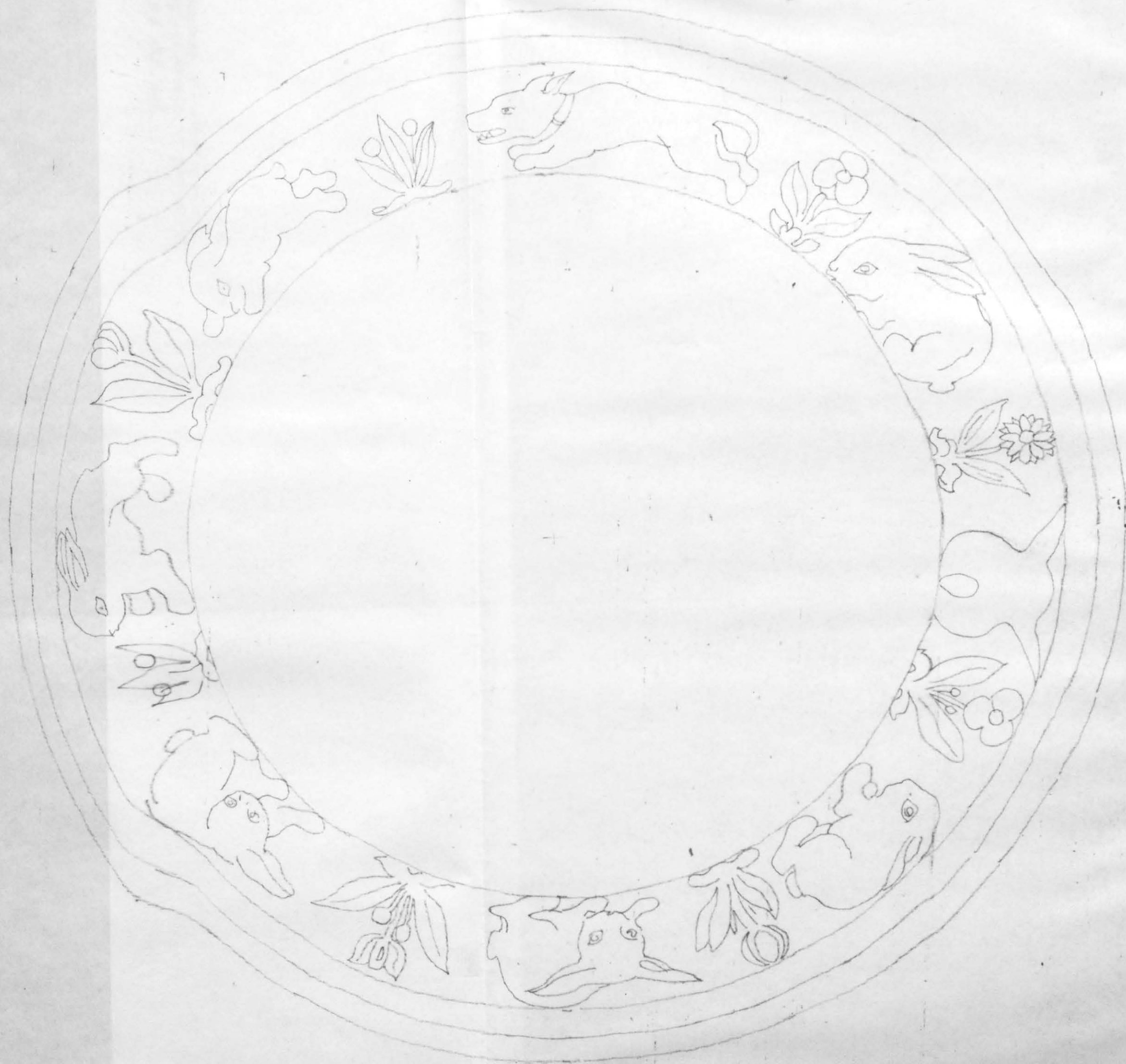
P. SAVAGE, Sketch plan by: for fig.2.

NOTE. A few extra illustrations have been included where space permitted. They are intended merely as background material and not to illustrate particular points unless given captions to that effect.





Design for breadboard by Lorimer c.1920.
Traced from original drawing by permission
of Messrs. Whytock and Reid.



Maroda Linn has typed this thesis from a draft of varying legibility, swiftly, good naturedly, and efficiently, and Margaret Swan who read the rough draft chapter by chapter has re-read it in its typed form. 'There's one error' she told me. 'In Chapter 7, you say I went up to the castle every day to record the progress of the works, but that's not true, I just didn't have the time. I was far too busy, we were all far too busy. We never had enough staff. I used to go up early every Monday morning. Sir Robert would still be at Gibliston in Fife. He would arrive back in the office between 11 and 12 and expect a list of his appointments for the week to be ready waiting for him'.

She went on to reminisce about the office in Great Stuart Street and its arrangement. The ground floor was let to some lawyers. On the first floor Lorimer had his office overlooking the Dean Valley. There was also a large room for the apprentices and 2 smaller rooms overlooking the street for Margaret Swan and John Matthew. The second floor was mostly given over to the surveyors, Reid and Gibson, who worked solely for Sir Robert at that time. They had one large room in which they worked with 8 apprentices and another small room. Two of Lorimer's apprentices were in another small room. The third floor was occupied by the assistants, Hubbard, Lochhead, and Jack Arther (who did all the lettering of the war memorials). Sutherland did the heraldic work on the 4th floor.

The phone was answered by the apprentices or occasionally by special arrangement by Margaret Swan. The assistants neither made nor received direct calls. There was one W.C. for the

entire staff and one wash basin.

The basement housed three families as well, as sub-tenants of the caretaker. Under them was a damp, north facing sub-basement where the drawings were stored, unclassified, unarranged, just lying in chaotic heaps on the floor.

There were no tea breaks, nor had anyone in the office any apparatus for making it. The only person who got tea was Sir Robert, who could call on the caretaker in the basement, a thing he did rarely. Looking back Margaret Swan is led to wonder at the spartan conditions in which they operated, compared to today's practices, and yet, she says, such was Sir Robert's leadership that 'we were all wrapped up in the work'.

Edinburgh, 11th July, 1973.

